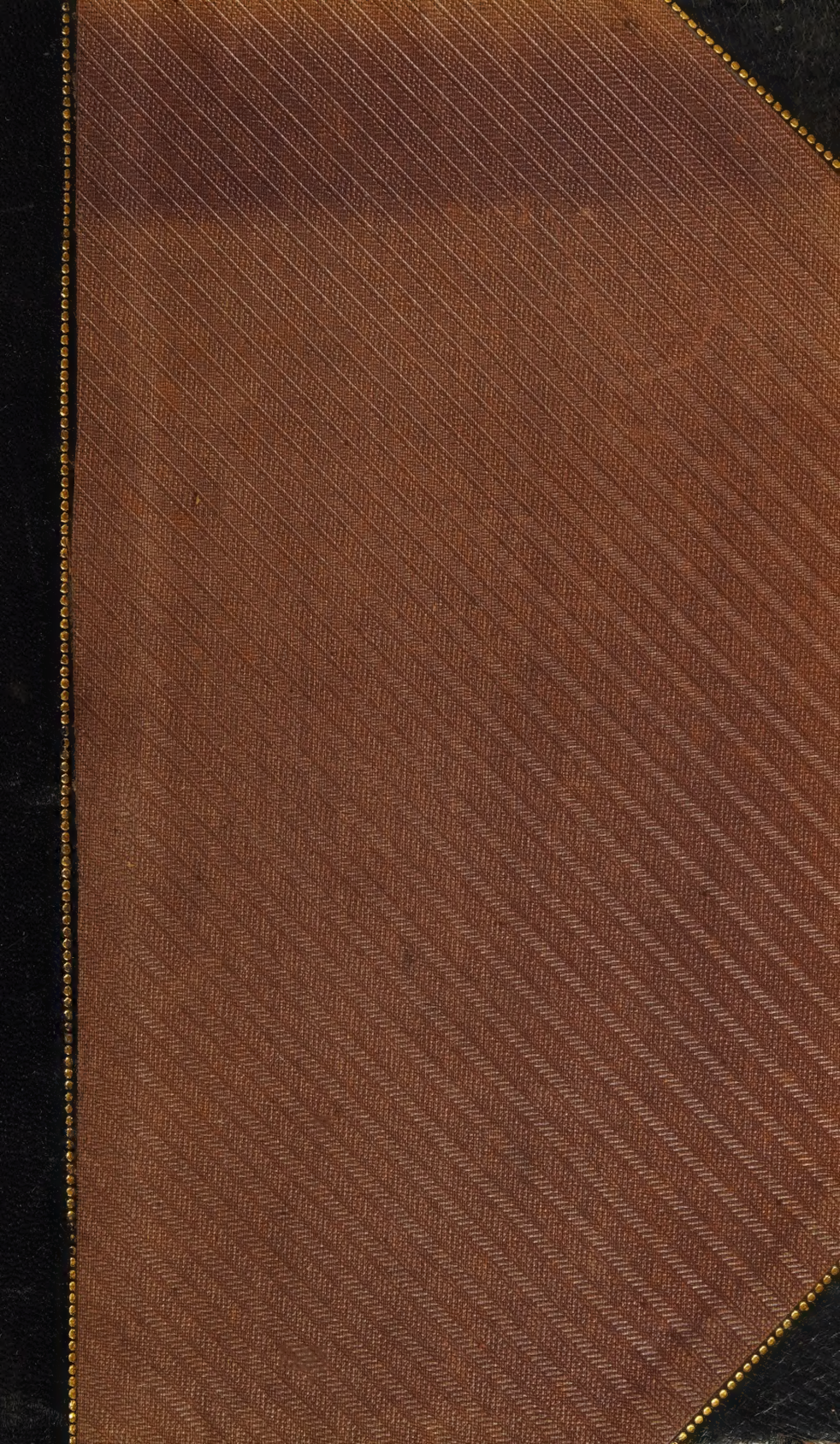
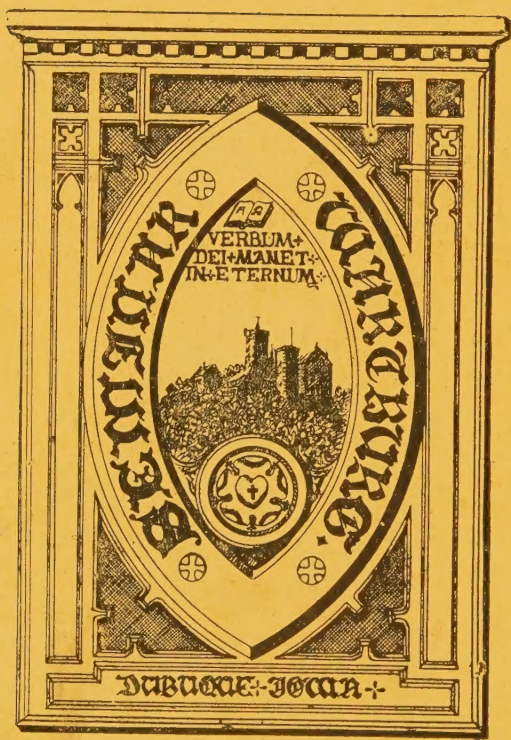
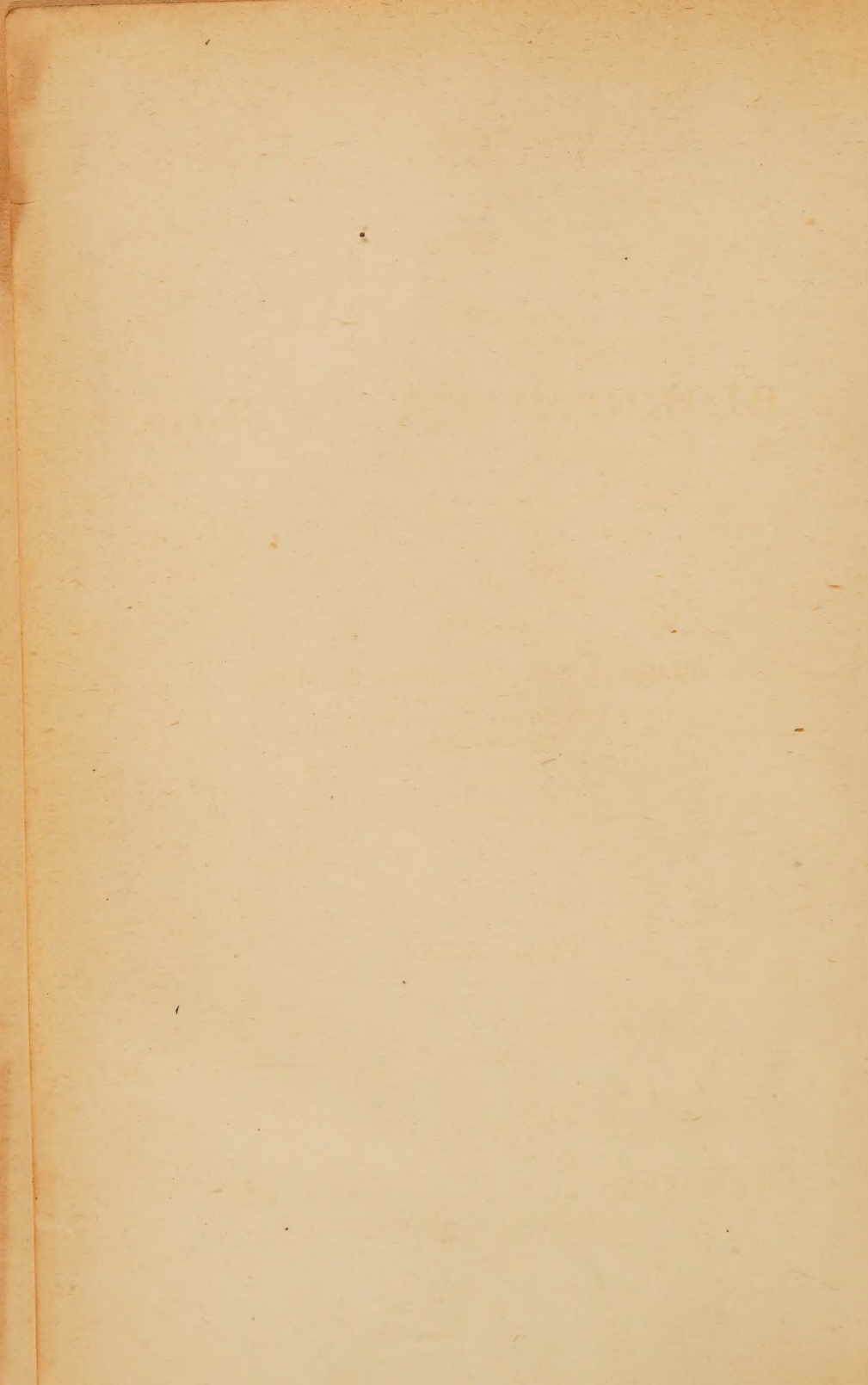






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THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

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VOL. XXVI.

ANDOVER:
PUBLISHED BY WARREN F. DRAPER.

LONDON: TRÜBNER AND COMPANY.

1869.





Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1869, by

WARREN F. DRAPER,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.



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THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

It is a remark often and appropriately made, that Christianity is a historical religion. Fully understood, the epithet sets forth, not the mere accident, but the very essence of the life of our faith. What God has so wedded together cannot by any course of criticism be separated and either part remain vital. As on the one hand history is without deep meaning and peculiar charm unless the doctrine of a redeeming Christ be the thread on which every one of its bright and dark beads is strung, so on the other, the doctrines and morality of Christianity will avail us little when parted from the historical Jesus, who, in his real character, in the facts of his life, suffering, and death, is the doctrine and the embodiment of the moral law. History is unintelligible without the doctrine of redemption; the doctrine is unreal, is not, without the historical Redeemer.

But this historical religion rests for us, in the main, upon certain books which claim to be histories. No questions are then more intimate to our faith than those which concern these histories, and among such questions surely none is more fundamental than that of their origin. We shall feel this when we have weighed well what would become of our

faith if it should be proved that our Gospels originated as Strauss and his school claim that they did. If such an origin is proved, the truth must indeed stand, but Christianity as we prize it could not stand also. By a figure most apt the hypothesis of Strauss has been called "a fable-spinning sybil," who like a vampire sucks all the fresh life-blood out of each narrative of the evangelists one by one, and then tosses them over into "the death-kingdom of abstract thought." If these books arose as his hypothesis maintains they have lost forever their high value for us. The same in substance may be said of the "tendency" criticism of Baur and his followers. What is so thoroughly true of these hypotheses is more or less true of all views which touch the origin of our Gospels, that their erection or overthrow is of the greatest concern to our faith. And indeed how can it be otherwise? For if one could answer every question about the sources of these writings and the use made of them, he could also tell why there is so much apparent discrepancy in matter and arrangement, and how far, if at all, there is real discrepancy. But these are the puzzling questions of gospel harmony.

Nor is the doctrine of inspiration far removed from the discussion, since to recognize and explore the human element in the compound product is the best preparation for a belief in the divine. And further, this inquiry does not fail to affect somewhat deeply the understanding of each narrative of the actions and discourse of Jesus. In the words of another, "misconceptions in the exegesis of these writings and in the treatment of their text will scarcely be shunned, so long as their genetic relation to one another remains not cleared up, or false decisions are adopted." Not that one cannot be a good exegete, much less intelligent Christian, without a definite hypothesis on this subject. A definite and satisfactory hypothesis is quite likely impossible at present. But no one can hold with rigor to any hypothesis without having his views of harmony, inspiration, and interpretation influenced; nor can any one hold views on these points un-

exposed to disturbance without an intelligent opinion on the question of origin.

This inquiry thus intimate to faith is also one of the greatest scientific interest. The phenomena to be explained are altogether unique, and of such sort that the deeper and more detailed the examination, the more wonderful does the strange agreement blended with difference, the matchless unity amid variety, continually appear. What more inviting field for research? Nor are the first inducements to enter this field hid from all but very curious eyes. On the contrary, they appeal to the most thoughtless reader. It would seem that phenomena so rare in themselves and in their relations to faith should have excited early attempts at complete solution. It was however only within the last half of the eighteenth century that such attempts began to be made. This indifference to the problem was due, with little doubt, to that theory of inspiration which, though it manifested some uneasiness at alleged discrepancies, found in the "suggestio verborum" an adequate account for even the most remarkable verbal agreement.¹

Since first fairly started the question has been discussed with painstaking and ingenuity which are really surprising. As would be expected, the supposition that the evangelists made use of each others' writings was first tried, and in settling the order, that in which they stand in the canon first found favor. As new investigations brought new facts to light, new forms of hypothesis sought to satisfy the facts, and in time "all the domain of possibility was measured out." But why not believe that "these three Gospels were in part sought out from similar or the same fountains, that is, from the memoirs of those who heard Christ's various discourses," was a question proposed by Clericus as early as 1716. Many were now found to show how this belief might be sustained. Here again, still governed by a belief in the priority of Matthew, Semler (1783) fixed upon Syro-Chaldaic

¹ Vid. Holtzmann, *Die synoptischen Evangl.* p. 15; Meyer on *Matthew*, fifth Aufl. p. 24; and Gieseler, *Entstehung der Evangl.* p. 31.

documents, others, as Lessing (1784), Niemeyer (1790), Weber (1791), and Thies (1804) upon the Gospel of the Hebrews; still others, as Corrodi (1792) and Schmidt, upon the Hebrew original of Matthew as the common source. The more complicated the facts needing explanation were shown to be, the more complex were the hypotheses, until the climax was reached in the later view (1804) of Eichhorn, who, having at first (1794) detected, besides the original source, four others, recensions of it, and being criticised and outdone by Marsh (1802), with his eight Gospels and parts of Gospels, in turn outdid his critic by increasing the number to twelve. To this hypothesis, variously modified, a number of names attached themselves, among which Gratz (1812) and Bertholdt are worthy of mention. The former reduced the number of processes to seven, and differed from Eichhorn also in that he ascribed priority of composition to Mark instead of Matthew. The latter drawing quite near to the view of Herder, supposed that a *protevangeli* was planned by the apostles jointly while they were yet in Jerusalem, roughly sketched by one of them, and that copies of this writing were used by them all and by the early evangelists, to secure unity in the historic statement of the new doctrine. During the first half of the present century, while the *protevangeli* hypothesis and one form of the so-called supplementary were winning great esteem, there was proposed, as a protest against the method of Eichhorn, a new way to solve the problem in the views of Dr. Gieseler, first promulgated at Leipsic, 1818. He attempted to justify historically the hypothesis of oral tradition. For this hypothesis the path had been broken by Eckermann (1796), Herder (1797), Paulus (1799), Schleiermacher (1817), and by the theory of Wolf touching the compositions of Homer. So many just considerations of general import as Gieseler's book contained could not fail to have weight, and they brought forward into due prominence certain facts of history too much overlooked in the preceding hypotheses, although few have been found ready to accept his conclusion entire. Nearly all hypotheses

of choicest and most recent research have founded themselves upon oral tradition. No one who refuses to give a considerable place to its influence need now attempt to solve the question. Different combinations of it in its essentials with other views have found favor with such scholars as Credner, De Wette, Olshausen, Meyer, and many others. But when does truth come without error following soon after? Dr. Gieseler had said: "Uniformly as the cycle of narrative was formed among the Palestinian disciples, yet it must be modified according to circumstances when the Gospel was preached abroad." "Especially was that cycle changed in the case of Paul, who had gone over to Christianity with quite another education than that which the Palestinian disciples had received. Even if the narratives themselves were not altered, yet those must be made prominent which most corresponded to his views, while he left out others as less important. Matthew gives a genuine Palestinian Gospel, Mark one Palestinian though modified abroad, Luke a Pauline Gospel."¹ The statements that the first gospel was a spoken gospel, and that the evangelists present each a somewhat different form of it, are just, but have been wrested for unjust uses. With the work of D. F. Strauss, in 1835, a new epoch in the consideration of this question begins, and yet, as a matter of course, an epoch not wholly without preparation. Schleiermacher, in whose sight the synoptic Gospels were a conglomerate of short written sketches and bits gathered from oral tradition, put together without unity of purpose or sure temporal sequence, had pronounced the beginning and close of these books to be mythical. De Wette had given oral tradition not only transforming, but also creative, power over the evangelic narrative. It has also been said of a work of Lessing, written even so long ago as 1778, that it takes away from the book of Strauss every merit of originality. But this class of opinions is not complete when the pupil of Baur has argued that the Gospels had their origin in the myth-making tendencies of the early followers

¹ Die Entstehung, etc. p. 110.

of Jesus; for the teacher himself and those who believe with him in the correctness of the "tendency" critique convert all the New Testament writings into mere records of the strife between different church parties. "The dot has thus been put upon the I."

This short sketch of the history of this question has been given, not for its own sake, but that the reader may notice the nature of the progress which the hypotheses exhibit. For there has been a progress. It consists partly in this, that the many relations of the question have come into clearer light, and partly in the fact that, while these different attempts at solution have been making, some of them so unsatisfactory, and others both unsatisfactory and dangerous, the data for the true solution have been revealing themselves. It has grown to be an imperative necessity that at least certain solutions be shown to be false if a true and complete one cannot be found. The search after the true one has not gone wholly unrewarded. Observe how, as it has been proposed by each hypothesis to survey the whole field from a single point of view, and the field has been shown too large for this, the lenses have been complicated or their arrangement altered, until perhaps only a very incorrect image of the real domain was left. Then the instrument has been shifted, and another map, supposed more reliable, has been drawn. But each survey, partial and unfit to serve for a true plot of the whole, has contributed some true lines toward the perfect sketch, to which the approach is made, though itself be always impossible.

In the light of history the following statements concerning the subject are made clear. The question is an important one, for it is fundamental to Christian faith, both because of the dangers which certain answers carry with them, and because of the influence which any definite answer, or want of definite answers, must have upon important doctrines.

The question is a complicated and abstruse one. Some hypotheses for its solution are surely complicated enough. "Few subjects of theological science," said Gieseler, even

fifty years ago, "have been so often and so thoroughly cultivated as this." "This problem," says Davidson, "has engaged the attention of many, especially in Germany, and given rise to more treatises in connection with the Gospels than any other." And further, the true hypothesis must acknowledge those true elements which have already entered into each view, perhaps not refusing everything that the mythical theory and "tendency" criticism have advanced. The proof of this lies in the entire history of the discussion, and in the consideration that such is the present method of the best scholarship.

Again, the true hypothesis must by all means acknowledge the claim of each evangelist to be considered as something quite different from a mere copyist. To this view the history of the discussion shows progressive approach.

Bearing in mind these truths, derived from a survey of the method in which the question has unfolded, we now turn to the question itself. The most satisfactory way to undertake its answer is that of immediate appeal to the phenomena themselves. It may be, it can scarcely fail to be, that dogmatic considerations which were so long deemed of chief importance should have some weight; but they cannot be allowed decisive or even considerable authority. We are not to be so certain how the evangelists ought to have written as to refuse to learn how they have written.

There are also certain general historic considerations, and in particular certain historic testimonies, which have more or less bearing upon the question. On such grounds, indeed, and almost entirely, Gieseler erected his hypothesis. For, although he admits that any conjecture which will make pretensions to probability, must fully explain the inner relation of the Gospels; yet, holding that different external connections of the writers may be thought of which will equally well explain this inner relation, he proceeds to make history decide between them.¹ Well-known conditions under which these books were composed, ought doubtless to be kept ever

¹ Die Entstehung, etc. p. 2.

in mind. But on the other hand, we ought to hold no evidence derived from surmised or obscurely-known conditions against the evidence from the phenomena which these books plainly show. What influences the past furnished for the writers, we may be able, in certain cases, only to guess at; what the writings are, they themselves are present and can answer. As for the direct testimonies, though they are very valuable, their meaning is too much disputed; and could we be sure of this, they are far too meagre to afford any satisfactory solution. At any rate, it cannot be amiss to investigate the phenomena apart from the witness of history, and then if their testimony, cautiously taken, is found to accord with its far feeblér voice, the conclusions arrived at will be strengthened. The final appeal must be to the books.

The present investigation will consist, in the first place, of a statement of the phenomena as full and fair as possible; after which we shall be in position to discuss the various hypotheses offered to account for them, and to derive such and only so many conclusions as shall seem plainly called for.

What, then, are the phenomena? In brief, those of agreement and those of difference — agreement due to sameness of thing known, sameness in mode of receiving and apprehending the thing known, and of design in giving it expression; and difference due to inequality in extent of the thing known, and to variety in the mode of its reception, apprehension, and expression. The general nature of this agreement and difference will be presented in two ways; first by an analytical statement of both, and afterward in a more concrete form, by means of certain selected examples. Certain phenomena, as for instance, those of citation and verbal characteristic, deserve a special treatment which will follow the more general. Let not the reader, unless he be already familiar with the subject, grudge the patient use of the Greek Testament.¹

¹ The text used is that of Tischendorf, ed. sept., but the general result will not be altered if any critical text be referred to.

The following are some points in which our Gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, agree :

I. They all, though differing somewhat among themselves, differ so much more from the fourth Gospel, and coincide so closely with each other in the general aspect which they present of Jesus's character and work, that their presentations are peculiarly *one*. This unity is the point most easily seen among those of external and internal relationship, which are summed up in the single word "synoptic." This word, though it has been deemed the "*πρῶτον ψεύδος* of the rationalistic treatment of the Gospels," embodies aptly a truth which no one will deny. A scene so rich in events as the life of our Saviour in his varied contact with men, from his first entrance upon his Messianic office to his ascension on high, must have presented widely various aspects, as caught from different points of view. How differently it might have been set forth the Gospel of the apostle John remains to tell. His view, while it is of the same grand original, is still so unlike that of the synoptic Gospels, that, to adopt a beautiful figure, they will not be arranged into the same stereoscopic picture. Which difference, when we consider how many-sided in attributes and activities Christ was, and how difficult it is to take two copies alike of the same face, or for two intimates to write memoirs of the same original without considerable discrepance in the presentation of certain phases of character, seems scarcely more surprising than this remarkable agreement. "Whoever," says Marsh, "has compared Christ's descent from the cross by Rubens, with his descent from the cross by a painter of the Italian school, knows how greatly the representations differ from each other."¹ But the views of the synoptic Gospels *will* form a stereoscopic picture together, though they here and there slide by each other. It is, then, scarcely a complete account of this striking similarity to say that the different impressions are of the same original.

II. When we examine the Gospels we do not find that they

¹ Michaelis's Introduction (2d ed.), Vol. v. p. 168.

flow on like continuous history, but are largely made up of single narratives, fragments, so to speak, oftentimes in temporal sequence, plainly expressed or implied, while at other times such sequence cannot be traced. Of these narratives there is a tolerably well-defined cycle. It is not meant simply that all agree in giving a certain number of these fragments of Jesus's discourse and work, but also, that where one or two of the writers introduce new bits of narrative, these have in general the same generic marks. The new miracle or the new teaching bears the synoptic character. The discourse of Christ is especially unique as given by John. The material in Matthew and Luke which precedes the baptism, and the two miracles peculiar to Mark (vii. 32-37; viii. 22-26) seem to depart most widely from this rule. This point of agreement is closely allied with that first mentioned. But, besides the fact that the cycle of narrative bears tolerably well-defined characteristics, the writers of the synoptic Gospels agree in making, to a large extent, the same selections. The number of sections in which all three or two agree is variously given, owing to variety in division. Gieseler distinguishes forty-two common to all, twelve to Matthew and Mark only, five to Mark and Luke, and fourteen to Matthew and Luke.¹ Marsh, adopting the division given by Eichhorn, discovers forty-two common to all, four to Matthew and Mark only, one to Mark and Luke, and twelve to Matthew and Luke, in all of which there is verbal agreement.² According to still another division, of one hundred and fifty sections, sixty-five are common to all three, fifteen to Matthew and Mark, five to Mark and Luke, and twelve to Matthew and Luke.³ Why have these three evangelists confined themselves almost without exception to the same type of narrative, and in so large a degree to the same selections, though their writings are mere sketches of Christ's life? When we think how many conversations like that with Nicodemus, how many deep spiritual discourses,

¹ *Die Entstehung*, etc. p. 3.

² Michaelis's *Introd.* Vol. v. p. 208 sq.

³ Westcott's *Introduction*, p. 201 sq.

how many an incident and miracle of quite another sort from any recorded by the writers of the synoptic Gospels must have taken place, and remember that the Apocrypha resulted in part from a feeling of this lack, though they meet it unsatisfactorily, and that the fourth Gospel shows how by the selection of other and generically different incidents this lack could have been satisfactorily met, we are forced to believe that this point of similarity does not find its full explanation in the history itself (*vid.* John xxi. 25).

III. These Gospels all have the same general progress and main divisions: (1) Entrance upon the Messianic office, baptism, and temptation, Matt. iii. 1-iv. 11 = Mark i. 1-13 = Luke iii. 1-iv. 13; (2) Ministry in Galilee, with a series peculiar to Matthew and Mark, Matt. iv. 12-xviii. 35 = Mark i. 14-ix. 50 = Luke iv. 14-ix. 50; (3) Journey to Jerusalem, Matt. xix. 1-xx. 34 = Mark x. 1-52 = Luke ix. 51-xix. 28, with ix. 51-xviii. 14, peculiar; (4) Entrance into Jerusalem, and activity there, Matt. xxi.-xxv. = Mark xi.-xiii. = Luke xix. 29-xxi. 38; (5) Arrest, passion, death, and burial, Matt. xxvi., xxvii. = Mark xiv., xv. = Luke xxii., xxiii.; (6) Resurrection, Matt. xxviii. = Mark xvi. = Luke xxviii.¹ Beyond this general agreement Mark and Luke agree very closely in their arrangement of the sections common to all three, if the interpolations of Luke are left out.² But Matthew agrees only partially in his arrangement of the sections common to him and one or both of the other writers. For example, iii. 1-iv. 17. From this point the sequence differs in the main, though with special points of agreement, until xiv. 1, where falling into the same order with Mark he keeps it during a series of narratives common to these two, of which Luke has only ix. 7-17, until xvi. 13, where Luke joins them and all go on in company for a time. After giving xviii. 10-35, for the most part peculiar to him, he joins (xix. 1) with Mark and afterward (xix. 13) with Luke, from

¹ *Vid.* De Wette, Einl. § 79; and Holtzmann, *Die Synoptischen Evangl.* p. 10 sq.

² Marsh in Michaelis, Vol. v. p. 169.

which point the common thread of sequence is quite unbroken to the end. Says De Wette: "Comparison with the Gospel of John shows that the pattern of this progress is not sketched throughout by the history itself." This agreement in main divisions has been made by Lachmann the basis of a hypothesis to account for the origin of the Gospels.

IV. Certain narratives are found always closely tied together into the same groups, and that even where the preceding and following sections have a varied order. Such are the healing of the paralytic and the calling of Matthew (Matt. ix. 1-13 = Mark ii. 1-14 = Luke v. 17-28); the plucking of the ears of corn and the healing of the withered hand (Matt. xii. 1-14 = Mark ii. 23-iii. 6 = Luke vi. 1-11); the hushing of the tempest and the healing of the Gadarene demoniacs (Matt. viii. 23-34 = Mark iv. 35-v. 20 = Luke viii. 22-39); Herod's judgment and the feeding of the five thousand (Matt. xiv. 1-21 = Mark vi. 14-44 = Luke ix. 7-17). An especially interesting example is that day so full of activity as recorded by Mark i. 21-38, and Luke iv. 31-43.¹

V. There is verbal agreement, surprising for its exactness and extent. Only a few among the many examples can be indicated: (1) Narrative of the paralytic (Matt. ix. 2-8 = Mark ii. 3-12 = Luke v. 18-26), and notice particularly the passage commencing "*Ἰνα δὲ εἰδῇτε ὅτι* etc."; (2) Matt. xvi. 13-28 with vs. 17, 19 peculiar = Mark viii. 27-ix. 1 = Luke ix. 18-27; here notice Matt. vs. 24-26 and comp. parallel passages; (3) Matt. xxi. 23-27 = Mark xi. 27-33 = Luke xx. 1-8; in particular vs. 25, 26 of Matt. with parallel passages; (4) Matt. viii. 2-4 = Mark i. 40-45 = Luke v. 12-16 particularly vs. 3, 4 of Matt; (5) Matt. xxi. 33-46 = Mark xii. 1-12 = Luke xx. 9-19, in particular the quotation from Ps. cxviii. 22; (6) The eschatological predictions (Matt. xxiv. = Mark xiii. = Luke xxi.) are a very remarkable example. Says Marsh: "in Mark xiii. 13-32 there is such a close verbal agreement for twenty verses

¹ Vid. Holtzmann, p. 12.

together with the parallel portion in St. Matthew's Gospel that the texts of St. Matthew and St. Mark might pass for one and the same text in which a multiplication of copies had produced a few trifling deviations."¹ Compare here particularly verses 6-8, 19, 30, 35 of Matt. with the corresponding passages; (7) Matt. xiv. 19-20 = Mark vi. 41-43 = Luke ix. 16-17, where is an example of very exact verbal agreement in the narrative itself. (8) Matt. xv. 1-20 = Mark vii. 1-23; especially vs. 7-9 in Matt., 6-7 in Mark; (9) Matt. xx. 20-28 = Mark x. 35-45, to which passage, with its wonderful coincidences, the remark of Marsh quoted above will well apply; (10) Mark i. 21-28 = Luke iv. 31-37, especially the passage *ἔα τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί* etc.; (11) Matt. viii. 5-13 = Luke vii. 1-10.²

Bishop Marsh believed that throughout the common sections "St. Mark never fails to agree verbally with St. Luke where St. Luke agrees verbally with St. Matthew."³ This statement is disproved by the following among other examples: Matt. iii. 11 = Luke iii. 16, where they coincide, and, unlike Mark, do not omit *καὶ πυρί*. Matt. ix. 7 = Luke v. 25; *ἀπηλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ* instead of *ἐξῆλθεν ἐναντίον πάντων*, as Mark ii. 12. Matt. ix. 20 = Luke viii. 44; *προσελθοῦσα ὀπισθεν* instead of *ἐλθοῦσα ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὀπισθεν* as Mark v. 27. Matt. x. 9 = Luke ix. 3 *ἀργύριον* instead of *χαλκόν*, as Mark vi. 8. Matt. xxvii. 54 = Luke xxiii. 47 *ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος* instead of *ὁ κεντυρίων*, as Mark xv. 39.⁴ The somewhat similar statement of Meyer, that "in the parts where Mark does not stand with them they two depart furthest from each other, while they essentially agree where Mark forms the middle term," is the correct one.⁵

It needs also to be noticed that the greater part of the

¹ Michaelis's *Introd.* p. 170, note.

² For a full list vid. Davidson's *Introd.* Vol. i. p. 373 sq.

³ Michaelis's *Introd.* Vol. v. pp. 317, 336. The same erroneous statement is to be found Westcott's *Introd.* p. 203, note.

⁴ For further examples vid. De Wette, *Einl.* § 80, and Holtzmann p. 61 sq.

⁵ Meyer on Mark, fifth Aufl. p. 6.

verbal agreement is in the recital of words spoken by the characters introduced, and especially by Jesus. In Matthew the passages with verbal coincidences between him and the others, either one or both, amount to less than one sixth of Matthew's contents, and seven eighths of this one sixth occur in giving the words of others and one eighth in the narrative. In Mark the coincident passages are about one sixth of his contents, and less than one fifth of these in the narrative; while in Luke the total of coincidence is about one tenth of the whole, and less than one twentieth in the narrative. But the narrative in Matthew is about one fourth of the whole Gospel, in Mark one half, in Luke one third, and therefore the verbal coincidences in the recital are more frequent than in the narrative, as two to somewhat less than one in Matthew, four to one in Mark, and nine or ten to one in Luke.¹ These last-mentioned facts do not conflict with several different hypotheses. The words of Jesus would be less subject to change, whether in oral tradition or in the use of written sources.

VI. The first three Gospels agree in the use of rare words and infrequent turns of expression. The following are selected examples: Matt. ix. 15 = Mark ii. 20 = Luke v. 35; the word *ἀπαρθῆ*. Though the active is used often in the LXX. the verb is not met with elsewhere in the New Test., and here it is in the passive, which is not elsewhere found. Matt. xvi. 28 = Mark ix. 1 = Luke ix. 27; *γευσῶνται θανάτου* (comp. John viii. 52; Heb. ii. 9). Matt. xix. 23 = Mark x. 23 = Luke xviii. 24; *δυσκόλως*, not found elsewhere in the New Test. or LXX. Matt. xxvi. 51 = Mark xiv. 47 = Luke xxii. 51; the diminutive *ὥτιον*, a word however of common life, and found John xviii. 26. Matt. ix. 2, 5, = Mark ii. 5, 9 = Luke v. 20, 23; Doric passive *ἀφέωνται* (vid. Winer's Gram. 6th Aufl. p. 74). Matt. xii. 13 = Mark iii. 5 = Luke vi. 10; *ἀπεκατεστάθη*, with the double augment (Winer, p. 67). Matt. xxvii. 12 = Mark xiv. 61 = Luke xxiii. 9; *ἀπεκρίνατο*

¹ Vid. Norton's Genuineness of the Gospels, Vol. i. Appendix D., and Westcott's Introd. p. 202 sq.

middle, instead of the passive, which is elsewhere in the New Test. universally used. There are also instances where two only agree in the use of a rare word. Such are Matt. iv. 5 = Luke iv. 9, *πεπρύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, found nowhere else. Matt. vii. 5 = Luke vi. 42, *καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις*, a verb not used elsewhere in the New Test. or LXX. Matt. xxiv. 51 = Luke xii. 46, *διχοτομήσει* and *καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ . . . θήσει*. Matt. xxiv. 22 = Mark xiii. 20, *κολοβοῦν* twice, used only here in the New Test.; in LXX. (2 Sam. iv. 12) employed to translate *ꝀꝀꝀꝀ*, which Hebrew word, occurring sixteen times in the Old Test. is translated by nine different Greek words, thus giving one among many decisive proofs that the Gospels are not independent translations.¹ Further examples of agreement in words seldom or never more than once employed by the synoptists are the following: 1. Matthew, Mark, and Luke, *καταγελᾶν, καταμαρτυρεῖν, κλάσμα, κόκκος*. 2. Matthew and Mark, *ἄγειν* as intransitive, found in the subj. Matt. xxvi. 46 = Mark xiv. 42, *ἀλίζειν, ἀμφίβληστρον, γενέσια, δειλός, ἐκφύειν, θορυβεῖν, καυματίζειν, λαλιά, μνημόσυνον, ὄμμα, ῥαββί, σκληροκαρδία*. 3. Matthew and Luke, *ἄλων, ἄνδρος, ἐντυλίσσειν, ἰχθύδιον, σκοτία*. 4. Mark and Luke, *ἄρωμα, ἐκπνέειν, κεράμιον, προσαιτεῖν*.²

VII. The synoptic Gospels agree in their wording of certain quotations from the Old Test., while they depart from both the Hebrew and LXX. In quoting Isa. xl. 3 (Matt. iii. 3 = Mark i. 3 = Luke iii. 4) they all depart from the Hebrew and join *ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* with *βοῶντος*, agreeing (so De Wette) or not (so Meyer) with the LXX. Isa. xxix. 13, quoted (Matt. xv. 8, 9 = Mark vii. 6, 7) is made to read *διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων*; but in the LXX. it stands *διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας*. The subject of Old Testament quotation will receive a separate treatment.

To nearly all these points of agreement in the synoptic Gospels correspondent points of difference stand in contrast.

¹ Michaelis's Introd. Vol. v. p. 257.

² Vid. Holtzmann, pp. 12, 289 sq., and De Wette, Einl. § 79.

I. The synoptic Gospels, though agreeing among themselves in the general aspect they present of Christ so far as to be classed together, differ among themselves in presenting each one a characteristic aspect. This truth, hinted at in their very titles, *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ*, long ago symbolized by comparing the different look of our Gospels to the four faces of the creatures seen in prophetic vision, has recently been made the basis for the distorted opinions of the "tendency" criticism. To dispute which face belongs to each Gospel shows perhaps only difference of taste; the fact of the dispute shows the truth we are concerned with. The view of Jesus which each evangelist has caught and holds up is so unlike any other as to establish beyond doubt the claim of each to individuality of character.

II. They all, though having each one many sections common to one or both the others, have sections peculiar to themselves, some of which depart more or less from what may be called the synoptic type.

The material peculiar to Matthew consists of the first two chapters entire, and some thirty-five or more fragments scattered through the Gospel, of which the following are the more lengthy: portions of the sermon on the mount; miracle recorded ix. 27-31; Peter's walking upon the sea, xiv. 28-32; xviii. 15-20; xx. 1-16; xxi. 28-32; xxii. 1-14; portions of the eschatological discourse; fate of Judas, xxvii. 3-10; xxviii. 11-20. Especially to be noticed are the numerous citations from the Old Testament found in this Gospel alone, iv. 14 sq.; viii. 17; xii. 17 sq.; xiii. 35; xxi. 4 sq., etc.

Four sections, two of them parables (iv. 26-29; xiii. 33-37), and two miracles (vii. 32-37; viii. 22-26) are all that Mark alone has. But notice besides, ix. 49, 50; xi. 18, 19; xiv. 51, 52; xv. 44, 45, etc. To Luke the material contained in the first two chapters and some sixty shorter passages (iii. 23-38; vii. 11-17; a large portion of the great interpolation ix. 51-xviii. 14; xix. 1-10; xix. 11-27; xix. 39-44; xxiii. 6-12; xxiv. 13-49, etc.) are peculiar.

Gieseler gives, of special sections, five to Matthew, two to

Mark, nine to Luke. On the basis of a division into one hundred and fifty sections, fourteen are peculiar to Matthew, two to Mark, and thirty-seven to Luke, or the per-cent of the whole contents is forty-two, seven, and fifty-nine, respectively. Some of this material used by only one writer will be examined more in detail below.

III. The synoptic Gospels, though they exhibit the same main divisions and general progress, and though the same thread of sequence may be traced in particulars through considerable portions of their narrative, yet differ in the arrangement of many sections. Especially do Mark and Luke differ from Matthew. For this various reasons are given by those who hold the various hypotheses of origin. In connection with that of oral tradition it may be held, that the variety of arrangement is due, either wholly or in part, to variations in the tradition itself; or it may be ascribed to subjective reasons, either on the ground that it was no part of the design of the writers to observe chronological sequence, or that their material being largely subjective, their disposal of it is necessarily so, both of which opinions give large play to fancy in determining the true principle of arrangement; or again, it has been held to result from mistake, or ignorance of the true order. In connection with the so-called supplementary hypothesis, the attempt will be to refer all differences to the supposed prior Gospel, and account for them by reasons generally or specially applicable, while in case all the writers drew from common written sources, those which are distinguished by each investigator will be thought to shed light upon the inquiry. It is a favorite view with some that Matthew's peculiar arrangement hinges upon the early position he gives to the sermon on the mount. His plan is explained by one writer as follows: Matthew, having given in this sermon a "programme of the public activity of the Lord," groups together such of the most characteristic miracles as suit his purpose (chap. viii., ix.). Then follow "the founding of the kingdom," in the discourse (chap. x.); the doubts of the Baptist, and the complaints of the Lord

(chap. xi.) ; the blasphemous charges of the Pharisees, and the defence of Jesus (chap. xii.) ; and finally (chap. xiii.), certain parables which disclose the inner ground of this hostility, together with an account of his rejection at Nazareth. But why does Matthew now join and henceforth coincide with the other two ? The answer is, because his peculiar purpose being accomplished, he has nothing left but to subjoin his remaining material in the order of his source.¹ But it may well be doubted whether the thread of temporal sequence in each one of the Gospels is not far too strong to be thus easily broken.

IV. There are all those differences in the individual narratives with which gospel harmony has to deal. These are either such unimportant variations as may fairly be used to supplement and explain one account by another, or such discrepancies in details as do not admit of satisfactory solution, while they leave the general agreement undoubted, or, finally, such as tend to destroy themselves by making it disputed whether narratives so unlike can have the same original. Numerous examples of the first kind will occur to every reader. Such are Matt. iii. 13-17 = Mark i. 9-11 = Luke iii. 21, 22 ; observe the *προσευχομένου* and *σωματικῶ εἶδει* of Luke. Matt. xii. 1-8 = Mark xi. 23-28 = Luke vi. 1-5 ; observe the *ὁδὸν ποιεῖν* of Mark, and the *δευτεροπρώτῳ* of Luke, if it be not a gloss. Matt. viii. 28-ix. 1 = Mark v. 1-21 = Luke viii. 26-40 ; observe the *δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι* in Matthew, and vs. 3-5 in Mark. Examples of the second kind are : the call of the four disciples, Matt. iv. 18-22 = Mark i. 16-20 = Luke v. 1-11 ; the sermon on the mount, Matt. v. 8 = Luke vi. 20-49 ; the healing at Jericho, Matt. xx. 29-34 = Mark x. 46-52 = Luke xviii. 35-43. An example of the last class is the anointing of Jesus, Matt. xxvi. 6-13 = Mark xiv. 3-9 = Luke vii. 36-50.

V. Besides such differences in narration as are due to difference in the thing told, there is such constant verbal difference as is indispensable if the writings are to be in any

¹ Holtzmann, pp. 99 sq., 169 sq. Vid. also Westcott's Introd. p. 344 sq. with the notes.

sense distinct. This consists, in substitution of one synonymous expression for another, as in the parable of the sower (Matt ὁ σπαρείς, Mark οἱ σπειρόμενοι, Luke τὸ πεσόν; Matt. πονηρός, Mark σατανᾶς, Luke διάβολος); or of one title for another (while ὁ Ἰησοῦς is the more common, Luke introduces ὁ κύριος into the narrative where it is not found with the others, and Matthew seems to prefer ὁ χριστός or ὁ υἱὸς Δαυίδ; and for the disciples οἱ δώδεκα, οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί, οἱ μαθηταί, are favorite terms with Matthew and Mark, while Luke uses ἀπόστολοι more freely); or in change of verbal position, or new turn given to the sentence; or in explanatory addition, as Mark xv. 21 τὸν πατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ρούφου; and Matt. xvi. 21 εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπελθεῖν, or in the use of the same word in a different construction. More light will be thrown upon this point while treating the subject of verbal characteristics.

Having seen these phenomena of agreement and difference as they appear when analyzed and classified, we are now ready to approach them in another way, by examination of a few passages which will exhibit them in a more concrete form. This method, while it shows the phenomena as they really occur, each kind of variation blended with each kind of agreement, will also help the transition to the hypotheses which they have called forth, for it will make known how different investigations have justified different views. Certain opinions may perhaps seem valuable psychologically rather than otherwise. It will however be impossible to do more than simply point out a few things of interest in each example. Whoever would arrive at an intelligent opinion must consult the text for himself in every instance.

1. Matt. iii. 1-12 = Mark i. 1-8 = Luke iii. 1-9, 16, 17. In the υἱὸς θεοῦ of Mark, Holtzmann thinks he sees traces of later preparation by the same hand which substituted ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Μαρίας (vi. 3). The citation v. 2 of Mark (attributed to Isaiah, but really from Mal. iii. 1), by whomsoever made, occasions some difficulty, and Meyer finds here an error of memory on the part of the original composer. Holtzmann

considers it the addition of a later hand, since it is quoted from the Hebrew, while the following verse is from the LXX., and adduces xv. 28, taken from Luke xxii. 37 as another example. Hengstenberg justifies the quotation by making Malachi only "auctor secundarius," while Isaiah was really "auctor primarius," but of this there is no proof. According to De Wette the "inadvertence of Mark is made natural by his dependence on Matthew and Luke." The marked agreement, as seen above, in the quotation of Isa. xl. 3 proves a common, written (?) source, and the addition of Luke is from the LXX., either as the result of his own reflection (Holtz.), or because it was so given in his peculiar source, or because it was customarily so given in the evangelic tradition (Meyer). In *κύψας* is seen one of Mark's characteristic touches. According to Holtzmann, Mark has shortened the account given in the common source, designing only to bring forward John's relation to Jesus; and the somewhat remarkable omission of *καὶ πρὶ* is due to the omission of the following verses.

2. Matt. iii. 13-17 = Mark i. 9-11 = Luke iii. 21-22. It is claimed that the priority of Mark is shown by the gradual change from his form of presenting the vision and the voice, through Matthew and Luke to John.

3. Matt. iv. 1-11 = Mark i. 12, 13 = Luke iv. 1-13. According to many, Mark's narrative is here, without doubt, the older form, and was enriched by the others from oral or written sources. Proofs for this view are found in his brevity, which corresponds to the "yet undeveloped summary beginning of the tradition," here given in its oldest, nearly germinant form" (Meyer, so also Eichhorn, Ewald, and others). The *εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ* spoken by Satan shows reference to the preceding *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου*. That, on the contrary, Mark has the later form, is thought to be shown by the "coloring of concrete situation," which Matthew and Luke furnish, more like a "fresh product" than the "abstract fact" of the second Gospel. Besides, in the words *ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων* is a trace of later origin, though they must have been added by

Mark himself, since they would not have been omitted by Matthew and Luke had they been in their source (Holtz.). Mark has, says one, according to his custom, left out whatever is disconnected, surprising, abnormal. De Wette, however, who considers the account of Mark as an abbreviation of Matthew and Luke, sees in these words "an artist's addition," and finds the *οἱ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ*, introduced from Matthew, out of place, since Mark had said nothing about fasting.

4. If Jesus's deliberate change of abode as recorded Matt. iv. 13 had been in Luke's source, would he have omitted to mention it when so much to his purpose, iv. 31?

5. Matt. ix. 2-8 = Mark ii. 1-12 = Luke v. 17-26. Here Mark's graphic description is thought to favor his originality (Holtz., Meyer). According to De Wette, Mark follows Luke here in sequence, supplementing him however with Matt. ix. 1, and laying the scene in Capernaum.

6. Matt. ix. 9-17 = Mark ii. 13-22 = Luke v. 27-39. De Wette sees in the *καὶ ἦσαν νηστεύοντες* of Mark an "archaeological notice" (Winer, p. 312), and proof of his dependence, since he has combined the *οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου* and *οἱ φαρισαῖοι* in such way that the reply does not answer to the question. But *ἦσαν νηστεύοντες* etc. is better understood as referring to a definite time (Meyer), at which the Pharisees were also fasting, or Mark may have supplemented the subject of *ἔρχονται* out of the question, in which allusion was made to this sect.

7. Matt. ix. 18-26 = Mark v. 21-43 = Luke viii. 40-56. An advocate for the originality of Mark's form of this incident detects here a common source which Mark has somewhat abbreviated (*τοῦ κρασπέδου, τοὺς αὐλητάς*, and perhaps v. 56 of Luke have been left out), Luke still more, and Matthew most of all. "If then Matthew has so manifestly and forcibly compressed the narrative of Jairus's daughter, we ought so much the less to hold his account of the woman with bloody flux for original" (Meyer, and vid. Holtz.). The above touches however are just such as Mark would be least likely

to omit from the picture (Ewald goes so far as to suppose that τοῦ κρασπέδου first fell out in the present Mark). Another, who can never suppose Mark to be anything but an epitomizer, sees in his account only a selection, now from Matthew and now from Luke (De Wette).

8. Matt. x. 1-14 = Mark vi. 7-13 = Luke ix. 1-6. The noticeable difference here is between the εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον of Mark (8), the μηδὲ ῥάβδους of Matthew (10), and μήτε ῥάβδον Luke (3). This is explained in several ways. The prohibition is genuine, and against staves for defence, but Mark, who probably read ῥάβδους in the common source, has softened it, conceiving it to refer to staves for support (Holtz.). Or the difference is an over-nicety in Matthew and Luke which has pressed its way in, but no misunderstanding (Meyer). Or, Mark, combining the texts of Matthew and Luke, has made alterations (De Wette).

9. Matt. xiii. 53-58 = Mark vi. 1-6 and, assuming its identity, Luke iv. 16-30. It is asserted by Holtzmann that the different forms of the question are best accounted for by supposing it to have stood οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τέκτων, ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, in the common source, which Mark changed because of his dogmatic point of view (so also Hilgenf. and Baur) into ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Μαρίας, while both the others took offence at the word τέκτων, and made alterations accordingly. But the identity of Luke's narrative is very justly denied by perhaps the majority of modern commentators, and the other grounds of the argument are more than doubtful. "As if," says Meyer, "Mark would not have had opportunity and skill enough to bring his views definitely and significantly forward elsewhere."

10. Matt. xvi. 13-28 = Mark viii. 27-ix. 1 = Luke ix. 18-27. One writer (De Wette) sees here a proof of the priority of both Matthew and Luke, in the ὄχλος of Mark viii. 34 held to be an expansion of ix. 23 in Luke, who has himself failed to give the motive of Matt. xvi. 22, and has widened the circle of hearers. That Matthew, Mark, Luke, is the correct order, another finds proof in v. 38 of Mark, supposed to be

combined from Matt. xvi. 27 and x. 33, in which combination Luke has followed him (Hilgenf.). Still another thinks that there is proof of a common source apart from all three, and that Matthew (v. 27) has generalized the expression found in it, because he had already given this dictum out of another source (Holtz.). According to still another and preferable view (Meyer), the ὄχλος of Mark is to be explained from his foregoing text, and is no proof of want of originality, nor does the ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ of v. 38 furnish such proof. That Matthew alone (xvii. 19) has the promise to Peter is noteworthy, and according to Meyer a proof that he, having the λόγια for a source, is in this portion richer and more original, though the promise could not have been unknown to Mark. Why, then, has not Mark given it? Out of respect to his class of readers, or, as was long ago said, ἵνα μὴ δόξη χαριζόμενος τῷ Πέτρῳ. Baur explains the difference as an addition in Matthew, due to the growth of the hierarchical spirit. Mark iii. 16 has been considered by some to be a compensation for this omission.

11. Matt. xix. 13-15 = Mark x. 13-16 = Luke xviii. 15-17. Holtzmann supposes that the common source read αὐτοῖς, for which, since it was liable to be misunderstood, Mark, or a later transcriber, put the gloss, τοῖς προσφέρουσιν.

12. Matt. xx. 29-34 = Mark x. 46-52 = Luke xviii. 35-43. The ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου of Mark seems to have its ground in the notoriety of Timaeus. It is quite improbable that Matthew and Luke would have omitted the name if they had had Mark before them.

13. Matt. xxvi. 26-29 = Mark xiv. 22-25 = Luke xxii. 19, 20. The words καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, which De Wette attributes to the fondness of Mark for changing his sources, Matthew and Luke, and finds purposeless, since the act is assumed in the following verse, furnish proof for others of the originality of Mark, and his greater independence of the later liturgical custom (Meyer, Holtz.).

14. Matt. xiv. 22-xvi. 12 = Mark vi. 45-viii. 21. The question of interest in this example is, why Luke should

have omitted so long a series, given, in the same order and in such close sequence, by both Matthew and Mark. Various answers have been conjectured. The solution of Hug is perhaps as bold and unsatisfactory as any. In his opinion, this series did stand in the original Luke, but, concluding with the miracle of the seven loaves, was lost out very early by the transcriber, who mistook the foregoing miracle of the five loaves for it. Thus its omission is explained by homoioteleuton.¹ Reuss supposes that Luke used a copy of the common source in which this series was wanting. Weisse, very absurdly, ascribes it to his carelessness, while Holtzmann has a special reason for the omission of each incident in the series. (Jesus walking on the sea, because it seemed superfluous in connection with the other narrative of a storm; the miracle following, because Luke in general does not like summary accounts, and thinks his earlier passages will suffice in this respect, etc.)

15. Matt. v.-vii. = Luke vi. 17-49. The question, which gives the original account of the sermon on the mount, has received different answers. The proofs that the two are essentially one, and from the same source, are as follows:

(1) The sameness of accompanying circumstances (though Luke vi. 17 presents the situation somewhat differently), both as to the departure into the mountain, and especially the subsequent miracle of healing, a marked agreement, as between Matthew and Luke, where Mark is wanting. (Ewald conjectures that there is a break Mark iii. 19 before the words *καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς οἶκον*, which is to be repaired by introducing the sermon and miracle.)

(2) The sameness in the addresses themselves, both as to their "similar characteristic beginning and conclusion," and as to their "manifold and essential agreement in contents." To this opinion agree Bengel, Olsh., De Wette, Meyer, Holtz. and most modern commentators.

In favor of the priority of Luke is urged that—while Matthew's deviations from Luke, consisting of remarks upon

¹ Hug, Einl. Vol. xi. p. 156 sq. and p. 410 sq. of Fosdick's trans.

Jesus's relations to the law, can be explained by supposing Matthew's account to be a compilation after the habit of the first evangelist—we cannot understand why Luke should have “cut out” from Matthew's account its peculiar kernel. It is, however, admitted by Holtzmann, who supports this view, that the use of words peculiar to Luke (*πιμπλάναι, σκιρτάν, κατὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖν*, etc.) shows a partial and verbal working over of his source; to which he added vs. 39 and 40, as is indicated by the introductory words *εἶπεν δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς*, because they seemed, owing to the nature of their contents, most fit to stand in this connection.

On the contrary, it is urged that in Matthew's account, “rich circumstantiality, gnomological brevity, and want of connection occur together in such manner as is adapted very naturally to long discourse, actually held, spiritedly improvised, but not at all to the compiling art of one who simply transmits” (Meyer). It is admitted, however, that this essential originality must be looked upon only as a relative one, “in which is embodied, not only the influence that its repetition in writing, partly in the *λόγια*, partly in the later formation of the gospel, had already exercised upon much in the form and order; but also, much spoken by Jesus on other occasions was woven in here, in part involuntarily, in part by design.” Again it is urged that most of the passages given by Luke elsewhere, which are parallel to those in Matthew v.–vii., are either less aptly introduced in Luke (Luke ii. 34 = Matt. vi. 22 sq.; Luke xvi. 17 = Matt. v. 18; Luke xvi. 18 = Matt. v. 32); or are such as Jesus might have repeated (Luke xii. 33 sq. = Matt. vi. 19 sq.; Luke xiii. 24 = Matt. vii. 13; Luke xiv. 34 = Matt. v. 13, and perhaps also Luke xi. 1 sq. = Matt. vi. 9 sq.). It may be remarked, however, that in this case the admission of Matthew's claim to priority involves the supposition of much artificiality on the part of Luke, who must then have separated these utterances, given together in their original form, and interwoven them with so many different narratives.

16. Matt. viii. 5–13 = Luke vii. 1–10. A very specious

argument is made, by a comparison of these passages, for a common source, differing somewhat from each, which the verbal agreement in the speech of the centurion shows to have been a written one. Thus, Matthew understands the ambiguous word *παῖς* to mean son (so Neander, Strauss, Holtz.) as is proved by the article, and by the anxiety of the centurion, which Luke attempts to account for by throwing in a word (*ἔντιμος*) peculiar to him among the writers of the synoptic Gospels. But the other evangelist interprets it *δοῦλος*, which variation a written form of the narrative, different from both, will alone explain. To this it is replied that Matthew does not so understand *παῖς*, and that the article only proves that he had but one servant, a view which is confirmed by the *τῷ δούλῳ μου* of v. 9 (Mey.).

17. There is considerable material common only to Matthew and Luke, but very differently arranged in each, about which, as a whole, something ought to be said. It consists for the most part of fragments of discourse. Holtzmann states that of such fragments the principal part is gathered by Matthew around five or six points, while the same material in Luke forms no close sequence with the portions between which it is interpolated, and falls, to a great extent, into chaps. ix. 51–xviii. 14. Matthew has unclothed these portions of the historical surroundings which Luke has given them, and so interwoven them with material from his other source, that the two are often most closely blended into one account. It would seem, then, that the form which this material takes in Luke is more likely to be original, that of short sentences, gnomes, properly introduced by such forms as *ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, εἶπε δὲ παραβολήν*, etc.¹ According to others, addresses of considerable length, which are fitly followed by the words *ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν τοὺς λόγους τούτους*, etc., found without historical connection, have been placed by Matthew in such connection, when he saw them apt to his purpose (chaps. v.–vii., x., xi., xiii., xviii., xxiii., xxiv., sq.). It has been maintained by Hilgenfeld that a collection of sayings

¹ Vid. Holtzmann, p. 126 sq.

of any sort, without a background of history, is not to be thought of. It is maintained on the other hand, that, while historical additions or introductory historical notices are to be conceded so far as they are demanded for an understanding of what is said, there was also a great number of sayings of Jesus, separated from the circumstances which induced them, "floating utterances," which had no fixed place in the evangelical history, and thus appear in Matthew at another point of their wandering than in Luke.¹ The source for this material is supposed to be the *λόγια* of which Papias speaks. That it was a written source is proved by such examples of agreement as follow: Matt. xi. 4-6 = Luke vii. 22, 23. Matt. xi. 11 = Luke vii. 28, the rare expression *ἐν γεννητοῖς γυναικῶν*. Matt. xi. 25 sq. = Luke x. 21, observe particularly the exactness in the repetition, *πατέρ, ὁ πατήρ*. Matt. xxiv. 50 sq. = Luke xii. 46.

18. Mark i. 21-28 = Luke iv. 31-37. This Baur thinks a striking example of the dependence of Mark on Luke, since the words *διδάχῃ καινῇ ὅτι κατ' ἐξουσίαν*, v. 27, show his inability to understand Luke's higher view of the connection between the miracle and the teaching. Hilgenfeld, however, regards Mark's view of attestation by miracle, the oldest. Unfortunately for the critics the correction of the text by leaving out *ὅτι* takes away what little force the argument may otherwise have had. The expression *τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος*, v. 36 of Luke, with its twofold sense, is made an argument for Mark's originality (so Meyer and Holtz.).

19. Matt. i. 1-17. The title *βίβλος γενέσεως* is so closely bound with the immediately following, while the section 18-25 is separated, that it cannot be held to apply further than to the genealogy itself (Calvin, Bengel, De Wette, Meyer, Holtz.). But since so limited a use of the phrase is without parallel (vid. Gen. v. 1 sq.; xi. 27 sq.; xxxvii. 2 sq., in which cases, history as well as, or instead of, mere genealogy follows), the question is started, did Matthew compile the genealogy himself and use the phrase thus singularly, or,

¹ Vid. Holtzmann, p. 133 sq.

finding it already compiled, appropriate it, with its title, to his purpose. To support the latter view, besides the title itself, is further urged in proof, that since Matthew, v. 20, announces the divine origin of Christ, sufficient motive for undertaking *such* a work was wanting, while the motive for introducing the genealogy, supposing it to have been already prepared, may be found in the expectations of the Jews (Meyer). Holtzmann, holding this view, still detects traces of Matthew's preparing hand in the numerical arrangement, in the names Thamar, Rahab, Bathsheba, and in the Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός of v. 16 (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός and ὁ Δαυὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς, however, are unlike Matthew). On the other hand, that Matthew was the original compiler, De Wette urges from the connection of v. 17, which he thinks was evidently written by the evangelist. Believing that Matthew received the genealogy essentially in its present form, some have ascribed to him an alteration (v. 16) of the supposed original form Ἰωσήφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν (comp. the ὡς ἐνομίζετο of Luke iii. 23) (so Strauss, Hilgenf., Holtz.). According to Meyer the present form of this verse was prior to our Matthew. This section is at any rate of Hebrew origin, and the view that the evangelist took it from some written source seems best supported.

20. Matt. i. 18-ii. 23. In favor of the view that Matthew gave to the two traditions i. 18-25 and ii. 1-23 their first existence in writing, are urged their verbal character and the Old Test. citations (i. 23-ii. 15, 18, 23), made after Matthew's fashion, and introduced with his accustomed formula (Holtz.). On the other hand, the traditionary character of these chapters, and the strange connection of the third chapter, which, although it joins on to ii. 23 verbally, passes over the whole history of the youth of Jesus, show that "the elements are certain separate evangelical records." The similarity of expression is, then, due to the translator, and how much in the form of Old Test. citation is to be ascribed to the first composer, or to the author of the Hebrew Gospel, or to the

translator into Greek, cannot now be told (Meyer). These two chapters are certainly not a later addition.¹

21. Luke i. 1–ii. 52. A proof for the order, Mark, Matthew, Luke is found in the consideration that, while in the first the appearance of John the Baptist is the ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, the later formation of gospel history was ever going backward into a remoter domain, so that Matthew gives the narrative of the conception and birth of Jesus, and Luke, proceeding ἄνωθεν, adds that of his forerunner. The proofs of written sources for at least the first of these two chapters are quite conclusive, since in no other way can the artful form of the lyric, and the marked Hebraistic speech be accounted for. How many different written sources in all are to be detected is matter of dispute. The particulars recorded ii. 43, 48, 50 have been thought to betray ignorance of the foregoing, and thus point to a separate source for ii. 41–51 (Holtz.).

22. Luke iii. 23–38. The genealogy of Luke, in the absence of a satisfactory reconciliation, would appear to prove, either that he was unacquainted with Matthew's Gospel, or that he intentionally rejected the genealogy there given, and selected among several records at his disposal one better suited to his purpose.

It may seem that the examples just given, through the conflict of opinion which they exhibit, serve to obscure our inquiry, rather than throw light upon it. It is much gained, however, to have seen how all-pervading the data for the problem are, and how complex the balancings of judgment over minute points which it calls for; as well as how arbitrarily and ingeniously these points have oftentimes been handled. And let it be always remembered that the problem still remains. It cannot fail, then, to provoke effort as long as it is unsolved. Much of this complexity in treatment is necessarily caused by the complex nature of the problem, so that, though we may justly find fault with some special ways of procedure, if we wish to reject the whole of this criticism

¹ Vid. De Wette, Einl. § 92; Meyer on Matthew; and Holtzmann, p. 172.

of details, we must begin by refusing to examine the facts which have called it forth.

In order to a tolerably complete presentation of the phenomena, three classes of them deserve to be subjects each of a brief separate discussion. Among the three let us first consider that of,

Citation from the Old Testament.—To this weighty element of the data for a solution of our question Credner contributed much. The canon laid down by him was, that Matthew cites freely from the LXX., but according to a text which in the Messianic passages has been compared with the original Hebrew, and altered after it. De Wette, following Bleek, makes this distinction: The Old Test. citations are of two kinds; such as give proofs of the fulfilment of prophecy, and seem derived from the author's own reflection, and such as occur in the narrative: the latter class are quoted from the LXX., sometimes literally, sometimes more freely, while the former are the author's translation of the Hebrew. The only conclusion then, since the difference in method of quotation shows different sources, is that the author was a learned Jew, more familiar with the Hebrew than the LXX., but, composing in Greek, used certain evangelical writings also in Greek, in which quotations were made from the LXX.¹ According to the results of another minute investigation, in the citations peculiar to Matthew which are to be considered as *pragmatic* contributions of his own, the Hebrew is the basis (two passages indeed (ii. 15, 23) agree with the Hebrew where the LXX. significantly differ),² though in almost all cases the influence of the LXX. is felt. In citations found in the narrative, however, the influence of the LXX. is much more manifest (Matt. ii. 6 seems an exception).³ That there is a marked difference in Matthew's quotations, which admits

¹ Vid. De Wette, Einl. § 97 b. and Westcott's Introd. p. 232, note.

² Matt. ii. 15 from Hos. xi. 1 τὸν υἱόν μου; LXX. τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ; Heb. יְהוָה. Matt. ii. 23: If the word Ναζωπαῖος is to find its explanation in Isa. xi. 1 it must be in the Heb. נָצַר.

³ Holtzmann, pp. 258 sq.

of classification, all are agreed, though what is the most precise statement of the difference is not determined.

According to the authority last quoted, the phenomena of agreement between Matthew and Mark are, in the main, as follows: of seventeen citations, in ten they agree verbally, and in four others there are only insignificant variations. There are more important differences in two passages (Matt. xiii. 14, 15 = Mark iv. 12 and Matt. xix. 18, 19 = Mark x. 19), where Matthew has followed the LXX. more closely. Matthew (xix. 19) has added the words *καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον* etc. from Lev. xix. 18, as well as *τῆς πόλεως* (xxvi. 31 = Mark xiv. 27). In Matt. xxii. 24 = Mark xii. 19 the form of a quotation is given to an allusion to the Mosaic law. Mark i. 2 is from the Hebrew, but the following verse from the LXX. The whole question of this citation is a difficult one. In Luke all citations, with one exception, are from the LXX.¹ as is the author's practice also in the Acts.² This exception (vii. 27 = Matt. xi. 10 = Mark i. 2) is freely from the Hebrew (Mal. iii. 1), the LXX. having *ἐπιβλέφεται* instead of *κατασκευάσει*; and is explained, either by the dependence of Luke on Matthew (so Ritschl), or by difference in sources from which he copied this quotation (Holtz.), or perhaps better by the fact that the citation had in tradition taken this as its customary form (Meyer). Luke x. 27 is formed by joining together Deut. vi. 5 cited from the LXX. (the text here not differing more from either text of the LXX. than the various texts of the LXX. differ from each other), and *τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν* from Lev. xix. 18.

Doublettes. — The second class of phenomena which seems worthy of special mention, is less important, and there is danger of giving it undue weight for purposes of destructive criticism. It comprises all those instances where the gospel history seems to repeat itself. Weisse was the first to use them in the interests of our question, and to bestow upon them the designation "doublettes," which we shall retain. Most of them are utterances of Christ, but the attempt has

¹ Vid. Holtzmann, p. 263

² Vid. De Wette, Einl. § 15 a.

been made to detect the same causes in repeated fragments of narrative. Matthew, it is said, has (xii. 22-24, 38) joined the motive for mention of the sign of Jonah, derived from the incident given Mark viii. 11, 12 with the motive for Christ's defence against the blasphemous charge of the Pharisees, found Luke xi. 14, 15; though he has before given the same (Matt. ix. 32-34). This may point to different sources, but does not imply error; for, questions, charges and answers like these can hardly fail to have been repeated in the life of Jesus. Under this head fall such uncalled-for suppositions as that Matthew, having left out the incident recorded Mark i. 21-28, doubles, in compensation, the number of demoniacs (viii. 28-34), and that the two blind men of Matthew (xx. 29-34) are due to the omission of Mark viii. 22-26.

The following are instances of doublettes, where the same utterances of Jesus are given once in the same connection by all of the three evangelists, and occur a second time in Matthew and Luke in different connection. Matt. xiii. 12 = Mark iv. 25 = Luke viii. 18; comp. Matt. xxv. 29 = Luke xix. 26. Matt. xvi. 24, 25 = Mark viii. 34, 35 = Luke ix. 23, 24; comp. Matt. x. 38, 39 = Luke xiv. 27, 33. Matt. xxiv. 8-14 = Mark xiii. 9-13 = Luke xxi. 12-19; comp. Matt. x. 17-22 = Luke xii. 11, 12. There is little difficulty in supposing that Jesus repeated several times expressions so like proverbs as the first two cases. There are instances where the doublette occurs in Matthew alone (v. 29, 30 and xviii. 8, 9; v. 32 and xix. 9), or Luke alone (xix. 3 and x. 4). While little can be made of these doublettes to throw doubt upon the credibility of the gospel narratives, they are valuable for our purpose chiefly from this remarkable circumstance, that they all occur in the first and third Gospels. They thus point to the conclusion that these writers had material common to them, but unused by Mark, and throw additional light upon the phenomena presented above, No. 17 of the concrete examples.¹

¹ Vid. Holtzmann. p. 254 sq.

We shall conclude the whole statement of the phenomena of agreement and difference with which our inquiry has to do by a brief separate examination of a third class, than which none gives more interesting or satisfactory results. This class comprises the phenomena of *Evangelic Verbal Characteristics*. No one who composes can fail to impress himself upon the language which he chooses to express his thoughts. The flow and weaving of the sentences, the turn of the expression, the arrangement and selection of the words, so that a certain order may be expected and certain terminology seems favorite, all these betray him whose personality lies back of them all, and works out through them. The way the stilus turns shows the hand that turns it. This whole effect is the resultant of so many and such delicate, impalpable forces, there is such a blending of the power of habit, working beneath consciousness, with the power of the will, only, if we may thus speak, in half-conscious play, that to control this effect so that it shall not reveal the forces is, even for the workman himself, well nigh impossible. Who will suppose that Mark is the epitomizer of Matthew and Luke if he must join with this supposition the other, that Mark has been able to trace and eliminate the authorial peculiarities of his sources, while at the same time retaining his own?

To this class of phenomena such questions as these may be put: First, Has each Gospel, in its verbal phenomena the mark of individuality so stamped upon it that it must be held to be one work, and that its author can have been no mere copyist of the other Gospels or of any number of supposed sources? But in the second place, Are there at the same time traces of the influence of sources, which, though not admitted in crude state, still betray themselves by peculiarities of their own, blended with those of him who made use of them? In search for the answer to these questions, the whole domain of gospel narratives has been most thoroughly surveyed. Wetstein, Gersdorf (1816), who first did creditable service here, De Wette, Credner, Zeller, Wilke, who went carefully through the whole text, section by section,

Hitzig, who compared the second Gospel with the Apocalypse, and above all, Holtzmann, who occupies nearly a hundred pages of his work with results of the most minute and candid research, have all contributed to answer these inquiries.

What reply do the facts discovered give to the first question? A few among the great mass of them may answer for themselves:

1. *Verbal Characteristics of Matthew.*—The phrase βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν occurs twenty-seven times in Matthew, for which the others have βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. Ὁ πατήρ, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, or ὁ ἐπουράνιος is favorite; ἵνα πληρωθῇ is a frequent form of citation, with which or some other form, the expressions ῥηθεῖς, ῥηθέν, ἐρρέθη, are found at least twenty times in this Gospel, and not once in the others (Mark xiii. 14 is rejected by Tisch.). Frequent in the mention of names is ὁ λεγόμενος. The particle τότε, often ἀπὸ τότε, which occurs in Mark six times and Luke fourteen times, is found ninety-one times in Matthew. He often adds to the words γραμματεῖς and πρεσβύτερον the words τοῦ λαοῦ, and is fond of verbs in -εῦειν. Εἰς τὸ ὄνομα occurs four times, only in Matthew, where the others have ἐν or ἐπί. Ἀπό is often found with verbs where the others use ἐκ. Ἀγγελος κυρίου, αἷμα, δίκαιον, ἀναχωρεῖν in Matthew ten times, but elsewhere in the synoptic Gospels only in Mark iii. 7; ἡγεμών, eleven times in Matthew, elsewhere only thrice; the plural θησαυροί, ὁμνῶν ἐν or εἰς, only in Matthew; προσέρχεσθαι in Mark only six times, and ten in Luke, but found fifty-one times in Matthew; συνάγειν twice as often in this Gospel as in Mark and Luke together; τάλαντον only here; ὕστερον seven times in Matthew but only three in both the others. These and many other similar examples, especially when taken together with the whole Hebrew coloring of this Gospel, will serve to answer the question so far as it is concerned.

2. *Verbal Characteristics of Mark.*—Most noticeable are those touches which show the lively circumstantial character of this Gospel. Such are καθίσας ix. 35; xii. 41; κύψας i. 7; προσδραμών x. 17 and δραμών xv. 36, τολμήσας xv. 43,

and περιβλεψάμενος frequently, while the frequent use of the historical present marks the same peculiarity. With Mark no word is more a favorite than εὐθέως, or, according to the customary reading of Tischendorf, εὐθύς, for which Luke has often παραχρήμα. The sentence is often introduced with καὶ or καὶ πάλιν, referring back to the foregoing narrative. The frequent use of diminutives is also peculiar, such as παιδίον, κοράσιον, θυγάτριον, ἰχθύδιον, ὠτάριον. Mark is particularly fond of ἤρξαντο with a following infinitive. More Latin words are found here than in the other Gospels, κεντυρίων, σπεकुλάτωρ, etc. These and other similar verbal peculiarities, together with the singularly graphic style of description, and the absence of long speeches, sufficiently establish Mark's claim to authorship.

3. *Verbal Characteristics of Luke.*—This evangelist uses the article with the infinitive (often διὰ τό, τοῦ with the infinitive of purpose twenty-five times, but in Matthew only six times, and Mark once; ἐν τῷ with the infinitive thirty-seven times, only three in Matthew) far more frequently than the others. He admits often the attraction of the relative. With him is found ἐλεγέν (εἶπε) δὲ παραβολήν. The very frequent use of ἐγένετο is peculiar to him. Descriptive participles are often found, sometimes in pairs. Καὶ αὐτός and καὶ αὐτοί occur in Luke three times as often as in both the others. Δὲ καὶ is found twenty-nine times. The title λίμνη for the Galilean sea is peculiar to Luke. Ἀδικία, four times in Luke, once in Matthew; ἅπας twenty times in the Gospel, sixteen in the Acts, and elsewhere in the New Testament only ten times; βαλάντιον, βρέφος, δεῖ, which occur oftener in Luke than in all the other New Testament writers together, διέρχεσθαι, δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν, τὸ εἰρημένον for Matthew's τὸ ῥηθέν; ἐνώπιον twenty times in Luke, but in neither Matthew nor Mark; ἐπιστάτης only in Luke, but here six times in address to Jesus, and four times in place of διδάσκαλος or Ῥαββί; εὕρισκειν, ζητεῖν, twenty-seven times in Luke; θημέλιον, ἱκανός, meaning great, many; κατανοεῖν, μακρός, μένειν in the sense of dwell; νομικός, six times, where

Matthew has γραμματεὺς; ὀπτεσθαι, σκιρτᾶν, ὑπάρχειν, seven times in Luke only; φωβεῖσθαι twenty-four times; χάρις only in this Gospel; ὥσει, oftener in Luke than all the other New Testament writers together; these, selected out of the great number of examples, show what this examination has to say with regard to the third Gospel.¹ To our first inquiry, then, the phenomena of verbal characteristic furnish an answer that admits of no doubt.

The reply to our second inquiry is not so satisfying. The following statements are made by Holtzmann (p. 280 sq.). The phraseology of those sections common to all three seems particularly to have the character "of popular and expressive circumstantiality." This is seen in such artless repetitions as εἰν θέλῃς καθαρῖσαι (Matt. viii. 2 = Mark i. 40 = Luke v. 12), compared with the following, θέλω, καθαρῖσθητε. See also Matt. ix. 2 = Mark ii. 5 = Luke v. 20, comp. Mark ii. 7 = Luke v. 21; and Matt. ix. 6 = Mark ii. 10 = Luke v. 24. Of the same character is the fondness for strengthening the utterance by restating it in another form (Matt. xiii. 21 = Mark iv. 17 = Luke viii. 13, and Matt. xxii. 16 = Mark xii. 14 = Luke xx. 21). Mark, as we should expect of the Gospel which lies nearest in form to the original, common source, betrays this proximity by retaining many of these verbal characteristics, where the others have lost them in the process of remodelling. He joins most frequently synonymous expressions, a phenomenon such as we should expect to find in the popular language of this common source (ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη i. 42; ὅτε χρεῖαν ἔσχεν, καὶ ἐπέινασεν ii. 25; ὀψίῃς γενομένης, ὅτε ἔδν ὁ ἥλιος i. 32; τότε, ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ ii. 20; εὐθὺς, μετὰ σπουδῆς vi. 25). In these common sections the union of two negatives is especially frequent (Matt. xxiv. 35 = Mark xiii. 31 = Luke xxi. 33; and Mark i. 44; iii. 27; vi. 5; xiv. 25; xvi. 8). These and similar phenomena are thought to indicate some document lying at the basis of these sections, the

¹ Vid. De Wette, Einl. § 91; Holtzmann, p. 271 sq.; and notes on cap. vii. in Westcott.

language of which was circumstantial and popular; and at the same time they confirm the opinion that Mark is proximate to this source.

It is asserted by the same authority (p. 335 sq.) that sections common only to Matthew and Luke also exhibit such peculiarities of verbal characteristic as prove a source for these writers, which both used, but which was unknown to Mark. The examples brought forward, however, scarcely suffice to establish the assertion.

Those phenomena of agreement and difference in the synoptic Gospels which form the data for solving our problem are now before us. By them every hypothesis and each explanatory remark must be tested. But while the hypothesis and the remark are valuable only so far as they serve to explain the phenomena, a knowledge of them is valuable of itself. It will be a constant stimulus, and it must be the only starting-point of well-directed effort. Whoever masters the phenomena is already well paid for his pains-taking, whether he finds any satisfactory supposition to account for them or not. He can at least intelligently pronounce the solutions offered false or inadequate, and, selecting such general conclusions as seem true, he can rest in them until yet more thorough investigation shall show results more complete and at the same time satisfactory. To examine some of the most important hypotheses, testing them by means of our previous work, and to gather from them whatever seems most like truth, will occupy us at another time.

ARTICLE II.

CHRISTIAN BAPTISM, CONSIDERED IN REFERENCE TO
THE ACT AND THE SUBJECTS.

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THE body of Christians known as Baptists regard the act of immersion in water as essential to the validity of Christian baptism, and professed believers in Christ, irrespective of their age, as the only proper subjects of this ordinance. These principles, conscientiously held, make it necessary for them to treat as null and void every other act claiming the name of baptism, and every administration of the rite, whether objectionable or not in its form, which is not accompanied by an intelligent profession of faith on the part of the recipient. And as Baptists hold, in common with all other denominations of Christians, that the Lord's supper was instituted only for the baptized, these principles oblige them to restrict their invitation to partake of the communion to those who have in their judgment duly received the previous rite. No sect repudiates more earnestly than they the iteration of baptism; none regret more sincerely than they the necessity for separation from their brethren at the Lord's table; but while their convictions remain as they are, no other course is open to them. The reasons of these convictions they are always ready to declare; and, by the liberal courtesy of the Editors of this theological journal, they are permitted to do so here and now. In presenting the Baptist view of the act and subjects of Christian baptism, both convenience and brevity will be secured by the free use of the first person plural. The present writer has indeed no authority to represent his brethren of the same ecclesiastical fold in this matter; but it is presumed that no liability exists to important misrepresentation, as there is no noteworthy difference of opinion among us in regard to the sub-

jects here to be discussed. We shall speak first of the act of baptism, and then of its subjects.

I. *The Act of Baptism.*

What is the outward act of baptism? The answer to this question must be contained in the *word* which our Lord employed to designate the rite. We maintain that the word which he employed is not obscure, but plain; not vague, but definite; not general, but particular. We hold that, prior to any critical investigation of its meaning, there is the strongest presumption in favor of its denoting a specific and clearly defined act. Our Lord certainly would not purposely envelop in obscurity the rite by which he wished his disciples, in all nations and to the end of the world, to profess their faith in him and unite themselves to his people. He certainly could not be at a loss to find a word which would make plain to them what he required them to do. Whether the language in which he spoke the words of the authoritative commission to baptize was the Aramaic or the Greek, he by his Spirit directed that commission to be recorded and transmitted to all generations in the Greek language — a language surpassed by no other in copiousness, flexibility, and precision. Besides, the very nature of a positive ordinance imperatively demands this definiteness in the language of its institution. In respect to our more general moral duties, a hint may sometimes suffice, because our own consciences and innate sense of propriety may safely be trusted to interpret it aright. But it is not so with positive external rites, which rest on no foundation of natural religion or intrinsic moral fitness, but derive all their authority from the express command of the Lawgiver. We say, therefore, that there is an almost irresistible anterior probability that the edict enjoining the initiatory rite of Christian discipleship would be expressed in very clear and precise terms; that the Lord would not use a word expressing merely the result of some undefined action, like “cleanse,” “purify,” or a word denoting a generic action, as “wash,” “water”; but that he would se-

And, also, the subject.

lect a word designating a specific action, as “dip,” “pour,” “sprinkle.” And we find the clearest evidence that he did select just such a definite, modal word. The Greek verb βαπτίζειν is neither obscure nor ambiguous. The lexicographers have no difficulty with it whatever. They show no sign of hesitation or uncertainty in defining it. With a unanimity that has no exception entitled to notice, they define it as meaning primarily to “plunge, dip, immerse.” We need not enter into any controversy as to its secondary, rare, or questionable meanings. For in such a case as this the primary and ordinary meaning of the word is all that can fairly come into the account. Who can believe that our Lord would in such a case have obscured his meaning by using a common word in a rare and exceptional sense? What worthy motive for doing so can possibly be imputed to him? We maintain, therefore, that the terms in which the rite of baptism was instituted by its divine Author determine beyond reasonable controversy the nature of the act, and exclude everything but immersion. The command seems to us just as plain, its meaning just as certain, as if Jesus had uttered the words of the institution in our own familiar tongue, and had said *ipsissimis verbis*: “Go, disciple all nations, immersing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost”; and the reason why it seems so to us is that, by the verdict of all competent and impartial scholars, the Greek words of the original institution are faithfully and exactly represented by the above English words. It can hardly be necessary to occupy these pages with numerous testimonies in proof that this is the ordinary sense of the word, or even with a long list of names of distinguished scholars who have given these testimonies. We will let two or three unimpeachable names represent the whole. Moses Stuart, “nomen clarum et venerabile,” says: “It is impossible to doubt that the words βάπτω and βαπτίζω have in the Greek classical writers the sense of *dip, plunge, immerge, sink*, etc.”¹ Meyer, in his

¹ Bibl. Repos. Vol. iii. p. 300, Apr. 1833. He adds, “but there are variations

Critical Commentary on the New Testament, says of the expression *ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται*, in Mark vii. 4, that it "is not to be understood of *washing the hands*, but of *immersion*, which the word in classic Greek and in the New Testament everywhere means, i.e. here, according to the context, *to take a bath*. So also Luke xi. 38." Alexander de Stourdza, himself a Greek and one of the most learned men of the present age, says: "The verb *βαπτίζω* has, in fact, but one sole acceptance. It signifies, literally and always, *to plunge*. Baptism and immersion are therefore identical; and to say 'baptism by aspersion' is as if one should say 'immersion by aspersion,' or any other absurdity of the same nature."¹ Scores of similar testimonies might be cited; but it would be superfluous to cite them. The question is not in dispute among Greek scholars. There is no opposing testimony that is worthy of notice in the presence of such an agreement of the first scholars of all countries and times. The evidence that the word means to immerse is as complete and incontrovertible as is the evidence that the Greek language has any word to express that meaning.

It is not denied that in some instances words used in the New Testament have a somewhat different sense from that which they bear in classic writers. This results necessarily from the new ideas introduced into human thought by a religion revealed directly from heaven. But it is always to be presumed that the common words of the Greek language are used in the New Testament in the same sense as in the classic Greek; and the contrary is to be made out, in particular exceptional cases, by specific and unanswerable proofs. Such new and sacred senses of old and common words are never far removed from their previous ordinary signification. The sacred sense is always but a facile modification of the classical, and never an entirely new and different one. To

from this usual and prevailing signification; i.e. shades of meaning kindred to this (as happens in respect to most words), some literal and some figurative.

¹ Considerations sur les Doctrines et l'Esprit de l'Eglise Orthodoxe (Stuttg. 1816), p. 87.

attribute to a word whose acknowledged classical meaning is "to dip," "to immerse," the sense of "to pour" or "to sprinkle," would be, not to modify its meaning, but to give it a totally different sense. Such a radical change in the use of language would be without example in the New Testament usage, and subversive of all sound and sober biblical interpretation. The proof is abundant that no such change did take place in the verb βαπτίζω when it was transferred from a common to a sacred sense. In fact, without depending at all upon classical usage, we maintain that the New Testament itself furnishes sufficient data for fixing the meaning of the word beyond any reasonable doubt.

The connections in which it is used plainly point to immersion as its proper meaning. John baptized in the river of Jordan (Mark i. 5). When Jesus had been baptized by him in that stream, he straightway came up out of the water (vs. 9, 10). John afterwards chose Aenon as a suitable place to baptize, because there was much water there (John iii. 23). When Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch they went down both into the water; and after the baptism they came up out of the water (Acts viii. 38, 39). It has often been said that there is no necessity for inferring immersion from such expressions as these; that the persons referred to might have gone where there was much water, and even gone down into the water, to pour or to sprinkle, as well as to immerse. We admit that this *might* be; but the aim of the sincere inquirer is not to determine what possibly might be, but to learn what actually was; the object of a sound biblical criticism is, not to show what sense the words of scripture may possibly bear, but to ascertain what they fairly and naturally import and imply. The case is just this: The above language describes what indeed might possibly be done, but without any apparent reason and contrary to all likelihood, if the act of baptism consisted in pouring or sprinkling, but what would naturally, certainly, and necessarily be done if it consisted in immersion. With this simple statement of the case we are willing to leave the decision to the verdict of candor and common sense.

The grammatical construction of the Greek verb βαπτίζειν is incompatible with any other sense than immersion. It is never, in the original text of the New Testament, connected with the word denoting the element by any other preposition than ἐν, *in*, or εἰς *into*. In a few instances it is followed in our English version by the preposition *with*; but in these cases the original either has ἐν, *in*, or else omits the preposition altogether. And where there is no preposition in the Greek, since the idiom of our language requires one, we are plainly bound to supply the *in*, which the original so often uses, and are not at liberty to substitute for it the *with*, which the original never employs.¹ The word is never construed in the active voice with the element as its object, nor in the passive voice with the element as its subject; or, to state the same thing more briefly, *persons* are always said to be baptized, the *element* never. We never read, “A. baptized water upon B.,” but always, “A. baptized B. in water.” We never read, “water was baptized upon them,” but always “they were baptized in water.” Those former expressions might properly be used, and in all probability would at least sometimes be used if βαπτίζειν meant to sprinkle; for that word is construed indifferently in both these ways. Those former expressions would certainly be used if βαπτίζειν meant to pour, for that word is construed only in this way. We may say without impropriety, “they were sprinkled with (not in) water,” or, “water was sprinkled upon them,” though the latter is the more exact expression; but we cannot with any propriety say “they were poured with water”; we must always say “water was poured upon them.” This uniform

¹ Tyndale was the first to use *with*, in this connection. Wicklif has always *in*. The verb is followed by the defining element in fourteen places. In eight of these, the element is water, and the preposition ἐν, *in*, is inserted in five instances, and omitted in three (or, according to some MSS., inserted in three, and omitted in five). In the six instances in which the Holy Spirit is specified as the element, the preposition is invariably used. (A few MSS. omit it in Mark i. 8.) If, contrary to all New Testament usage, we should suppose an ellipsis of *with* instead of *in*, the noun denoting the element would require to be in the genitive, and not in the dative, μερά, not σὺν, being understood.

construction of the word witnesses decisively for the meaning to immerse, and against both the meanings to sprinkle and to pour, but most decisively against the latter.

The figurative uses of the words βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα in the New Testament accord only with the sense of immersion. "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished" (Luke xii. 50). In these words Jesus had undisputed reference to the suffering into which he was to be plunged, the agony with which he was to be overwhelmed. "I have an immersion to undergo," is the translation of Dr. George Campbell. Of like import is the use of the word in the question which our Lord addressed to the ambitious sons of Zebedee: "Are ye able to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" These expressions lose all their affecting solemnity and depth of meaning when the idea of immersion ceases to be connected with the words "baptize" and "baptism." It was no mere sprinkling of a few drops of grief upon his soul, no trickling upon him of a scanty stream of sorrow, to which he was looking forward, but a complete submersion, the flooding of his soul in an overwhelming tide of anguish. Any other signification than immersion as the basis of this metaphorical language belittles the whole expression, robs it of all dignity and suitableness, and reduces it to a feeble and degrading caricature of that fathomless gulf of sorrow into which his soul sank in the garden and on the cross.

The inner and spiritual truth, which baptism expresses by an outward and visible symbol, can be adequately expressed only by immersion. "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection" (Rom. vi. 3-5). "Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him" (Col. ii. 12). A

scriptural baptism, therefore, resembles and represents the burial and resurrection of Christ, and by virtue of this resemblance becomes an appropriate symbol and expression of the believer's conformity to Christ, in dying to sin and rising again to a new and holy life. It must exhibit such a likeness to a burial and resurrection as will make its symbolical relation to these great facts appropriate and obvious. In the act of immersion into and emersion out of the water, such likeness to a burial and resurrection is manifest. Substitute either sprinkling or pouring for immersion, and all such likeness utterly disappears. We say therefore that the scriptural import of baptism is inseparable from its form, so that just as soon as the form is changed it ceases to express what it was intended by its divine author to express.

Uniting all the foregoing particulars in one view, we say that the true scriptural meaning of the Greek words βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα is that which best agrees with all the uses of these words in the New Testament, without any forced interpretation or elaborate explanation. That must be the true sense of these words, which naturally and obviously explains the expressions, "going down into the water," "coming up out of the water," "being baptized in the Jordan," "in water," "in the Holy Spirit," "into Christ," which shows how there being much water in Aenon was the reason why John chose that place for baptizing; which accounts for the fact that persons are always said to be baptized, the element never; which makes it pertinent to call the overwhelming sufferings of Christ a baptism; which exhibits the resemblance between baptism and a burial and resurrection, and so makes the rite an intelligible and appropriate symbol of the cessation of the old life of sin, and the beginning of a new life of righteousness. Neither aspersion nor affusion fulfils these conditions; immersion fulfils them all perfectly, and in so doing demonstrates itself to be the true scriptural sense of the words. This sense of the words makes all scripture on this subject plain; any other sense darkens the meaning of certain pas-

sages. This has been acknowledged by impartial scholars of different denominations.¹

Instead, then, of finding any such clear proof of a peculiar and sacred sense of the words relating to Christian baptism in the New Testament as would be required in order to justify any other than their admitted classical sense, we find, on the contrary, that the classical sense is positively confirmed in a variety of ways by New Testament usage.

In such a position of the argument we hardly feel the necessity of replying to objections derived from the supposed difficulty of immersion in certain cases referred to in the scriptures. Any objection of this sort must be very strong indeed, to entitle it to serious consideration in opposition to such abundant evidence of the meaning of the original words. It will be enough, certainly, to notice briefly the one instance most frequently adduced and most strongly urged, as an objection to the invariable practice of immersion by the apostles. The baptism of the three thousand in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost is thought by many to afford a valid argument against immersion, both on account of the difficulty of finding within the city a sufficient and convenient supply of water, and also on account of the insufficiency of the time for administering the rite to so large a number. But both these difficulties disappear when the matter is carefully examined. As to the first, Dr. Robinson says: "The holy city would appear always to have had a full supply of water for its inhabitants, both in ancient and modern times. In the numerous sieges to which in all ages it has been exposed, we nowhere read of any want of water within the city. During the siege by Titus, when the Jews, pressed by famine, had recourse to the most horrible expedients, and thousands died daily of hunger, there is no hint that thirst was added to their other sufferings. . . . Within the walls of the city are three reservoirs, two of large size, one about two hundred

¹ "It must be a subject of regret, that the general discontinuance of this original form of baptism, has rendered obscure to popular apprehension some very important passages of Scripture." — Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of Paul*, Vol. i. Chap. xiii. p. 439.

and fifty feet long and one hundred and forty-four broad ; the other about three hundred and sixty feet long, one hundred and thirty feet wide, and seventy-five feet deep. Just outside of the city, and connected with it by an aqueduct, were three reservoirs, each larger than the largest of the two above mentioned.”¹ As to the time required to baptize three thousand persons, it is commonly assumed that all this number were baptized on the same day, though the sacred narrative does not expressly affirm this, nor even necessarily imply it. But admitting that they were, and assuming that only the twelve apostles administered the rite, it would not require more than six hours at the longest, to baptize them all. Each would have had to baptize only about forty per hour, which might easily be done, not only without unbecoming haste, but so as to allow considerable intervals for rest. It is not usual for Baptist ministers, when they have large numbers to baptize, to occupy so much time as a minute and a half in reverently immersing each candidate. But there is no reason for assuming that only the apostles administered the rite. We know very well that they did not regard it as one of their peculiar prerogatives to baptize, but often preferred to delegate the service to others, when it would have been perfectly convenient, so far as appears, for them to have performed it themselves.² How unlikely, then, that on such an occasion they should not at least be assisted by the seventy, or by so many of them as might be present ; and, if there were need, by others also of the one hundred and twenty who are mentioned a little before (Acts i. 15). There is no reasonable objection to supposing that there were sixty or even eighty administrators or assistants. And with so large a number of suitable administrators, and such abundant facilities for baptizing within the city, and just without the walls, there is no reason why the whole work of baptizing the three thousand should have occupied more than two hours in the most deliberate way of performing it ; and no

¹ Robinson's Biblical Researches, Vol. i. pp. 405, 406.

² See Acts x. 48 and 1 Cor. i. 14-17.

reason why it might not have been accomplished with all suitable solemnity in half that time, if there had been any cause for hastening the administration. So there was ample time after Peter's sermon was ended, for the preparations and the baptism before the day closed. So little force has this objection to the apostolic practice of immersion.

We rest then in the conclusion, that as in the pagan classic writers, so also in the New Testament, the Greek words βαπτίζειν and βάπτισμα mean distinctly and invariably to immerse and immersion. This conclusion is confirmed by the best and most ancient translations, eastern and western, and by the critical versions of the ablest biblical scholars of modern times. In all these, so far as they undertake to express the meaning of the original words, that meaning is expressed by terms signifying immerse and immersion. Some of them, like our own English version, merely transfer the Greek words.

Our position is still further confirmed by the well-known fact, that for many centuries there was a uniformity of practice in the whole Christian world, corresponding to the universal agreement as to the meaning of the word. Except in the case of those who, being confined by sickness to their beds, received what was called clinic baptism,¹ immersion was the invariable practice, in all parts of the Christian world for nearly thirteen hundred years, and in most countries for a considerably longer period. It cannot be necessary to make numerous citations in proof of what is so well known to all who have given the subject any careful examination. A conclusion in which there is a general agreement

¹ It is noteworthy that Eusebius (or rather, Cornelius, whose account Eusebius quotes), in mentioning the earliest known instance of this kind, that of Novatian, avoids using the word "baptism": "Having fallen into a grievous distemper, and thinking that he would very soon die, having water poured around him on the bed where he was lying, he received —, if it is proper to say that such a one received." The ellipsis is significant. Afterwards, when this same Novatian, having unexpectedly recovered, was a candidate for the office of presbyter, the unsatisfactory character of his baptism was made a ground of objection to his ordination. — Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* (Burton's Oxford ed.), Book vi. Chap. 43, Vol. ii. p. 461.

of standard historians, archaeologists, and critical scholars, does not need to be fortified by a long array of specific testimonies. Until it is disputed by persons as competent to judge in the case as those who affirm it, — by men who can claim to be the peers in ecclesiastical learning of Mosheim and Neander; of Bossuet and Massillon and Brenner; of Von Cöln and Whitby and Wall and Stuart and Coleman and Schaff; we are justified in regarding it as proved without further argument. So it is regarded and treated by those whose office it is to state for the popular enlightenment the results of the investigations of the learned. The standard encyclopedias give a positive testimony on this point; they do not intimate that there is any disagreement or doubt among the learned in regard to the universal prevalence of immersion, except in the case of the sick, for more than a thousand years. We cite as a specimen the language of the *Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, in the Article on baptism. “In the time of the apostles the form of baptism was very simple. The person to be baptized was dipped in a river or vessel, with the words which Christ had ordered. The immersion of the whole body was omitted only in the case of the sick who could not leave their beds. In this case sprinkling was substituted, which was called clinic baptism. The Greek church, as well as the schismatics in the East, retained the custom of immersing the whole body; but the Western church adopted, in the thirteenth century, the mode of baptism by sprinkling, which has been continued by the Protestants, Baptists only excepted.” To the same purport is the testimony of the other encyclopedias, the *Americana*, *Britannica*, *Metropolitana*, *Ecclesiastica*, and others of less note.

The first departures from the apostolic practice of immersion of which we have any record occurred about the middle of the third century. They were the natural consequences of the belief which had then come to prevail, that baptism was indispensable to salvation. Those who were in immediate danger of death might, it was hoped, be rescued from eternal perdition by a partial washing, an abridged form of the divine

ordinance, as Cyprian called it.¹ The very form of the question which Magnus submitted to the judgment of Cyprian shows plainly that this clinic baptism was regarded as exceptional and imperfect. It was this: "Whether those are to be accounted lawful Christians, who are not washed all over with the water of salvation, but have only some of it poured on them?" About five hundred years later, in 751, Pope Stephen II., on a similar application from the French clergy, decided, as Cyprian had done, that this partial baptism might be accounted valid in cases of necessity; and so gave a higher and wider sanction to the exceptional practice. But it was almost six centuries more before the Council of Ravenna, A.D. 1311, first placed affusion on a full equality with immersion. And it is not much more than three hundred years, since the first known ordinal of baptism, that published by Calvin at Geneva, about the year 1555, prescribed affusion as the regular mode of administering the rite in ordinary cases. And even after this time, immersion continued to be the ordinary mode in England and Germany. So slowly, notwithstanding the argument from convenience, did affusion and aspersion displace the ancient practice of immersion. Every reader of the writings of the Christian Fathers knows how often and how explicitly they testify to the continuance of the primitive practice. Cyril, in his Catechetical Lectures, and Chrysostom, in his Homilies, make very numerous, and very distinct references to immersion. In the Greek church, as is well known, no other baptism but immersion has ever been practised. Nor is any other now reckoned as valid, in any case, in those portions of that church which still retain the Greek language. A partial indulgence has been granted by the Russian division of the Oriental church since the middle of the seventeenth century. Converts from churches holding orthodox views of the Trinity may be received into the Russian church without immersion, merely on submitting

¹ "Necessitate cogente, et Deo indulgentiam suam largiente, totam credentibus conferunt divina compendia," is the expression which Cyprian uses in his letter to Magnus.

to the chrism, which holds in the Greek church the place of confirmation in the Western churches. But this concession was not granted without opposition, and has never obtained the approval of the other portions of the Oriental church.¹

From what has been said above, it is made evident that Baptists hold no peculiar or sectarian opinions in regard to the proper meaning of the original words which define the act of baptism, or the historical facts in regard to the primitive and long-continued practice in the church. On these subjects, we simply take the evidence as we find it furnished to our hand by those who differ from us in practice. We only assume that the best scholars of all times and countries are trustworthy witnesses. Our singularity and our separation consist only in this: that we feel bound to carry out in practice, strictly and literally, the admitted sense of the Lord's commandment, to conform, constantly and scrupulously, to ascertained apostolic usage in the matter of baptism. We think that the thing commanded belongs to the essence of the command. Our opponents themselves being judges, the thing commanded, the only thing commanded in baptism, so far as the form of the act is concerned, is immersion; and it seems to us an unavoidable inference that there can be no Christian baptism without immersion. We do not find in the divine charter, from which the rite derives all its sacredness and obligation, any authority or liberty to alter its form, or to give the name to any other act than that which is acknowledged to be expressed by the name itself. Whatever sacredness, obligation, importance, or benefit belongs to the rite of baptism, belongs, so far as we can

¹ No longer ago than October, 1851, the chief Patriarch of the Greek church declared in answer to the petition of the Rev. William Palmer, a learned and influential deacon of the Church of England, and a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, who wished to be received to the communion of the Greek church without being immersed: "There is only one baptism: if some others allow a different one, we know nothing of it, we do not accept it. Our church knows only one baptism, and this without any subtraction, addition, or alteration whatever." His clergy assembled in synod around him, all signified their assent to his declaration. — *Essays on the Anatolic, or Orthodox Church*. Part ii. p. 55 (Athens. 1854; in Modern Greek).

comprehend, to immersion, and to nothing else. The rite of baptism is an external observance; but it is a *commanded* observance; and a command to perform a certain external rite cannot be fulfilled by performing in its place some other and uncommanded ceremony. We have no liberty to follow the dictates of taste or convenience, to modify the rite to suit the demands of a more refined civilization; for the command of our divine Master is definite and imperative; and its unmodified obligation is expressly extended, in the language of its institution, to all countries and to all times: "Go, disciple all nations, immersing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." This language precludes for us all consideration of times and seasons, climates and customs, taste and convenience. This is our answer to those who blame us for an unnecessary and unreasonable strictness and subserviency to the letter in this matter. God chooses his own symbols, as well as his own words, by which to express his thoughts. To change the symbol, and still hope to retain and express the divine idea is in our view, just as unwarrantable, just as presumptuous, just as perilous, as it would be to change the words which God has chosen, and still hope to retain and express unimpaired the divine idea which they were intended to convey. Baptism is a symbolical embodiment and expression of divine truth, just as really as any text of Scripture is a verbal embodiment and expression of divine truth. One is just as sacred as the other. There is just as great a risk, just as sure a certainty, let us rather say, in the former case as in the latter, that any change in the expression will involve a change in that which is expressed, — the substitution, in fact, of a human idea in place of the divine. We remember the admonition of Agur: "Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar," We remember the still more solemn admonition with which the Lord himself, in closing the volume of his revealed will, warns us against adding anything to his inspired words, or taking anything from them.

And, remembering these impressive warnings, we feel that we must not allow ourselves to be driven by any dread of reproach, or allured by any desire of union, to swerve from the straight, plain path of exact obedience.

II. *The Subjects of Baptism.*

Viewed with reference to practical results, the question of the proper subjects of baptism far transcends in importance that of the proper act. For, this second question is vitally related to the constitution of the church as a spiritual society. The question at issue here is, whether membership in the church of Christ, including participation in its most sacred privileges, is a matter of hereditary right, or of individual, intelligent choice. At the same time, we freely admit that this last inquiry is more difficult than the former. Neither the teachings of scripture, nor the testimonies of history, are so plain as in the other case. To our minds, these teachings and testimonies are sufficient and decisive; but we can discriminate between different degrees of evidence in support of propositions which we regard as alike adequately proved.

A few preliminary words in regard to the burden of proof may not be out of place. The advocates of infant baptism claim that this burden rests on the opposers of the practice. Under the Jewish dispensation, infants were included in the covenant, and partakers of its sign and seal — the rite of circumcision. There is a valid presumption, therefore, that children would not be excluded under the more liberal and comprehensive new covenant. It is obvious, that the view taken of this subject will have a practical bearing upon the argument. Less positive evidence is required on that side which has already a fair presumption in its favor. The mind is predisposed to admit more readily arguments on that side, and to ascribe to them greater weight. But we do not concede this claim of the advocates of pedobaptism. Whatever presumption might be derived from the analogy of circumcision under the former covenant is, in our view, more than counterbalanced by the express testimony of scripture in

regard to the spiritual and personal nature of the new dispensation, in contrast with the old. This radical difference between the Mosaic and the Christian dispensations pervades alike the prophecies of the Old Testament, and the teachings of Christ and his apostles. Take, as an illustration, the following passage from the prophecies of Jeremiah: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: Not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt, which my covenant they brake, although I was a husband unto them, saith the Lord: But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel: After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people: And they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, 'know the Lord'; for all shall know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will rememer their sin no more" (Jer xxxi. 31-34)

This passage is twice quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in a way that enforces our argument (chap. viii. 6-13; 16, 17). It is true that the Christian covenant is expressly contrasted here, not with the covenant with Abraham, to which the rite of circumcision pertained, but with the Mosaic covenant. Nevertheless, our argument holds good; because the features of the new covenant here contrasted with the Mosaic set it also in contrast with the Abrahamic. It is distinctly an individual and personal covenant, founded upon individual character, and securing individual obedience, pardon, and salvation. It is a covenant to which only those are admitted, and in the blessings of which only those have part, who have God's law written in their hearts, who know the Lord, whose sins are forgiven. This description applies even to "the least of them." Those, therefore, who are not yet capable of knowing the Lord, and having his law written

in their hearts, are, by this very fact, incapacitated for membership in this new commonwealth, and unqualified to receive the sign and seal of its blessings. It is a *new* covenant, not only in distinction from the Mosaic, but also in distinction from a mere renewal of the Abrahamic. Such representations of the new covenant as these, — and this passage is but one of the most explicit among many of similar tenor, — seem to us decisively to reverse the presumption founded on the analogy of infant circumcision, and to limit the right of membership in the visible kingdom of heaven to such as give evidence of having been taught to know the Lord, of having received his truth into their hearts, and of having had their sins actually forgiven. These representations are, therefore, opposed to all comprehension or recognition of the nation, the state, or the family, as such. Besides, the argument from John's baptism is much more pertinent than the argument from circumcision. It is generally admitted — universally, indeed, as far as we know — by the defenders of infant baptism, that John's baptism was limited to persons capable of making a personal profession of repentance. If any thought of inferring the propriety of infant baptism from the analogy of circumcision might otherwise have entered the minds of the apostles, it would be effectually precluded by John's baptism. This had made them familiar with the initiatory rite of the Christian dispensation as applicable only to adults, or rather only to those professing penitence, whatever their age might be. These considerations seem to us decisive against the claim of infant baptism to have the advantage of *a priori* probability in its favor. But we proceed to arguments of a more direct nature.

It is not claimed by the advocates of infant baptism that there is any express precept enjoining it, or any plain example of its practice in the New Testament. But they deduce an argument in favor of the practice from the baptism of whole households. It is more probable, they allege, that there were infant children in some of these households at least, than that there were no infant children in any of them. What are

the facts? There are but three cases of the baptism of households recorded in the New Testament—those of Lydia, the Philippian jailer, and Stephanas (Acts xvi. 15–33; 1 Cor. i. 16). It would not be very surprising if in three families, taken at random from any community, there should be no infant children. The writer's family is one of five, occupying contiguous houses in the same village street, in no one of which is there a child under ten years of age; and probably no one ever thought of this as anything remarkable. But granting that the balance of probability would lie on the other side prior to any examination of the particular cases referred to, we maintain that such an examination considerably reduces, if it does not altogether neutralize, or even reverse, that slight balance of anterior probability. In the case of Lydia, a merchant-woman, several hundred miles from her home in Thyatira, the supposition that she was the mother of young children is certainly improbable. There is no evidence, in the narrative, that she was a mother, or even a wife. No reference is made to her husband; no intimation is given that she had one. It seems most likely that she was a widow of at least middle age; since neither an unmarried nor a young woman would be likely to be travelling far from her home in such an occupation. Her household probably consisted of her associates or assistants in the business in which she was engaged. These were the "brethren" whom Paul and Silas met in her house, and "comforted," after they were released from the prison (v. 40). At least, we have no knowledge of any other brethren in Philippi at that time, excepting the jailer's household, from whom they had just come. In this second case, the baptism of all is more expressly affirmed than in the case of Lydia's household: "he and *all* his" (v. 33). But this includes no more, certainly, than "all that were in his house," of v. 32, to whom Paul and Silas "spoke the word of the Lord," or, "all his house," of v. 34, who "rejoiced, believing in God," with the master of the family. No more are said to have been baptized, than are said to have heard the preaching of the

gospel, and believed and rejoiced in God. If there were infant children, incapable of these last acts, they are left out of view in v. 33, as in vs. 32 and 34. The sacred historian did not think it necessary to exclude them in express terms when he spoke of all as being baptized, any more than when he spoke of all as being addressed in preaching, as believing and rejoicing in God. But if, on the other hand, absolutely every member of his family was included in what is said in v. 33, then every member of his family was equally included in the equivalent expressions in vs. 32 and 34. Of the household of Stephanas we know nothing more than what is said in 1 Cor. xvi. 15. There we learn that "they addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints." It is certain, then, that there were adult persons in his household. It is not expressly affirmed that all his household were baptized, nor that all addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints; but whatever comprehension we give to the expression in the former case, we are bound to give the same comprehension to the same expression in the latter. It matters not, therefore, so far as the present argument is concerned, whether we suppose there were infant children in his family, or the contrary. These are the only cases of household baptism mentioned in the New Testament. In only one of these is it expressly said that *all* the family were baptized; and in that one it is said just as expressly that all the family believed and rejoiced in God. It is often falsely assumed in this argument that the New Testament speaks of *household baptism*, as such. The mention of three several cases in which it is said that a single household was baptized is far from justifying such an assumption. There are two other cases in which it is said that a whole household believed (John iv. 53; Acts xviii. 8), and a third, in which it is said that a whole household feared God (Acts x. 2); we might, therefore, as properly speak of household faith as of household baptism. The latter is no more recognized in the New Testament as a definite institution than the former. When

the baptism of large numbers is recorded, as on the day of Pentecost, nothing is said about their households.

The presumption against infant baptism from the character of the gospel dispensation has already been alluded to. The religion of the gospel addresses itself to individuals, intelligent and responsible. It requires intelligent assent. It demands personal submission. All must be voluntary. It rebukes all dependence upon a pious ancestry (Matt. iii. 9). It insists on an individual experience of the new birth (John iii. 3-5). It recognizes as subjects of the King of Zion, and citizens of the kingdom of heaven, only those who know, love, and obey the truth (John xviii. 36, 37). All the passages here referred to seem to us so many arguments against infant baptism, because they all seem to exclude from the earthly organization of the disciples of Christ those whom infant baptism includes in that organization. We know that the primitive Christian societies were not absolutely free from unworthy, and even hypocritical members; but all such are spoken of as "false brethren, unawares brought in" (Gal. ii. 4); which implies that the theory and rule of the Christian society was, to admit only those who were believed to be true brethren, heirs of salvation. This is implied, too, in the introductory addresses of the apostolical epistles. They are directed to saints, chosen and beloved of God. But infant baptism is incompatible with such a theory and rule; it introduces into the church, not unawares, but knowingly, purposely, systematically, and by wholesale, those who give no indication of possessing any of the qualifications everywhere required as essential to discipleship.

Besides this presumption against infant baptism from the very constitution of the Christian church, as represented in the scriptures, the nature of the initiatory rite itself seems to us to forbid its application to those who are incapable of giving evidence of repentance for sin and faith in Christ. Baptism is, in its nature, an explicit and solemn profession of Christian discipleship: "Go, disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and

of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. xxviii. 19). Baptizing whom? The pronoun "them" cannot refer to nations. Common sense forbids it; for baptism is not administered to nations, but to individuals. Grammar forbids it; for the two words do not agree in gender. The pronoun obviously refers to the antecedent "disciples," implied in the preceding verb, "make disciples of all nations, baptizing them." But a disciple is a learner. To make disciples implies the imparting of instruction. Both the verb and the noun always include the ideas of teaching and learning. The same is equally manifest in the parallel passage of Mark's Gospel: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved" (chap. xvi. 15, 16). Indeed, this passage is a plain and emphatic commentary upon the one in Matthew. It tells us how disciples are made, and who are to be baptized. It shows that baptism is for believing disciples only, and that it is a declaration of their faith and discipleship. Equally explicit is the language of Paul, in his Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians: "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore, we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For, if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection" (Rom. vi. 3-5). Baptism is here represented as setting forth, in symbol, the termination of the old life and the beginning of the new. And this is represented, not as its *exceptional* significance, but as its common and invariable import: "so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ," that is, "all we who were baptized into Jesus Christ." Wherever infant baptism is practised, this declaration of the Apostle soon ceases to be true, except in the case of the small minority who are baptized in adult years, on profession of their faith. Again, he says to the Galatians, "ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of

you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ" (chap. iii. 26, 27). Plainly, he here means to say that baptism is in its very nature a profession of faith, of vital and saving union with Christ; that all the baptized had professed to be Christians, in the full sense of the word. Could there be a stronger expression for professing the Christian religion than this of "putting on Christ"? Yet this is what was done in baptism by as many as were baptized. Certainly, in the view of Paul, and of the churches at Rome and in Galatia, all the baptized had distinctly and solemnly professed themselves to be believing disciples, new creatures in Christ Jesus.

There is an important class of passages, two of which have already been referred to, which connect baptism very intimately with regeneration, forgiveness, sanctification, and salvation: "He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved" (Mark xvi. 16). "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (John iii. 5). "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling upon the name of the Lord" (Acts xxii. 16). "Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water, by the word" (Eph. v. 25, 26). "According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost" (Tit. iii. 5). "Baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God), by the resurrection of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. iii. 21). These passages seem to us to constitute a class, and to require to be explained by some common principle. There are two ways of explaining them. One is that churchly, sacramentarian way, which attributes to baptism, as an *opus operatum*, a regenerating efficacy. The other is, to regard baptism as the sign and symbol of an accomplished regeneration, following closely, according to primitive usage, upon the reality which it signifies and symbolizes. The former explanation, in common with all evangelical Christians, we utterly reject. The latter, we accept. And there seems to us to be no room for any third

interpretation. The connection between baptism and the things that accompany salvation is expressed so positively and emphatically, that we must either regard the rite as the appointed and immediate antecedent, or as the appointed and immediate consequent, of the inward spiritual change on which the salvation of the soul depends.

There are other passages of scripture which seem to us to be incompatible with the supposition that infant baptism was a feature of primitive Christianity. In 1 Cor. iii. 10-17, the Apostle Paul admonishes his fellow laborers in the ministry to beware with what materials they build up the churches of Christ. As a building, in order to be fire-proof, must be constructed, not of such combustible materials as wood, hay, and stubble, but of metal or of stone, so the materials incorporated into the church must be such as will abide the fire of God's judgment. This passage is often applied to the minister's doctrine, as if the wood, hay, and stubble referred to errors and heresies, and the gold, silver, and precious stones to the cardinal truths of religion. But such an interpretation is opposed to the constant usage of scripture. The common expressions, "building of God," "house of God," "habitation of God," "temple of God," are never used to represent an abstract system of doctrine, but always to represent persons, either the individual believer, or the church as the collection and community of believers. In vindication of this interpretation, in opposition to the more common one, we need only ask that scripture be compared with scripture, and allowed to explain itself. In this particular case, however, our interpretation is confirmed by the emphatic and reiterated testimony of the immediate context: "*Ye are God's building: ye are the temple of God*" (vs. 9, 16, 17). The plain inference is, that ministers ought to be careful not to baptize any but those who give evidence of being such as will abide the fiery ordeal of the last day. For it is by administering the rite of baptism that they do their part in incorporating materials into the building of God. The admonition is a solemn one; it will, ere long, be more generally understood and obeyed.

The affecting episode in our Lord's history, recorded in Matt. xix. 13-15 ; Mark x. 13-16 ; Luke xviii. 15-17, contains, in our view, decisive proof that infant baptism was at that time not thought of. It is evident, from the mistake which the disciples made in rebuking those who brought the little children to Christ, that the case was a new one in their experience. Had it been common to bring little children to Christ, they certainly could not have thought that the act of these parents would be an annoyance to their Lord. The whole narrative can be reasonably explained only on the admission that such an incident had not occurred before. But this occurred just before the close of our Lord's ministry and life, when he was on his last journey to Jerusalem. Plainly, then, the apostles, who had been accustomed to administer baptism several years before this occurrence, knew nothing of administering it to little children. They were familiar with a baptism which was confined to adults ; and, of course, they would, when acting under the commission which they received soon after from their risen Lord, continue to administer the rite to adults only, unless they received specific instruction to the contrary. No trace of such instruction is anywhere found. Had our Lord wished to sanction the baptism of infant children, he could not have desired a more inviting occasion to do so than this incident afforded. But, instead of making any such use of the opportunity, he dismissed these children unbaptized, but not unblessed. As to the words which he uttered on this occasion, "of such is the kingdom of heaven," if these words contained no warrant for baptizing these children then, they certainly contained none for baptizing other children afterwards. The true meaning of them is explained by our Lord himself, in immediate connection with their utterance : " Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein " (Mark x. 15 ; Luke xviii. 17. Compare also Matt. xviii. 3). The kingdom of God belongs to those who have a childlike guilelessness, docility, and trustfulness.

The position in which the Apostle Paul places children in 1 Cor. vii. 14 is also incompatible with their admission to baptism. Speaking of families in which one of the parents is a Christian and the other is not, he distinctly classes the children with the unbelieving parent. The purport of his argument against the separation of husband and wife in such a case is this: "if the Christian cannot, as some of you argue, live with the unbelieving partner without contracting defilement from the association, then it would be necessary to separate from your own children." The same rule that declares the unbelieving parent unclean applies equally to the children. In opposition to this false sentiment, he teaches that the unbelieving husband has been sanctified in the wife, and the unbelieving wife has been sanctified in the husband. If it were not so, the children would be unclean; but now they are holy. They are holy, because the unbelieving parent has been sanctified, or made holy. They belong to the same category with the unbelieving parent; they are holy in the same sense in which the unbelieving parent is made holy, and in no other. The argument is partly obscured in our version by the change of terms; but to be sanctified, is to be made holy; and in the same limited and relative sense in which holiness is predicated of the unbelieving parent it is predicated of the children. If it were legitimate to argue from this passage, that the children of such parents ought to be baptized, it would be a necessary result of the same argument, that every man or woman who has a believing wife or husband ought also to be baptized.

Had infant baptism been introduced by the apostles, the baptism of adults would early have become only exceptional, and "visible saints," to use the expression of President Edwards, would very soon have constituted no more than a minority of the baptized. The statistics of modern Pedobaptist missions show how rapidly this change would take place. In the Ahmednuggur Mission of the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions, twenty-three years after its establishment, there were one hundred and ninety-eight

communicants, of which number eighteen were baptized in infancy, while during the same period two hundred and forty-eight children had been baptized. The number of infants baptized was to the number of adults, therefore, as two hundred and forty-eight to one hundred and eighty, or more than four to three. The South African Mission of the Rhenish Missionary Society, about twenty years after its establishment, reported at one station seven hundred communicants to two thousand three hundred and forty baptisms; at another station, five hundred communicants to one thousand baptisms; at a third, one hundred communicants to four hundred baptisms. The Tinnevely Mission of the Church Missionary Society, thirty-two years after its establishment, reported two thousand nine hundred and ninety communicants to fourteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-two "baptismal converts." In the New Zealand Mission of the same Society, after about forty years of its history, the statistics stood, "forty-five thousand native converts, of whom between five thousand and six thousand are communicants." So rapidly does infant baptism, where it is generally practised, displace the baptism of adults. So soon do the unconverted baptized far out-number the "visible saints." Now, if we suppose that infant baptism was practised in the apostolic churches, we must believe that all the teachings of scripture in regard to the nature and import of baptism are applicable only to an exceptional use of the rite, which was rapidly growing more and more rare, and which, in the course of half-a-century after Christianity was planted in any community, would almost entirely disappear. We are fairly bound, moreover, on this supposition, to account for the silence of the New Testament in regard to a class of persons who must have constituted the majority in some Christian communities before the canon of scripture was closed,—persons who, having been baptized in infancy, had grown up without giving any evidence of saving faith. For we have no warrant for supposing that the proportion of such persons would be materially different from what it is at the

present day in missions founded and conducted by the most evangelical Pedobaptist denominations.

We have thus far briefly exhibited the principal scriptural grounds for our rejection of infant baptism. Although Baptists stand alone in their *practical* rejection of it, they are sustained by the judgment of the ablest biblical scholars as to the lack of scriptural evidence for the practice. Dr. Hackett has said: "The opinion that infant baptism has any legitimate sanction from any passage in the New Testament is no longer tenable at the bar of biblical criticism."¹ In his Commentary on Acts xvi. 15, he cites the testimony of DeWette, Meyer, Olshausen, and Neander, who all agree in abandoning the attempt to establish the practice on scriptural proofs. Dr. Sears, in his review of "Burgess on Baptism," in the Christian Review for June 1838, cites similar testimonies from more than a score of the leading biblical scholars of Germany. We extract only a few. Olshausen says of the practice, that "it certainly was not apostolical." Starck says: "the New Testament presents just as good grounds for infant communion as for infant baptism." Hahn says: "we must concede that the opposers of it cannot be contradicted on gospel ground." Winer says: "originally only adults were baptized." Lange says: "all attempts to make out infant baptism from the New Testament fail. It is utterly opposed to the spirit of the apostolic age and to the fundamental principles of the New Testament." Schliermacher says: "all traces of infant baptism which are found in the New Testament must first be put into it." These declarations of the most eminent Pedobaptist scholars are sufficient to show that we have not put any forced, sectarian construction upon the scriptures bearing on this subject.

As genuine Protestants, we hold that it is not necessary to go beyond the New Testament in this investigation. If infant baptism cannot be proved from scripture, it cannot be binding on the Christian conscience. If it can be proved to be

¹ Quoted by Rev. H. E. Robins, in his Discourse on Qualifications for Baptism, in "Madison Avenue Lectures," p. 153.

contrary to scripture, it ought to be laid aside. No testimony of uninspired writers, no tradition or practice of the church, however early or however general, can have any authority. Nevertheless, we are perfectly willing, under this distinct protest, to hear the testimony of the Christian Fathers, and to examine the question in the light of church history. The more thoroughly the early Christian writings are studied the clearer will be the proof, we are persuaded, that the practice of baptizing infants grew up gradually, as a consequence of the corruption of apostolic doctrine.

The collection of writings attributed to the apostolical Fathers contains, without doubt, some of the earliest uninspired Christian literature. We have no need, in this connection, to raise any question as to their genuineness, or the precise date of their composition; for in none of them do we find any mention of the baptism of infant children, or any reference to such a practice. Some have, indeed, attempted to prove the existence of the practice from certain expressions of Clement of Rome and Hermas, showing that they regarded baptism as essential to salvation. They infer that, where that belief was held infants would of course be baptized. But with thorough-going Protestants such an inferential argument injures, rather than helps, the cause of infant baptism; for it admits, what, indeed, is susceptible of clear proof, that the dogma of baptismal regeneration can bring plainer and earlier evidence of its existence than the practice of baptizing infants can. So this unlucky argument helps us to account for the subsequent introduction and growth of the practice. The argument is of no value to prove that the practice already existed; but the truth which it contains is of much value in explaining how the practice soon came into existence.¹

Justin Martyr comes next in order of time. He wrote about the middle of the second century. When the extent

¹ See this connection between the dogma in the question and the rise and growth of infant baptism more fully developed in "The Christian Review" for January, 1861.

of his works is considered, and especially the particularity with which he describes, in his two Apologies, the rites of baptism and the Lord's supper, the fact that he never makes any mention of the baptism of infants is very strong evidence against its existence in his day. But his testimony against it is not merely the negative testimony of silence. In the sixty-first chapter of his First Apology he characterizes baptism as the voluntary act of those who have been previously instructed, who have become persuaded, repentant, and converted. He does not leave us at liberty to suppose that he uses this language, applicable only to the baptism of believers, merely because he had no occasion to speak of the baptism of infants, though it was common in his time; for he professes to give an exact account, and to suppress nothing; he professes to describe *Christian baptism*, and not *one class* of baptisms merely, and that the *least numerous* class, as it must have been in his day if infant baptism had been practised from the time of the apostles; he makes a distinct allusion to infancy, and contrasts the ignorance and necessity which characterizes our natural generation with the knowledge and choice which accompany our spiritual regeneration — a contrast which he could hardly make without thinking of infant baptism, if it existed; and which, he would hardly venture to make, if he did think of it as existing; and, finally, he says expressly, that those regenerated in the manner above described, i.e. after instruction, repentance, faith, and expressed desire for baptism, are regenerated in the *same manner* as the rest of the Christian community, thus excluding the supposition that a large part, if not the largest part, of the Christians of his day had been baptized under circumstances entirely different, without instruction, repentance, faith, choice, or knowledge.¹ Christian baptism, according to Justin, is the

¹ Justin gives to baptism the name *regeneration*; but it is the regeneration of those already instructed, convinced, and penitent, renewed in heart and reformed in life. In one place, in his Dialogue with Trypho, he speaks of baptism as "able to cleanse those who have repented," — τὸ βάπτισμα, τὸ μόνον καθαρῖσαι τοὺς μετανοήσαντας δυνάμενον.

dedication of *ourselves* to God, not the being dedicated by our parents or sponsors. One single passage, in the fifteenth chapter of his First Apology, has been used by some as an argument in favor of the existence of infant baptism in his day: "There are," he says, "many men and women among us now sixty or seventy years of age, who were *discipled to Christ* when they were *children*." But the expression "discipled to Christ," implies, by the intrinsic force of the word, and by New Testament usage (Matt. xiii. 52; xxvii. 57; xxviii. 19; Acts xiv. 21) previous instruction; and the word translated children, *παῖδων*, is not commonly applied to infants. It is the word applied, in Matt. xxi. 15, to the children who greeted Christ in the temple with shouts of Hosanna; in Luke ii. 43, to our Lord himself, when he was twelve years old; in Luke viii. 51-54, to the daughter of Jairus, who was of just the same age; and, in Acts xx. 12, to Eutychus, the young man (called *νεανίας* in v. 9), who fell from the upper window while Paul was preaching at Troas. In only one instance in the New Testament is this word used of those who were strictly infants, namely, in the account of the slaughter of the children at Bethlehem by Herod (Matt. ii. 16); and in this case the reason for using it probably was, to show that the cruel decree included the male children only, which would not have been shown if the evangelist had used the neuter diminutive, *παιδιά*, which might, in other respects, have seemed the more proper word.

Irenaeus wrote at the close of the second century. A single passage in the second book of his work on the Heresies is claimed by some defenders of infant baptism as a testimony to the existence of that practice. He there says: "Christ came to save all by himself, — all who by him are regenerated unto God, — infants, and little ones, and children," etc. The sense of this disputed passage, so far as our present subject is concerned, turns upon the meaning of the expression, "regenerated unto God." It is admitted that Irenaeus sometimes uses the word "regeneration" as synonymous with baptism; but, in these cases, he is accus-

tomed to make the reference plain by some such definite addition as, "the bath of regeneration." No instance has been produced in which he uses the undefined expression, "regenerated unto God," as plainly equivalent to, or implying baptism. It is quite in accordance with his known views to understand him in this passage as affirming that Christ, by the very act of taking upon himself our nature, summed up in himself our entire humanity, and regenerated it in the mass, placing all mankind in a new relation to God.¹ This is the view of his meaning to which modern critical scholarship decidedly leans. Winer, Hagenbach, Starck, Bunsen, and many other eminent German scholars, deny that there is any reference at all in this passage to infant baptism.

Tertullian, who wrote about the same time with Irenaeus, was for a long time regarded as the first Christian writer who makes explicit mention of the baptism of infant children. In the eighteenth chapter of his work on Baptism, he argues against the too hasty administration of the rite, "especially in the case of little ones." Neander regards this chapter of Tertullian's work as proving that infant baptism "had not yet come to be regarded as an apostolic institution."² It is certain that if Tertullian speaks of infant baptism, he speaks of it with disapprobation. But a more accurate knowledge of the usages of the ancient church, derived from documents discovered in our own day, makes it appear more probable that the practice which Tertullian censured was not the baptism of infants incapable of making any profession of Christianity, but of boys and girls from six to ten years of age. This is the view of his meaning which Bunsen regarded as established by the testimony of the Alexandrian Church-Book. The expressions and arguments which Tertullian uses certainly agree better with this hypothesis than with the view that he had reference to those properly denominated infants. He uses the term "parvuli," and says that we show more

¹ See the proof of this interpretation fully presented in an Article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for November, 1849.

² Church History (Torrey's translation), Vol. i. p. 312.

wisdom in worldly matters, than to entrust precious treasures to minors.

Clement of Alexandria was contemporary with Tertullian. He speaks repeatedly, both in his "Pedagogue" and in his "Stromata," of the necessity and efficacy of baptism; but he has not a word to say of the baptism of infants.¹

Origen wrote most of his works during the second quarter of the third century. There are three passages in his Commentaries (on Lev. xii. 1-8; 14th Homily on Luke, ii. 21-24; on Rom. v. 9) in which he speaks of infant baptism as a subject about which there was much inquiry among the brethren, as an apostolical tradition, and as necessary to remove the pollution of original sin. In all these three passages the original text is lost, and we have only the Latin translation. That neither Jerome nor Ruffinus, his Latin translators, were scrupulously faithful we know, from their avowed principles, from their mutual recriminations, from their express confessions, and from the comparison of their versions with the original where it is still extant. Not a single passage favoring infant baptism has been found in the Greek text of his writings. On the contrary, there are two passages, at least, which are adverse to the supposition that it then existed. In his third Book against Celsus, chap. 59. he speaks of exhorting sinners to come to the true instruction, and little children to rise in elevation of thought to manhood; and then adds, "when those thus exhorted show that they have been cleansed by the word, then we invite them to be initiated among us." In the twelfth Homily on Numbers (§ 4) he represents each one of the believers as remembering the solemn scene of his baptism. In fine, a double doubt rests upon the alleged testimony of Origen in favor of infant baptism. There is much reason to suspect

¹ The expression, "children who were extracted from the water," — *τῶν ἐξ ὕδατος ἀνασπασμένων παιδίων*, — was formerly claimed by some as referring to infants; but the best recent scholars recognize no such reference. It occurs in the "Pedagogue," 3, 11, a work in which Christians are spoken of throughout as *children*.

interpolation on the part of the translators, in the only passages which seem plainly favorable to the practice; and, if these passages are genuine, they may well be understood, like that in Tertullian, of children from six or eight to ten or twelve years of age. The former hypothesis is maintained by Dr. Chase (see *Christian Review* for April, 1854); the latter by Bunsen.

We come next to Cyprian, in the middle of the third century. And here all doubt ceases as to the actual existence of infant baptism in the African church in his time. In the year 252, Fidus, an African bishop, having doubts about the lawfulness of baptizing infants before they were eight days old, wrote to ask Cyprian's opinion. Cyprian called a synod of sixty-six bishops; and their decision was, that such early baptism was lawful. It is somewhat remarkable that this first clear proof of infant baptism should be found in the same district, and at the same time, with the first decision in favor of a more convenient substitute for immersion.¹ It is important to notice the limitations of this first clear evidence of the existence of infant baptism. There is no proof, as yet, of its existence in any other part of the world than in North Africa, a region notorious for early and manifold departures from primitive doctrine and practice; and there is no proof that it was practised there, except in the case of children who were in imminent danger of dying without baptism. If infant baptism had been a general practice such a question as that of Fidus would be very unlikely to have arisen.

The period of church history which we have now been reviewing was subjected to a searching investigation by Bunsen, not many years ago, with the advantage of important ancient documents then just brought to the knowledge of European scholars. He sums up the result of his investigations in the following sentences: "I think we are at this moment better able than either the defenders or the opponents

¹ Cyprian's letter to Magnus, referred to at p. 17, was written in 256, only four years after the above-mentioned letter to Fidus.

of infant baptism have hitherto been to explain how it originated. A passage in our Alexandrian Church-Book gives the true explanation of the assertion of Origen, himself an Alexandrian, that the baptism of children was an apostolical tradition; and it removes the origin of infant baptism from Tertullian and Hippolytus to the end of our present period, Cyprian being the first Father who, impelled by a fanatical enthusiasm, and assisted by a bad interpretation of the Old Testament, established it as a principle. Pedobaptism, in the more modern sense, meaning thereby baptism of newborn infants, with the vicarious promises of parents or other sponsors, was utterly unknown to the early church, not only down to the end of the second, but, indeed, to the middle of the third, century.”¹ This judgment of a distinguished Pedobaptist scholar is quoted, not as authoritative, but as showing that we do not read the Fathers through sectarian spectacles.

From this time, for three centuries and more, the frequent notices of infant baptism prove plainly that it was a growing usage not yet universally received. Chrysostom complains of the neglect of it by many parents (see his *Life* by Neander, page 81). Jerome (*ad Lactam*) speaks of parents who refused to give it to their children. A Council at Carthage, in the time of Augustine, anathematized those who disputed its necessity. Julian, one of the followers of Pelagius, answers the arguments of those who opposed it. The first six Books of the Apostolical Constitutions, which are assigned by Dr. Krabbe, the author of a prize essay on these ancient documents, to the end of the third century, only mention infant baptism once, and that in the briefest manner (vi. 15). The eighth and last Book, which he assigns to the end of the fourth century, mentions it four times (chaps. 10, 12, 13, 15). Dr. Krabbe himself remarks: “it is ascertained that pedobaptism does not belong to the apostolic age.”² The existence of the class called catechumens is a proof that infant baptism was not general. For these persons, who were under instruct-

¹ Hippolytus and his Age, Vol. iii. pp. 192, 180, 181.

² Prize Essay, Chase's Apostolical Constitutions, p. 410.

ion preparatory to joining the church, are addressed by the preachers of these times as having been taught the Christian religion from their childhood, and are rebuked for delaying their baptism so long. Of course these must have been children of Christian parents. The class of Homilies addressed "to those delaying baptism" is well known to the readers of patristic literature. Let Basil's Eighth Sermon on Penitence (§ 3) furnish an example of the manner in which preachers were wont to address these delaying catechumens: "Why do you loiter and deliberate and delay? Taught the word from a child, have you not yet become acquainted with the truth? Always learning, have you not yet come to knowledge? An examiner for life, a looker-on till old age, when will you become a Christian? When shall we know you as one of us?" And these very Fathers who so earnestly recommend infant baptism, though most of them were the children of Christian parents, were not one of them baptized themselves in their infancy. We have accounts of the baptism of Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Nectarius, Ephraem of Edessa, and of the Emperors Constantius, Theodosius, and Valentinian; and all these were baptized after they had come to years of manhood. Yet most of these were born of Christian parents, and several of them (Augustine, Basil, Gregory, Ephraem) are expressly said to have been consecrated to God from their infancy. In those days, when pious parents wished to make a formal dedication of their children to God, they brought them to the altar for prayer, and not to the font for baptism. How can the defenders of infant baptism as an apostolic institution account for the fact, that among all the Christian Fathers of the first five hundred years, not one is said to have been baptized in infancy, and most are expressly said to have been baptized after they came to years of manhood. The inscriptions in the Roman catacombs have been claimed as witnesses for infant baptism; but there are only three inscriptions, earlier than the year 400, which speak of the baptism of children; these are dated severally 348, 371, and 374; and

the youngest of the three children was more than six and a half years old.¹

A passage in the fortieth Homily of Gregory Nazianzen on Baptism, preached about the year 356, furnishes us with a very satisfactory key to this transition period in the history of infant baptism: "But what would you say," he supposes an inquirer to ask, "concerning those who are yet infants, and insensible alike of the privation and of the grace? Shall we baptize these also?" "Yes, by all means; at least, if any danger is impending; for it is better that they should be sanctified without being sensible of it, than that they should depart out of the world unsealed and uninitiated. And the eighth day circumcision is an argument for this, since it was a kind of typical seal, and was applied to those who were yet without understanding. And so is also the anointing of the door-posts, which preserved the first born by means of things insensible. But as for the others [i.e. those who are not exposed to any impending danger], my judgment is, to wait till they are three years old, or a little less or more, when they will be able to hear some secret instruction, and to respond." From this passage we learn that infant baptism was not at that time a universal practice, but one in regard to which there were different opinions among Christians; that its advocates rested it on the ground of the necessity of baptism as a means of sanctification and salvation; that it was insisted on only in cases of danger; that in all other cases it was thought better to wait until the child became old enough to be examined, and to be baptized upon its own profession of faith. In a word, we have here all the marks of a transition period, in which infant baptism had begun to take the place of the baptism of professing believers. Gregory advises a different course from that pursued by his parents when he was a child. And still, he so qualifies his advice as to indicate that the Christian mind was not yet prepared to repudiate the idea that baptism was in its nature a personal

¹ See a full account of these inscriptions in *Christian Review* for October, 1863, pp. 550-560.

and intelligent profession of faith in Christ. It was but a pitiful mockery of such a profession, indeed, when a child three years old was trained to repeat a few sacred words, — to recite the creed, perhaps, or to renounce the devil and all his works, with the pomps and vanities of the world; but it was enough to show that there was still a lingering respect for the original law of baptism. This passage thus confirms Bunsen's view of the early baptisms of the preceding century; and, at the same time, it marks the progress which had been made in a hundred and fifty years in the departure from primitive Christianity: then it was boys and girls from six to ten years of age, who professed their faith in baptism; now it is little children only about three years old.

We feel no difficulty, therefore, when we are called upon to explain the rise, growth, and prevalence of infant baptism. Christian antiquity furnishes us with all the required data for answering this challenge. It is well known that the besetting tendency of human nature to cling to the material and sensuous was illustrated, even in the life-time of the apostles, in the exaggerated importance attributed to outward rites; and that this tendency developed itself still more rapidly after these inspired teachers and guides were taken away from the church. This made it easy to put such an interpretation upon John iii. 5, as to establish the dogma of the necessity of baptism in order to salvation. And this dogma once accepted, no Christian parent would willingly allow his child to die unbaptized. Still, the scripture requisition of an intelligent profession of faith in Christ as a prerequisite to baptism was so plain that it would not be forgotten or ignored all at once; the attempt would be made to reconcile the two kinds of baptism as far as possible, by retaining the form of a personal profession, but hastening it more and more, till at last it came to be but the mere articulation, by rote, of words which conveyed no understood sense to the mind of the child three years old; and then it would matter little how soon this delusive form of a profession was dropped altogether, or transferred to the lips of a sponsor.

Now the notices of the baptism of young children, scattered through three or four centuries, from the close of the second to the beginning of the sixth, exactly conform to this supposition, and so decisively confirm its truth. The fact of the gradual growth of infant baptism is accounted for by the known tendencies and beliefs of the times, and the particular passages in which the baptism of children is referred to by the Christian Fathers are all satisfactorily explained and harmonized.

On the other hand, if we suppose that infant baptism was a part of primitive Christianity, we are met by formidable and, as it seems to us, insuperable difficulties. How shall we explain the wide-spread neglect, nay, so far as the evidence goes, the utter abandonment, of the practice for at least two hundred years? How shall we account for this unscriptural (on this supposition) anti-ritualism during a period confessedly characterized by the prevalence of an excessive and unscriptural ritualism? How shall we explain the fact, that when the long neglected practice came to be revived its advocates never appealed to primitive usage in support of it, — never represented it as a return to the original custom?

The Baptist theory has to account for the rise of infant baptism; and it does so in a way which accords with the known tendencies and principles of the times, and explains the discordant utterances and usages of the early centuries. The Pedobaptist theory has a double work to do: to explain, first, the strange neglect of infant baptism for two centuries, in opposition to the known tendencies of the period; and then the subsequent revival of it under circumstances which bear every mark of being the gradual introduction of a new custom, rather than the restoration of a neglected one.

We should not fully justify the earnestness of our protest against infant baptism if we did not subject it to one more test. We have judged it by scripture and church history; we judge it, once more, by its fruits. And it seems to us to bring forth evil fruit, in the corruption of the church and

the ruin of souls. We must not let our Pedobaptist brethren misunderstand us on this point. If we judged the practice only by what we see of it in certain evangelical sects in Protestant countries, especially if we judged it only by what we see of it in the denomination most intimately related to this theological journal, we might well hesitate to hold it responsible for the corruption of the church and the perdition of souls. Here we see it practised by a body of Christians who are strict in requiring evidence of regeneration as a condition of full church membership, who maintain a scriptural discipline in their churches, and who have not been surpassed, probably, by any body of Christians in ancient or modern times, in pure morality, intelligent piety, home religion, evangelical faith, Christian activity, and missionary zeal. It is not among such a people that we expect to find the legitimate fruits of infant baptism. It exists still among them; but it exists under peculiar, exceptional, and counteracting conditions and influences. It exists in connection with an evangelical theology not congenial with it, but antagonistic. Had the Christians of the first five centuries steadfastly held the scriptural doctrines which these our brethren hold, infant baptism could never have grown up among them. Whether it can maintain a permanent existence in connection with this evangelical theology may well admit of doubt. We see, in fact, that while it is losing ground every year among evangelical Protestants, this change is going on most rapidly among those sects that are most thoroughly Protestant and evangelical. We see, also, that attempts to revive and reinvigorate the declining custom are commonly connected with a manifest tendency to adopt less evangelical views, — to magnify the efficacy of rites, and depreciate the importance of spiritual regeneration, to exalt ecclesiasticism at the expense of individualism, tradition at the expense of scripture, and to pronounce more positively in favor of the church membership of baptized children.

We look away from such exceptional, abnormal manifestations of infant baptism, and judge it, rather, by the fruits

which it brings forth where it has long existed without counteraction or modification. We judge it by its effects upon Christendom for centuries, and by its effects still where it stands upon its original foundation, and exists in connection with its original concomitants. That foundation is, the necessity of baptism to salvation, and its efficacy as an *opus operatum*; those concomitants are, the church membership of all the baptized, and their amenableness to church discipline, resulting in the invasion of the rights of conscience, and the enforcement of uniformity by persecution, the alliance of the church with the state, the transformation of the church into a worldly organization, composed of worldly elements, vitalized by a worldly spirit, and used for worldly ends. There never was any question in ancient times in regard to the status of baptized children. When infant baptism introduced the world into the church, and so made the two identical, it accepted the consequences of its act. All the baptized were regarded as within the pale of the church, subject, on the one hand, to its discipline, entitled, on the other, to its privileges. Infant communion, as is well known, always accompanied infant baptism, was advocated by the same Fathers on the same ground of necessity to salvation, was retained in the Western church until about the twelfth century, not condemned, but only declared unnecessary, by the Council of Trent in the sixteenth, and is still retained in the Eastern church. We hold that there is no warrant in scripture, any more than in Christian antiquity, for making any condition prerequisite to communion which is not equally prerequisite to baptism, excepting baptism itself. And hence we charge infant baptism with corrupting the church and deluding souls to their ruin, by making the church identical with the world, and, at the same time, encouraging the ungodly in the fatal belief that their baptism has done something to make their standing with God more hopeful; that the church, which has undertaken to be responsible for them, will not suffer them to be finally lost. It is no extravagant fancy, but a sober and melancholy certainty, that myriads of

the impenitent and ungodly are to-day cherishing just this false and fatal hope.

Such are the views which we hold in regard to the act and the subjects of Christian baptism. These views separate us from many with whom we happily agree in other respects. We are heartily sorry for this result. But with the light which we have, the argument seems so plain, and these differences so important, that we are constrained to abide by all the unpleasant consequences of our position, and to be Baptists.

ARTICLE III.

REVELATION AND INSPIRATION.

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IN ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

NO. III.

GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPEL NARRATIVES.

IN the two preceding numbers we examined some false assumptions against the supernatural in the sphere of nature, and revelation in the sphere of mind. The survey was of necessity very cursory. We could only indicate certain lines of argument, the exhaustive development of which would expand itself into volumes. It is not on the side of hyper-orthodoxy alone that a "pestilent metaphysics" has been employed. There is current at the present day a *destructive* metaphysics, whose grand aim is to throw doubt and suspicion on all our primitive intuitions, and thus to unsettle all truth — especially all moral and religious truth — at its very foundations, and which is abundantly employed in the service of a false cosmology, a false anthropology and psychology, and a false theology. This must be met on its own ground by a true *constructive* metaphysics. But we cannot pause to attempt this work in its details. We plant our feet firmly on the great primal truth that there is a

personal God, who is before nature, above nature, and the free Author of nature in her inmost essence, with all the systems of being that belong to nature. Standing on this immovable foundation, as on a mighty rock rising up out of the unfathomable abyss of eternity, we raise, first of all, the inquiry whether the supernatural manifestation of himself to men is a part of God's plan for the administration of human affairs. This is a question of fact, not of theory. Nevertheless, it is proper to begin with certain

A priori Considerations in respect to Revelation.

We may reasonably assume, then, that if God makes a supernatural manifestation of himself to men, the manner of his procedure will be in harmony with the general course of his providential government, that is, it will not be at hap-hazard and in isolated, unconnected fragments, but according to some self-consistent plan; in other words, that the revelation will take the form of a *supernatural economy*, having a beginning, progress, and consummation. This feature will at once separate it entirely from the dreams, divinations, and omens of heathenism, which have no systematic unity looking to a common result.

We may assume, again, that such supernatural manifestations will have some high moral end, transcending the sphere of physical good and evil and also the pure teachings of natural theology. They will not be made, for example, to instruct men in the medical art or in natural science, nor simply to inculcate upon them the duty of truth and justice.

Once more, it seems necessary to the idea of a supernatural revelation that it should *verify itself as supernatural*, and that not merely to the particular persons who may receive it, but to mankind at large, for whose benefit it is intended. When, now, the Author of nature comes that he may make to men a revelation of truth over and above the proper teachings of nature, what is the most natural way in which he should certify to them the fact? We think at once of either the manifestation, within the sphere of nature, of a

power that clearly transcends all the laws of nature and all the agencies that man is able to exert upon the course of nature, or of a *knowledge* concerning the future that is clearly above all human knowledge; that is, we think of *miracles* or *prophecy* — the testimony of the former being available for present, of the latter for future, conviction. Against miracles and prophecy as the *seals of a supernatural economy* there can be no reasonable presumption. If the supernatural economy itself be a part of God's general plan, the certification of it as supernatural must be a part of his plan also. Here loose declamation concerning the improbability of the "violation of the laws of nature" is wholly out of place. Nature is not God's final end; she is only the means to something higher, even that *moral* kingdom of holiness and righteousness which infinitely transcends in dignity and excellence all that nature contains. If in the interest of this kingdom God sees good to interpose supernaturally within the sphere of nature, he will not allow himself to be limited by the laws which he has himself given to nature, and of which he is independent. Such a supernatural interposition of God is indeed *above* nature, accomplishing results to which the powers of nature are not competent, but it is not properly a *violation* of the laws of nature. This can be made clear by a simple illustration. Man is himself, in a true sense, a supernatural power. By the free, intelligent exercise of his will through the bodily organization which God has given him, he accomplishes results above the powers of nature. Reaching down his hand, for example, to the bottom of a running stream, he lifts to the surface a piece of iron. If one choose to say that this is contrary to the law of gravity, let him say so. But it is absurd and unmeaning declamation to call the act a violation of the law of gravity. Suppose, now, that, instead of the human will operating mediately through the human arm, it be the immediate personal will of God that raises the iron to the surface of the stream, we shall then have undoubtedly a miracle above nature, but no true violation of a law of

nature, any more than in the former case. The iron has only yielded to a power stronger than that of gravity coming into nature from without in a supernatural way. In this example the power exerted is, *qualitatively* considered, creative, for it is the immediate power of God above nature; but there is no proper creation. The same general principle, however, applies to miracles that involve true creation, and are therefore absolutely above the sphere of human agency. God is before nature, consequently before all the laws of nature. When he gave being to nature with its laws, he did not work through nature, which would have been to work through a nonentity. By his own free-will, acting before nature and independently of everything without himself, he produced nature. This is creative power giving a material product. Were he to annihilate nature this would be the same power, qualitatively considered, but with an opposite result. So of every step in the production of nature. God first created dead matter with its laws. Afterwards he *superadded* various systems of life, vegetable and animal. Through these systems nature produces, in her ordinary course, bread, flesh, and wine. Suppose, now, that for high moral ends God should choose to create bread, flesh, and wine. This is more properly an interposition and action above nature than a violation of nature's laws. We are not anxious, however, to dispute about words, provided the idea itself be clearly apprehended. And what is this idea? It is simply that of a personal God manifesting his presence in an immediate way to his intelligent creatures. Nature is herself, as we have endeavored to show, a manifestation of God. But for the purposes of redemption he may choose to superadd a revelation of himself above nature—a revelation embodying truths which nature does not teach, or which she teaches only in a dim and imperfect way. Who is competent to say that such a revelation is not consistent with infinite understanding and benevolence? And if God in his wisdom determine to make it, what folly to raise the question whether he can certify it to men in a

supernatural way! He will, when he sees good, come into his own creation, acting above its laws and independently of them in such a way that men shall be assured of his presence. Is it so, indeed, that God has given me power to certify my personal presence to my fellow-men, but cannot certify his own presence to me and to others — certify it not only inwardly in a subjective way, but outwardly and objectively beyond the possibility of doubt?

But now the great question arises: *Is this supernatural revelation of himself to men a part of God's general plan?* Here we are at liberty to begin our inquiries from any point in the world's history which we find most convenient. Where the object is simply to narrate a connected series of events, the chronological is the most natural order. But when the main question respects the truth of an alleged series of events, or (what amounts to the same thing) the real character of the transactions included in it, there is sometimes great advantage in selecting as a central point some prominent part of the series, and thence proceeding in our investigations backward and forward. This is the method which we propose to pursue, and we thus announce our central position:

The Appearance of Jesus of Nazareth was supernatural.

If we can show that this proposition rests on an immovable foundation of historic truth, the rest of our work will be comparatively easy. From the supernatural appearance and works of the Son of God, as recorded in the four Gospels, the supernatural endowments and works of his apostles will follow as a natural and even necessary sequel. Since, moreover, the universal rule of God's government is: "First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear,"¹ such a full and perfect revelation as that which God has made to us by his Son, which is certainly "the full corn in the ear," must, according to all analogy, have been preceded by exactly such preparatory revelations as we find recorded in the Old Testament. Proceeding in this way we look at

¹ Mark iv. 28.

revelation as an organic whole ; and it is only thus that we can apprehend the full strength of the evidences by which the truth of Christianity is sustained. The divine origin of the Mosaic institutions can indeed be satisfactorily shown independently of the New Testament. But the true breadth and depth of the foundation on which they rest is apprehended only when they are considered as preparatory to the incarnation of Jesus Christ. As in a burning mass the blaze and heat of each separate piece of fuel are increased by the surrounding fire, so in the supernatural economy of redemption each separate communication from God receives new light and glory from the revelations that precede and follow. It is only when we thus view the revelations of the Bible as progressing from "glory to glory," that we can estimate aright the proofs of their divine origin.

But the moment we address ourselves to the examination of the great central proposition above announced, that the appearance of Jesus of Nazareth was supernatural, the question of the genuineness of the gospel records forces itself upon us as of primary importance. In the case of books that deal mainly with principles the question of authorship is of subordinate interest. Thus the book of Job, with the exception of the brief narratives with which it opens and closes, is occupied with the great question of divine providence. It is not necessary that we know what particular man wrote it, or to what particular century it belongs. But the case of the Gospel narratives is wholly different. They profess to contain a record of facts relating to the supernatural appearance, works, and doctrines of Jesus of Nazareth, on the truth of which rests our faith in Christianity. If Christianity were only a system of ideas, like the philosophy of Plato or Aristotle, the question of the authorship of our four canonical Gospels would be one of secondary interest. But Christianity rests on a basis of supernatural facts, and if the basis be destroyed, the superstructure that is built upon it perishes. It is, then, of vital importance that we know the relation which the authors of these books held to Jesus. If they

were not apostles or apostolic men — that is, associates of apostles, laboring with them, enjoying their confidence, and in circumstances to obtain their information from authentic sources, — but, instead of this, wrote after the apostolic age; their testimony is not worthy of that full credence which the church in all ages has reposed in it. The question, then, of the genuineness of the gospel narratives, and that of their authenticity and credibility must stand or fall together.

The exhaustive examination of this great subject would require volumes. All we shall attempt is to mark out very briefly the lines of argument by which our four canonical Gospels are shown to be genuine under the two general heads of external and internal evidence. In the former head we make, moreover, as subdivisions, the testimony of Christian writers, that of ancient versions, and that of heretical writers. In this investigation we do not anticipate the question of inspiration, but proceed according to the ordinary laws of evidence in the case of writings that are acknowledged to be uninspired. It is our duty to conduct the inquiry with that freedom from bias (*unbefangenheit*) which the assailants of Christianity commend so much, but which they are not more accustomed to practice than other men. There is a bias of scepticism as well as of orthodoxy. It consists in those very *a priori* assumptions against the supernatural which have been considered in the two preceding Articles. Now, as we have no right to assume beforehand on our side, that the gospel narratives must be genuine and authentic, so neither have our opponents a right to make the contrary assumption, and then set themselves to bring the facts of history into harmony with it. If the gospel be false, the belief of it will not save us; if it be true, the rejection of it will destroy them. That candor which comes from the conviction of the supreme value of truth, and which has for its end the discovery of truth is, therefore, indispensable to the successful prosecution of the present momentous investigation.

Testimony of Christian Writers — General Considerations.

The canonical books of the New Testament profess to belong to the second half of the first century. From this time to the last quarter of the second century the remains of Christian writers are very scanty, a few genuine epistles of the so-called apostolic Fathers, and the works of Justin Martyr being the most important. This fact, when rightly considered, furnishes no unfavorable presumption against the genuineness of the gospel narratives, but rather a presumption in their favor. According to the record of the New Testament, the first preachers and writers of the gospel, with the exception of Paul and, apparently, of Apollos also, were "unlettered and private men" (*ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται*); that is, men not trained up in the rabbinical schools with their succession of learned men, but unlettered men from the private walks of life. Their high endowments as speakers and writers were not the result of human education, at least not principally, but of the special gift of the Spirit; to which we must add, as a most important element in the case of the original apostles, the training which they had enjoyed under the Saviour's personal ministry. The great body of early Christians, also, was gathered, not from the schools of philosophy, Jewish or Pagan, but from the masses of the common people. When, therefore, the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, having accomplished their end, were withdrawn from the church, it is not surprising that there should have been a sudden and great descent from the high character of the apostolic writings to even the best of the succeeding age. Before there could be a high Christian literature of natural growth it was necessary that the gospel should exert upon society its purifying and elevating power for two or three generations, ennobling those born under its influence, and attracting to itself from without men of cultivated minds. When we consider how meagre are the remains of Christian writers that have come down to us from the period now under consideration, we ought not to wonder that we find in

them so few definite notices of our four canonical Gospels, but rather that the references to them are so many and so satisfactory.

Another consideration of still greater importance relates to the manner in which the very early Fathers refer to the writings of the New Testament. They more commonly quote anonymously, and often in a loose and general way. They frequently cite from memory, sometimes blend together words of different authors, and intermingle with them their own remarks. In citing the prophecies of the Old Testament in an argumentative way, they are more exact, particularly when addressing Jews. Yet even here they often content themselves with the scope of the passages referred to, without being particular as to the exact words. For this looseness there was in the case of the New Testament an obvious historic reason, to which we call the careful attention of the reader. There was, namely, a time, extending through a considerable number of years from the day of Pentecost, when the gospel history existed only in the form of oral tradition preserved in its purity by the presence of the apostles from whom it emanated. When the need of written histories began to be felt, they were produced one after another at uncertain intervals. So far as these documents were of apostolic origin — written by apostles or apostolic men — they had of course from the first the same authority as the oral teachings of the apostles and their associates. But the primitive preachers of the gospel were by no means restricted to their authority; for they had also the co-existing and co-ordinate apostolic tradition. It was only by slow degrees, as the apostles and apostolic men were withdrawn one after another from the stage of action, that the supreme importance of these apostolic records began to be understood. A still longer time elapsed before the custom became general of co-ordinating them with the writings of the Old Testament, and speaking of them as scripture. In entire harmony with all this is the loose and general manner in which the very early writers refer to the books of the New Testament, very

commonly in an anonymous way, and without that formal exactness which belongs to a later age. Another closely related fact is the occasional introduction, from unwritten tradition, of words or incidents not recorded in the canonical Gospels. It is surprising what extraordinary and incredible theories have been built upon these very simple and natural phenomena in respect to the written sources employed by the early Christian writers — theories that explain one difficulty by bringing in ten graver difficulties in its stead.

Testimony of Christian Writers—Last Part of the Second Century.

With the last quarter of the second century, and reaching into the beginning of the third, a new era opens in the history of Christian literature. This is the age of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and some other writers of less note. Their testimony to the apostolic origin and universal reception, from the first, of our four canonical Gospels is as full as can be desired. They give the names of the authors; two of them — Matthew and John — apostles, and the other two — Mark and Luke — companions of apostles, and fellow-laborers with them. They always associate Mark in a special way with Peter, and Luke with Paul. They affirm the universal and undisputed reception of these four Gospels from the beginning by all the churches, and deny the apostolic authority of other pretended gospels. Since it is conceded on all hands that in their day these four Gospels were universally received by the churches as genuine and authoritative records of our Lord's life and teachings, it is superfluous to quote at length their testimony, or to go further down in the stream of ecclesiastical history.¹ More important is it that we consider the character of these witnesses and the significance of their testimony.

Irenaeus was of Greek descent, and probably born about

¹ The reader may see in note A of the Appendix some specimens of the manner in which these Fathers speak of the gospel narratives.

A.D. 140. He appears to have been a native of Asia Minor ; at least we find him in a beautiful letter preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 20) which was addressed to one Florinus, who had departed from the true faith, recounting in glowing language his youthful recollections of the person and teachings of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. He tells with what interest he listened as this man related his intercourse with the apostle John and the others who had seen the Lord ; “how he recounted their words, and the things which he had heard from them concerning the Lord, and concerning his miracles and teachings.” And he adds that these things which Polycarp had received from eye-witnesses he related “all in agreement with the scriptures” ; that is, obviously with the gospel narratives. Afterwards we find the seat of his labors at Lyons and Vienne in Gaul, of which places he became bishop after the martyrdom of his predecessor Pothinus, about A.D. 177. Previously to this he had been sent to Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, on business relating to the Montanistic controversy.

The testimony of Irenaeus is justly regarded as of the most weighty character. A native of the East, he was afterwards transferred to the West, whither he brought, and effectively used, all his Grecian culture. He was pre-eminently a fair-minded man ; and he knew, as we have seen, the traditions of both the East and the West. On the one side he had sat at the feet of Polycarp, the disciple of John ; on the other, he was the successor of Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons and Vienne in Gaul, who suffered martyrdom about A.D. 177, in the ninetieth year of his age, and must therefore have been acquainted in his youthful days with some who had seen and heard the apostles. Under such circumstances it is inconceivable that Irenaeus should not have known the truth respecting the reception of the gospel by the churches, and the grounds on which this reception rested, especially in the case of John’s Gospel. Tischendorf, after mentioning the relation of Irenaeus to Polycarp, the disciple of John, asks, with reason : “Are we, nevertheless, to cherish the

supposition that Irenaeus never heard a word from Polycarp respecting the Gospel of John, and yet gave it his unconditional confidence — this man Irenaeus, who in his controversies with heretics, the men of falsification and apocryphal works, employs against them, before all other things, the pure scripture as a holy weapon?"¹

Tertullian was the son of a Roman centurion. He was born in Carthage, North Africa, about A.D. 160, and died between A.D. 220 and 240. Richly endowed by nature, he received an extended culture, especially in the Roman law. Eusebius describes him as "a man accurately acquainted with the Roman laws, and among the most distinguished men in Rome,"² whence we certainly infer that he once lived in Rome, though it is uncertain whether Eusebius speaks of the Christian or the heathen period of his life.³ It is generally thought that the place of his Christian labors and writings was Carthage.⁴ He is supposed to have been converted to Christianity between his thirtieth and fortieth year.⁵ Naturally of a rigid temperament, impetuous in his feelings, and inclined to asceticism, he went over to the sect of the Montanists about A.D. 202. But this fact does not affect his testimony respecting the origin and universal reception of our four canonical Gospels. His works are very numerous, and in them he insists abundantly and with great earnestness that the gospel narratives, as also the other apostolic writings, have been received without corruption as a sacred inheritance from the apostolic churches. His work against Marcion, whom he accuses of employing a mutilated Gospel of Luke, is particularly instructive, as showing how deep and settled was the conviction of the early churches that nothing could be a Gospel which did not

¹ In his essay: Wann wurden unsere Evangelien gefasst, p. 8.

² Hist. Eccl. ii. 2. These words cannot well mean that he was "inter nostros scriptores admodum clarus," "very distinguished among our" — the Roman — "writers," as Rufinus translates, and Heinichen approves.

³ Schaff in Hertzog's Encycl. Vol. xv. p. 556.

⁴ See in Torrey's Neander, Vol. i. p. 684.

⁵ Hertzog's Encycl., ubi supra.

proceed from apostles or apostolic men, and how watchful they were against all attempts to mutilate or corrupt the primitive records. Equally instructive is this same treatise as showing that Marcion himself could not deny the universal reception, from the beginning, of the true Gospel of Luke.¹

Clement of Alexandria was a pupil of Pantaenus, and his successor as head of the celebrated catechetical school at Alexandria in Egypt. He was of heathen origin, and is supposed to have been born about the middle of the second century. Having a philosophical turn of mind and an ardent desire to know the truth, he made trial of the different systems of heathen philosophy, but found satisfaction in none of them. The Christian religion at last satisfied the earnest longings of his soul. "He convinced himself of the truth of Christianity by free inquiry, after he had acquired an extensive knowledge of the systems of religion and the philosophy of divine things known at his time in the cultivated world."² After his conversion he travelled widely, and made extensive researches under various teachers, as he himself tells us, in Greece, in Italy, in Syria, and in Palestine. At last he met with Pantaenus in Egypt, whom he preferred to all his other guides, and in whose instructions he rested. The testimony of Clement to the universal and undisputed reception by the churches of our four canonical Gospels agrees with that of Tertullian; and it has the more weight, not only on account of his wide investigations, but because, also, it virtually contains the testimony of his several teachers, some of whom must have known, if not the apostles themselves, those who had listened to their teachings.

The above are the chief writers of the period now under consideration whose works have come down to us. We

¹ See in note A of the Appendix the extracts from Tertullian on this point. The general subject of the integrity of the gospel narratives is reserved for the next Article.

² Torrey's *Neander*, Vol. i. p. 691.

may add *Theophilus* of Antioch, whose three books to Antolycus are admitted to be genuine, and, according to the judgment of Lardner, were written about A.D. 180.¹ He quotes from Matthew and Luke, and mentions by name the Gospel according to John. According to Jerome he composed a harmony of the four évangelists.²

Let us now consider briefly this combination of testimony in its true significance. The competency of the witnesses cannot be called in question. They were not rude and illiterate men, but scholars of extensive research. Earnestness and sincerity are traits which will not be denied to them. Their writings breathe throughout the spirit of truthfulness. It is manifest that they are contending for a religion on the historic reality of which rests their own hope of salvation. They were not wanting in common discernment, and they had full means of knowing both the belief of the churches in respect to the origin of our canonical Gospels and the grounds on which this belief rested. Irenæus united in himself, as we have seen, the traditions of the East and the West, and of Rome also. In his youth he sat at the feet of Polycarp, the disciple of John. In his mature age he was intimate with Pothinus, whose recollections went back to the beginning of the second century. The sturdy and impetuous Tertullian, with his bluff Roman mind and his accurate knowledge of Roman law, was not likely to be carried away by his imagination in a grave question of fact, and he knew very thoroughly the traditions of the Italian and African churches. It was through an earnest and protracted search after the truth that the philosophical Clement came to the knowledge and belief of Christianity; and after his conversion he travelled widely in search of the apostolic traditions, and thus became acquainted with "eminent Christian teachers of different tendencies of mind in different countries."³ His testimony,

¹ Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. ii. chap. 20.

² See in Appendix, note A, where may also be found the testimony of the churches of Lyons and Vienne.

³ Torrey's Neander, Vol. i. p. 691.

therefore, is of the most comprehensive character, including in itself that of his different teachers, among whom was Pantaenus, his predecessor as the head of the Alexandrian catechetical school. The above-named witnesses, then, represent, not one particular church or section of Christendom, but Christendom as a whole. They are, moreover, independent witnesses, no one of them drawing his information from the others, but each giving the results of his own separate investigations.

It should be remembered, too, that this was in an age when great freedom of inquiry prevailed. No such thing as a general or synodical council had as yet been thought of; consequently there had been no formal attempt to bring the judgment of the churches into harmony. In all that respects the essence of the gospel they had a substantial agreement with each other, but of their minor differences they were very tenacious, and they sometimes discussed them with much warmth. In their relations to each other they were jealous of their freedom and independence, and the churches of one province were slow to adopt from another beliefs or usages contrary to their own traditions. Of this we have a notable example in the controversy between the churches of the East and the West in respect to the time of the annual passover-festival. Polycarp's visit to Anicetus, bishop of Rome, on this question, in A.D. 162, did not avail to bring the two sections of Christendom into agreement with each other. The controversy, though moderated for a time, still remained, and finally about A.D. 190, Victor, bishop of Rome, published a sentence of excommunication against the churches of Asia Minor for their persistence on this point. The history of the disputed books of the New Testament—the so-called *Antilegomena*—furnishes another instructive example. It shows that the reception of a writing as apostolic in one division of Christendom did not insure its reception elsewhere. Two illustrations of this will be sufficient. The unanimous belief of the Eastern and Alexandrine churches ascribed to Paul, either immediately or virtually, the authorship of the

epistle to the Hebrews; but in the Western churches its Pauline authorship was not generally admitted till the fourth century. The Apocalypse, on the contrary, found most favor with the Western or Latin churches. The Syriac-Peshito, which represents the judgment of the East, does not contain it; but it is included in the Muratorian canon, which is of Latin origin. Had it been possible, then, that a spurious book should be imposed as genuine on the churches of one region, it would certainly have encountered opposition from the churches of other regions. Their steadfast answer would have been: "We have possessed from apostolic times no such writing." Even a genuine book that had, from the influence of circumstances unknown to us, been restricted in its circulation in apostolic times to certain regions, would obtain general reception only by a slow process. But our four canonical Gospels were everywhere received without dispute as of apostolic origin. This fact admits of but one explanation: the churches had from their first appearance indubitable evidence of their genuineness.

Let it be further remembered that this testimony relates, not to books of a private character, that might have lain for years hidden in some corner, but to the public writings of the churches, on which their faith was founded, of which they all had copies, and which it was the custom from apostolic times to read in their assemblies along with the Law and the Prophets.¹ Let any man show, if he can, how a spurious Gospel, suddenly appearing somewhere after apostolic days, could have been imposed upon the churches as genuine, not only where it originated, but everywhere else in Christendom.

In bringing our remarks under this head to a close we only notice, further, a phenomenon respecting the testimony of the church Fathers generally which might seem, at first sight, to militate against its validity, but which, when rightly considered, is a mark of its authenticity; we mean, *its diversity in minor details*. It is well known, for example, that there is a mass of tradition respecting the apostle Peter and Mark's

¹ Justin Martyr, Apol. ii. p. 98 (larger Apology near the end).

connection with him which is discordant in some of its particulars. But all are agreed upon the two grand facts: (1) that Mark was the companion of Peter, and had a special relation to him — his “interpreter” they call him; (2) that he was the author of the Gospel which bears his name. So, also, in respect to the other Gospels. Such agreement in substance with diversity in respect to details is everywhere the characteristic mark of authentic history, where the witnesses write independently of each other.

Testimony of Christian Writers — Middle of the Second Century.

The most important writer of this age is Justin Martyr. He was of Greek descent, but born in Neapolis (the ancient *Sichem* and modern *Nablâs*) about the close of the apostolic age, or soon after the beginning of the second century. Before his conversion to Christianity he was a heathen philosopher earnestly seeking for the truth among the different systems of the age. At last, he met in the solitude of a quiet sea-shore, whither he had retired for meditation, a grey-headed man of mild and venerable aspect, who was the means of turning him from the schools of heathen philosophy to Christ.¹ After his conversion he traversed the Roman empire from east to west in the character of a Christian philosopher, everywhere commending to men the religion of Jesus Christ. Of his numerous works only three remain to us: (1) A larger Apology, addressed to the emperor Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 138 or 139;² (2) A shorter Apology, addressed to the Roman Senate, somewhere after A.D. 147; (3) A Dialogue with the Jew Trypho, after A.D. 139. Since he lived so near the apostolic age, and enjoyed every facility for investigating the history of the gospel narratives, he has ever been regarded as a very weighty witness on the question now under consideration. In modern times, however, a persistent attempt has been

¹ Contra Tryph. chap. 8.

² This and the two following dates are given on the authority of Semisch in Hertzog's Encycl. Vol. vii. p. 185.

made to set aside his testimony on the alleged ground that he quotes, not from our canonical Gospels, but from some other writings. The extreme improbability of this supposition is manifest at first sight. Justin had travelled widely through the Roman empire. He represents his discussion with Trypho to have taken place at Ephesus. According to Eusebius he made his residence at Rome,¹ where he is said to have suffered martyrdom. We cannot suppose him to have been ignorant of the traditions of the churches respecting the origin of the Gospels. He certainly knew what Gospels were received as authentic in his day at Rome, in Asia Minor, at Alexandria, and elsewhere. Equally certain it is that these are the very Gospels which he quotes under the title of the "Memoirs of the Apostles"; and, more fully, the "Memoirs which I affirm to have been composed by his [our Lord's] apostles and their followers."² These he elsewhere says "are called Gospels,"³ and, in a collective sense, "the gospel."⁴ It should be carefully noticed that he speaks in the plural number of both the apostles who composed the Gospels, and their followers. This description applies exactly to our canonical Gospels — two written by apostles, and two by their followers. Now, the supposition that the Gospels which Justin used — those received by the churches as authentic in his day — were wholly supplanted by others in the days of Irenaeus who was of full age at the time of Justin's death (between A.D. 161–168), is incredible. But Irenaeus, in common with Clement, Tertullian, and others, quotes our present four canonical Gospels as alone possessing apostolic authority, and expressly rejects all other alleged Gospels. It follows that the "Memoirs" of which Justin speaks can be no other than the same Gospels. We cannot conceive that in this brief period an entire change of Gospels should have been made anywhere; much less, that it should have been made throughout all the different and distant provinces of the Roman empire at a time when general councils were. as

¹ Hist. Eccl. ii. 11.

³ Apol. Vol. ii. p. 98 (larger Apol. near the end).

² Dial. chap. 103.

⁴ Dial. chap. 10.

yet unknown, and therefore, made without any concert; least of all, can we believe that this mighty change, affecting the very foundation of Christianity, should have taken place without discussion, and in so silent a way that no record of it exists in the history of Christianity. Without irrefragable proof, this supposition that the Gospels known to Justin were different from those known to Irenaeus, is not worthy to be even seriously entertained. But no such proof exists. Justin's quotations, taken as a whole, have such an agreement with our present Gospels as can be explained only from his actual use of them. The arguments on the other side may be reduced to two: his want in many cases of verbal agreement, and his introduction of a few incidents and sayings not recorded in our present Gospels. Both of these have been already anticipated in our remarks on the manner in which the very early Fathers refer to the writings of the New Testament. They more frequently quote from memory, often in a loose way, sometimes blending together different passages, and intermingling with the words of the sacred writers their own explanatory remarks. Since, moreover, they lived so near the apostolic age, they occasionally introduce from tradition incidents or words not recorded in the canonical Gospels.¹ These are precisely the phenomena which belong to Justin's quotations and references.

(1) His *manner of citation*. This is well given in the following words of Kirchhofer: "Many of these citations agree word for word with the Gospels, others with the substance, but with alterations and additions of words with transpositions and omissions; others give the thought only in a general way; others still condense together the contents of several passages and different sayings, in which case the historic quotations are yet more free, and blend together, in part, the accounts of Matthew and Luke. But some quotations are not found at all in our canonical Gospels; some, on the contrary, occur twice or thrice."²

(2) His *introduction of new matter*. Two or three more

¹ See above, pp. 86-88.

² Quellensammlung, p. 89, note.

important variations from our present Gospels are, perhaps, due to the readings in the manuscripts employed by Justin, since the later church Fathers, who, as we know, used the canonical Gospels, give the same variations.¹ But over and above these, he gives some incidents and sayings not recorded in our present Gospels. In this there is nothing wonderful. In his address to the elders of Ephesus, Paul introduces one of our Lord's sayings not found elsewhere.² "Be ye tried money-changers," is a saying referred to our Lord by Origen and others.³ The new matter found in Justin's references is inconsiderable compared with the whole. Since he lived so near the apostolic times he may well have received it from tradition. But if in any case he drew it from written documents, there is no proof that he ascribed to such documents apostolic authority. In one passage he accurately distinguishes between what he gives from tradition or other written sources, and what from the apostolic records. "When Jesus came," he says, "to the river Jordan, where John was baptizing, as he descended to the water, both was a fire kindled in the Jordan, and as he ascended from the water, the apostles of this very Christ of ours have written that the Holy Spirit as a dove lighted upon him."⁴

Justin quotes the Gospel of Matthew very abundantly. Next in number are his quotations from Luke. His references to Mark are comparatively few, from the circumstance that he has so little matter peculiar to himself; yet they are enough to show Justin's acquaintance with his Gospel. It has been doubted whether indubitable references to the Gospel of John can be found in his writings. But an examination of the passages quoted in the Appendix⁵ will make it plain that Justin used this Gospel also. We sum up the

¹ See in Westcott on the Canon, pp. 155-160.

² Acts xx. 35.

³ See in Westcott's Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, Appendix C., a collection of these apocryphal sayings.

⁴ Dial. chap. 88.

⁵ See in Appendix, note B.

result of modern investigations in the words of Semisch: "An accurate examination in detail of his citations has led to the result that this title [the Memoirs of the Apostles] designates the canonical Gospels — a result in no way less certain because again called in question in modern days."¹

Another witness belonging to the same age is Papias, who was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia in the first half of the second century. It is not necessary to our purpose that we enter at large into the questions that have been raised concerning the character of Papias as an ecclesiastical writer. Eusebius says: "He appears to have been a man of very small mind, as one might affirm judging from his words."² The correctness of this judgment is evident from the specimens that Eusebius has given from his work in five books entitled: "An Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord,"³ which the early churches deservedly allowed to pass into oblivion. But, as Norton well remarks, "weakness of intellect does not enable one to speak of books as existing which are not in existence."⁴ Now, in the work above referred to, Papias related of Matthew that he "composed the oracles in the Hebrew dialect, and every one interpreted them as he was able."⁵ As to the question whether these "oracles were our present canonical Gospels, it is sufficient to say that Eusebius,⁶ Irenaeus,⁷ Pantaenus,⁸ Origen,⁹ Jerome,¹⁰ and others, so understood the term; for they all mention the tradition that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew. Of the source and character of Mark's Gospel Papias gave a more particular account, the correctness of which in its details we

¹ Life of Justin Martyr, 4. 1.

² Σφόδρα γάρ τοι σμικρὸς ὦν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηριώμενον εἰπεῖν, φαίνεται. Hist. Eccl. iii. 39.

³ Λογίων κυριακῶν Ἐξηγήσεις.

⁴ Genuineness of the Gospels Vol. iii. p. 122.

⁵ Eusebius's Hist. Eccl. ubi supra.

⁶ Hist. Eccl. iii. 24.

⁷ In Eusebius's Hist. Eccl. v. 8.

⁸ In Eusebius's Hist. Eccl. v. 10.

⁹ In Eusebius's Hist. Eccl. vi. 25.

¹⁰ De Vir. Illustr. iii. and elsewhere.

need not here discuss, since the one point now to be insisted on is, that in Papias's day this Gospel was current in the churches.¹ But it has been objected that Eusebius quotes no statements of Papias respecting the other two Gospels. The obvious answer is, that Eusebius's notices of the authors to whom he refers are confessedly imperfect. He says, for example, that Polycarp, in his letter to the Philippians, "has used certain testimonies from the first Epistle of Peter,"² but says nothing of his many references in the same letter to the epistles of Paul, in some of which he mentions the apostle by name. We have, nevertheless, through Eusebius, an indirect but valid testimony from Papias to the authorship of the fourth Gospel, resting upon the admitted identity of the author of this Gospel with the author of the first epistle ascribed to John. Eusebius, namely, speaking of Papias, says: "But the same man used testimonies from the first epistle of John."³ The ascription of this epistle to John is virtually the ascription to him of the fourth Gospel also.

A very interesting relic of the period now under consideration, is the "Epistle to Diognetus." The authorship of this work is uncertain, but its date cannot be later than the middle of the second century. "Its origin falls somewhere about the middle of the second century, when the church, already sharply separated from the Jews and widely spread after many a baptism of blood, was rising more and more to the consciousness of her world-wide destiny."⁴ This epistle, notwithstanding some erroneous views, contains a noble defence of Christianity, in which the author shows his acquaintance with the Gospel of John by the use of terms and phrases peculiar to him. Thus he calls Christ "the Word" and the only-begotten Son" whom God sent to men. In the words "not to take thought about food and raiment," there is an apparent reference to Matt. vi. 25, 31.⁵

¹ See further in Appendix, note C.

² Hist. Eccl. iv. 14.

³ Hist. Eccl. iii. 39, end.

⁴ Semisch in Hertzog's Encyclopaedie, Vol. iii. p. 408.

⁵ Sect. 9. See further in Appendix, note C.

Testimony of Christian Writers — Apostolic Fathers.

It has been already remarked that as we approach the apostolic age the references of the Fathers to the writings of the New Testament become loose and general; that they quote for the most part anonymously, aiming only to give the general sense, and sometimes blending together words of different authors. We have seen how this manner of citation is illustrated in the works of Justin Martyr. Further examples we find in the writings of the so-called apostolic Fathers. They use language which implies a knowledge of the first three Gospels — the synoptical Gospels; and Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians contains also an indirect but valid testimony to the Gospel of John.¹

Testimony of Ancient Versions.

A different class of witnesses will now be examined, whose testimony is of the most weighty and decisive character. We have two very ancient versions — the Syriac-Peshito and the Old Latin. With the latter we may conveniently consider the Muratorian fragment on the canon of the New Testament, for it represents the canon of the Latin or Western church.

In point of antiquity the old Latin version (as it is called in distinction from Jerome's revision, called the Vulgate) probably deserves the first place. Respecting its character various opinions have been maintained. Some have assumed the existence of several independent Latin versions, but the preferable opinion is, that there were various recensions, all having their foundation in an original version, the Old Latin, which, says Westcott, "can be traced back as far as the earliest records of Latin Christianity. Every circumstance connected with it indicates the most remote antiquity."² "This version," says Tregelles, "must have been made a sufficiently long time before the age when Tertullian wrote, and before the date of the Latin translator of Irenaeus for it

¹ See in Appendix, note D. ² Canon of the New Testament, chap. 3.

to have got into general circulation. This leads us back towards the middle of the second century at the latest; how much earlier the version may have been we have no proof; for we are already led back into the time when no records tell us anything respecting the North African church."¹ The canon of this version is represented by the Muratorian fragment on the canon, discovered by the Italian scholar Muratori, in the Ambrosian library at Milan, in a manuscript bearing the marks of great antiquity. The composition of this canon, which has come down to us only in a mutilated form, is referred to the third quarter of the second century. It is sufficient to say in the present connection, that it recognizes the four Gospels, and all the remaining books of the New Testament, except the Epistle to the Hebrews and some of the Catholic epistles; that is, it contains the very books included, in all probability, in the original Old Latin version, for this version has not come down to us in a perfect form.

Let the reader consider, now, the significance of this fact. We have a very ancient Latin version not of one Gospel alone, nor simply of the four Gospels, but of the great body of books belonging to our present New Testament. The version itself dates back at least towards the middle of the second century. But the existence of such a version implies the previous existence in the Greek original of the collection of books from which it was made. We cannot reasonably suppose that the translators fixed the canon. Rather did they take it as they found it existing in their day in the Latin church. The existence, again, of a collection of authoritative sacred books in the original Greek, that is, of a Greek canon, implies the previous existence of the separate books; for they were not composed in a body, but one by one as the necessities of the churches required. The Gospels, then, with which we are now concerned, were first written separately at intervals, then embodied in the Greek canon, then transferred by translation into the canon of the

¹ In Horne, Vol. iv. p. 233.

Old Latin version, and all this process, which necessarily required a considerable space of time, was completed as early as the middle, or towards the middle, of the second century. The obvious inference is that the Gospels themselves must have been in existence in the first quarter of the second century, when many of the associates of the apostles were yet living.

The same argument might be drawn from the Old Syriac version, called the Peshito, which learned men are agreed in referring to a date not later than the close of the second century, while some assign it to an earlier period. The canon of this version contains all the books of the New Testament except the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse; and it testifies, like the old Latin version, to the existence of our four Gospels, not only when it was made, but at an earlier date. It carries us up also to the first quarter, or towards the first quarter, of the second century. The combined testimony of these two ancient versions, with that of the Muratorian canon, is exceedingly strong.

Testimony of the Heretical Sects.

A very important fact in regard to these sects is, that they never attempted to disprove *on historic grounds* the genuineness of any one of the four Gospels. Had they done so, the Fathers who wrote against them at such length would have noticed their arguments. Marcion, one of the most distinguished leaders of those who separated themselves from the Orthodox church, came to Rome in the second quarter of the second century. It is well known that, in accordance with the grand principle of Gnosticism, he separated Christianity from all connection with Judaism, making the Jehovah of the Old Testament a different being from the God of the New Testament. Concerning his Gospel, called by the ancients the Gospel of Marcion, there has been in modern times a voluminous controversy, which belongs more properly to the question of the *integrity* of our present canonical Gospels.

We simply anticipate here the result of this protracted discussion, which is, that Marcion used a mutilated form of Luke's Gospel, rejecting the other three. Of course, it became necessary, on dogmatic grounds, that he should reject all of the first chapters of Luke which pertains to our Lord's genealogy in the line of Abraham and David, and should otherwise alter the Gospel to suit his views. On the same general ground he took certain of Paul's epistles with such changes as he thought needful. But in this matter he did not proceed on the ground of historic evidence. His position was wholly dogmatic. He took the ground that *he* could judge better of the truth than the writers themselves, whom he represented to have been misled by the influence of Jewish prejudices. Irenaeus well says of the liberties taken by Marcion: "He persuaded his disciples that he was himself more trustworthy than the apostles who have delivered to us the gospel; while he gave to them, not the gospel, but a fragment of the gospel."¹

Another distinguished leader of the Gnostics was Valentinus, who came to Rome about A.D. 140, and continued there till the time of Anicetus. His testimony and that of his followers is more weighty than that of Marcion. His method, according to Tertullian, was not to reject and mutilate the scriptures, but to pervert their meaning by false interpretations. Thus he says of him: "For, though Valentinus seems to use the entire instrument, he has done violence to the truth with a more artful mind than Marcion. For Marcion has used the sword awkwardly and openly, not the pen; since he has cut down the scriptures to suit his matter. But Valentinus has spared the scriptures, since he has invented, not scriptures for his matter, but matter for the scriptures."² "The entire instrument" (*integral instru-*

¹ Contra haeres. i. 27.

² Neque enim, si Valentinus integrali instrumento uti videtur, non callidior ingenio quam Marcion manus intulit veritati. Marcion, enim, inepte et palam machaera, non stylo usus est, quoniam ad materiam suam eadem scripturarum confecit: Valentinus autem pepercit, quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas excogitavit." — Adv. haeres. chap. 38

mento) includes, in Tertullian's usage, the whole inspired record.¹ Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus have preserved quotations from Valentinus in which he refers to the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John.² Respecting the Gospel of John, in particular, Irenaeus says that "the Valentinians make the most abundant use of it."³ Heracleon, whom Origen represents to have been a familiar friend of Valentinus, wrote a commentary on John, from which Origen frequently quotes. But if Valentinus and his followers, from the second quarter of the second century and onward, used "the entire instrument," they must have found its apostolical authority established before their day on an immovable foundation. This carries us back to the age succeeding that of the apostles, when Polycarp and others who had known them personally were yet living. The testimony of the Valentinians, then, is of the most decisive character.

Another prominent man among the heretical writers was Tatian, a contemporary and pupil of Justin Martyr. According to the testimony of Eusebius,⁴ Epiphanius,⁵ and Theodoret,⁶ he composed a Diatessaron, that is, Gospel of Four, which can be understood only as a harmony of the four Gospels, or of such parts as suited his purpose; for Theodoret accuses Tatian of "cutting away the genealogies, and whatever other things show that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh."⁷ With this Diatessaron Theodoret was well acquainted; for he found among his churches more than two hundred copies of it, which he caused to be removed, and their places supplied by the four canonical Gospels.⁸

As to other Gospels of the second century, which are

¹ Thus Tertullian calls the scriptures collectively "*totum instrumentum utriusque testamenti*."—*Adv. Prax.* 15, 20.

² See in Westcott on the Canon, iv. 5.

³ See in Appendix, note A.

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 29.

⁵ *Haeres.* xlv. quoted in Norton, Vol. iii. p. 274.

⁶ *Haeret. Fab.* i. 20.

⁷ *Ubi supra*.

Vol. XXVI. No. 101.

⁸ *Ubi supra*.

occasionally mentioned by later writers, as "The Gospel of Truth," "The Gospel of Basilides," etc., there is no evidence that they professed to be connected histories of our Lord's life and teachings. They were rather, as Norton has shown,¹ doctrinal works embodying the views of the sectaries that used them.

The above is a cursory survey of the external evidence for the genuineness of our four canonical Gospels. Considering how scanty are the remains of ecclesiastical writings that have come down to us from the first half of the second century, we have all the testimonies from that period that could be reasonably demanded, and they are met by no rebutting testimonies that pretend to rest on historic grounds. The authorship of no ancient classical work is sustained by a mass of evidence so great and varied, and the candid mind can rest in it with the composure of full assurance.²

Internal Evidences.

This is a subject of vast extent, and capable of being presented in many different lights. Our limits will allow us only to indicate a few prominent lines of argument. We begin, then, with considering the relation of the first three Gospels — commonly called the *synoptical* Gospels — to the last.

And first, with respect to *time*. Each of the three synoptical Gospels records our Lord's prophecy of the overthrow of Jerusalem. If we examine the records of this prediction, one by one, we shall find in all of them evidence that they were written before that great event, not after it. They are occupied, almost exclusively, with the various *signs* by which its approach might be known, and with admonitions to the disciples to hold themselves in readiness for it. Matthew, for example, devotes *fifty* verses to the account of the prophecy and the admonitions connected with it. Of these,

¹ Vol. iii. p. 4.

² The testimonies from heathen writers are omitted. They may be seen in Kirchofer's *Quellensammlung*, pp. 329–357.

only four (chap. xxiv. 19-22) describe the calamities of the scene, and these in the most general terms. Now, upon the supposition that the evangelists wrote before the event, all this is natural. Our Lord's design in uttering the prophecy was not to gratify the idle curiosity of the disciples, but to warn them beforehand in such a way that they might escape the horrors of the impending catastrophe. He dwelt, therefore, mainly on the signs of its approach, and with these, as having the chief interest for the readers, the record of the prediction is mainly occupied. It is impossible to conceive, on the other hand, that one who wrote years after the destruction of the city and temple should not have given, in various ways, a historic coloring to his account. We may safely affirm that to write a prophecy *after* the event in such a form as that which appears in either of the three records, transcends the powers of any uninspired man; and as to inspired narratives, the objectors with whom we are now dealing deny them altogether.

But there are, in the records now under consideration, some special indications of the time when the evangelists wrote. According to Matthew, the disciples ask (v. 3), "When shall these things be?"—the destruction, namely, of the buildings of the temple—"and what shall be the sign of thy coming and the end of the world?" These two questions our Lord proceeds to answer in such a way that the impression on the minds of the hearers (to be rectified only by the course of future events) must have been that the destruction of the temple and city and his second coming at the end of the world would be nearly connected in time. "Immediately after the tribulation of those days," says Matthew, "shall the sun be darkened," etc. The probable explanation of this peculiar form of the prophecy (the correctness of the record being assumed), is a question upon which it is not necessary here to enter. The important fact to which we call attention is, that the evangelists in their account of the prophecy are evidently unconscious of any discrepancy, real or apparent, that needs explanation. This could not have been the case

had they written years after the fulfilment of the prediction. "It may be safely held," says Professor Fisher, "that had the evangelist been writing at a later time, some explanation would have been thrown in to remove the *seeming* discrepancy between prophecy and fulfilment."¹

It should be further noticed that the evangelists Matthew and Mark, in reference to "the abomination of desolation," standing in the holy place, throw in the admonitory words, "Let him that readeth understand." These are not the Saviour's words, but those of the narrators, calling attention to a most important sign requiring immediate action on the part of the disciples. *Before* the overthrow of the city they had a weighty office; *after* its overthrow they would have been superfluous. Their presence in such a connection indicates that the record was written before the event to which it refers.

But the internal character of the fourth Gospel is in harmony with the ancient tradition that it was written at Ephesus late in the apostle's life. That it was composed at a distance from Judea, in a Gentile region, is plain from his careful explanation of Jewish terms and usages, which among his countrymen would have needed no explanation. No man writing in Palestine, among those who habitually attended the national feasts at Jerusalem, would have said: "And the passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh";² "Now the Jews' feast of tabernacles was at hand";³ etc. The absence of all reference to the overthrow of the Jewish polity, civil and ecclesiastical, is naturally explained from two facts: first, that the apostle wrote some years after that event, when his mind had now become familiar with the great truth that the Mosaic economy had forever passed away to make room for the universal dispensation of Christianity; secondly, that he wrote among Gentiles, for whom the abolition of the Mosaic dispensation had no special interest. In general style and spirit, moreover, the Gospel of John is closely allied to his

¹ Supernatural Origin of Christianity, p. 172.

² Chap. vi. 4.

³ Chap. vii. 2.

first Epistle, and cannot well be separated from it by a great interval of time; but the Epistle undoubtedly belongs to a late period of the apostle's life. The result of the whole is that the fourth Gospel must have been written some years later than the last of the first three, not less, at least, than fifteen.¹

Let us now consider the relation of the fourth Gospel to the first three in regard to *character*. Here we must say that it differs as widely as it well could while presenting to the reader's view the same divine and loving Redeemer. Its general plan is different. For reasons which we can only conjecture, the synoptical Gospels are mainly occupied with our Lord's Galilean ministry. Besides this they record only his last journey to Jerusalem, and the momentous events connected with it. John, on the contrary, has little to say of the Saviour's ministry in Galilee, but records his visits to Jerusalem year by year. Hence, his materials are, to a great extent, different from theirs; and even where he records the same events—for example, the miracle of the loaves and fishes, and the last supper—he connects with them long discourses which the other evangelists have omitted. Particularly noticeable are the Saviour's discussions with the unbelieving Jews, and his confidential discourses to his disciples, in both of which we have such treasures of divine truth and love. How much this Gospel differs from the other three in its general style and manner, and how perfectly independent it is of them, every reader feels at once. It bears on every page the impress of John's individuality, which connects it immediately with the epistles that bear his name. Every scholar knows, moreover, that the harmonists have labored, with no very satisfactory results, through many successive centuries to explain the apparent disagreement between John and the synoptical Gospels in respect to the time when our Lord ate his last passover with his disciples.

¹ On the supposed argument for the early composition of this Gospel from the evangelist's words, chap. v. 2, see Meyer, *Commentar in loco*; Alford, *Prolegomena to John's Gospel*, sect. iv.

The essential point of the above comparison between the fourth Gospel and the other three in respect to both date and character is this: Notwithstanding the later date of this Gospel, and its striking differences from the earlier synoptical Gospels, it was at once received by all the churches as of apostolic authority. Now, upon the assumption of its genuineness, both its peculiar character and its undisputed reception everywhere are easily explained. John, the bosom disciple of our Lord, wrote with the full consciousness of his apostolic authority, and his competency as a witness of what he had seen and heard. He therefore gave his testimony in his own original and independent way. And when this original Gospel, so different in its general plan and style from those that had preceded it, made its appearance, the apostolic authority of its author secured its immediate and undisputed reception by the churches. All this is very plain and intelligible. But upon the supposition that this Gospel is a spurious production of the age succeeding that of the apostles, let any one explain, if he can, how it could have obtained universal and unquestioned apostolic authority. Its very difference from the earlier Gospels must have provoked inquiry, and this must have led to its rejection, especially at a time when some who had known the apostle yet survived; and no one now pretends to assign it to a later period.

We designedly restrict ourselves to this *lower plane* of reasoning, forbearing to urge the argument that weighs with us more than all things else; namely, that no one but John *could* have written such a Gospel, and that to read it with a mind open to conviction is to be assured that it came from the pen of the bosom disciple.

Let us next consider the internal relation to each other of the *synoptical* Gospels. Here we have remarkable agreements and remarkable differences. The general plan of all three is the same, and there lies at the foundation of each a basis of common matter — common, not in substance alone, but, to a great extent, in form also. It is manifest, nevertheless, that the three evangelists wrote independently of

each other. Matthew, for example, did not draw his materials from Luke; for there is his genealogy of our Lord, and his full account of the sermon on the mount, not to name other particulars. Nor did Luke take his materials from Matthew; for there is his genealogy also, so strikingly different from that of Matthew, with large sections peculiar to himself. Mark has but little absolutely new matter; but into his narratives are interwoven numerous little incidents not found elsewhere in a very vivid and graphic manner. They are introduced, moreover, in such a natural and artless way that no one can doubt their genuineness. Another point to be noticed is, that the three synoptical writers do not always agree as to the *order* in which they record events, nor as to the *accompanying circumstances*.

Yet these three Gospels, one written by an apostle, the other two by apostolic men, were all received from the first as of equal authority. The natural explanation is, that their authors all wrote in the apostolic age, and, consequently, all had access, each of them independently of the other two, to the most authentic sources of information. How far these sources lay in written documents, like those referred to by Luke,¹ and how far in the current apostolic tradition, it is not necessary here to determine. Suffice it to say, that each evangelist selected from the common mass such materials as suited his purpose, and the churches everywhere unhesitatingly received each of the three Gospels, notwithstanding the differences above noticed, because they had undoubted evidence of their apostolic origin and authority. *After* the apostolic age three Gospels, bearing to each other such relations as do these, could not possibly have been imposed upon the churches; least of all could they have been imposed as of equal apostolic authority. We know from the resistance which those churches made to Marcion's mutilated gospel how fully alive they were to the character of their sacred records. On apostolic authority they could receive—to mention a single representative example—both Matthew's

¹ Chap. i. 1.

and Luke's account of our Lord's genealogy, difficult as is the problem of bringing them into harmony with each other. But it is certain that they would not have received the two on the authority of men who lived after the apostolic age. More than this, no gospel, appearing for the first time after the age of the apostles and apostolic men, and claiming apostolic authority, could possibly have met with undisputed and universal reception, not only in the region where it originated, but in all the different and distant provinces of Christendom.

Did our limits permit, we could go through the gospel records, and show that the severest scrutiny has been able to detect in them *no trace of a later age*; that every age has its peculiar impress of thought and reasoning by which it is distinguished from every other age, and that in this respect the Gospels, with the other canonical books of the New Testament, *wear their own proper livery*, which no writer of the following age was able successfully to counterfeit; that the *peculiar form of the Greek language* employed by the evangelists belongs to the apostolic age, when the teachers and writers of the church were Jews; and we could adduce other arguments drawn from the internal character of the Gospels. But we pause here, simply remarking that these internal proofs, coinciding as they do with a great and varied mass of external testimony, place the genuineness of our four canonical Gospels on a foundation that cannot be shaken.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Testimonies belonging to the Close of the Second and the Beginning of the Third Century.

For a full account of these the reader may be referred to works specially devoted to the subject, like Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History*, Vol. ii., Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, and the critical commentaries and introductions to the New Testament. We restrict ourselves to a few of the more important passages.

Irenaeus. "Matthew published a writing of the gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, when Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and founding the church. But after their departure [that is, probably,

their decease; compare Luke ix. 31; 2 Pet. i. 15, where the same word *ἐξόδος* is used], Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself also delivered to us in writing the things preached by Peter; and Luke the follower of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined on his bosom, himself also published the gospel when he lived in Ephesus of Asia.¹

"Such is the certainty in respect to the Gospels that even the heretics bear testimony to them, and every one of them endeavors to establish his doctrine by making these his point of departure. For the Ebionites, who use only the Gospel according to Matthew, are convicted by that very Gospel of making false assumptions respecting the Lord. But Marcion, who mutilates the Gospel according to Luke, is shown by what is still kept in his Gospel to be a blasphemer of the one existing God. But they who separate Jesus from the Christ, and say that the Christ remained impassible while Jesus suffered, if they will read with the love of truth the Gospel of Mark, to which they give the preference, can be corrected by it. But as to those of Valentine's sect who make a very abundant use of the Gospel according to John for the exhibition of their syzygies,² it can be made plain from that very Gospel that they affirm nothing rightly, as I have shown in the first book."³

The above passage is very important as containing the testimony of the heretical sects also. The universal reception and use of the four Gospels was so ancient and firmly established that the teachers of error could not deny their authority, but rather sought to avail themselves of it for their own ends. In this same chapter Irenaeus goes on to argue from various supposed analogies that the number of the Gospels could have been neither more nor less than four. They correspond, he tells us, to the four regions of the world and the four cardinal winds; they are the cherubim with their four faces upon which the incarnate Word sits, each Gospel answering to one of the cherubim: that of John to the lion, that of Luke to the ox, that of Matthew to the human face, that of Mark to the eagle, etc. The reasoning is fanciful, but it all rests on the historic fact that the Christian church had possessed from apostolic times four authoritative Gospels, and only four.

In connection with Irenaeus we may consider the testimony of the churches of Lyons and Vienne in Gaul, in a letter addressed by them to "the churches of Asia and Phrygia," which Eusebius has preserved for us,⁴ and which describes the severe persecution through which they had recently

¹ In Eusebius's *Hist. Eccl.* v. 8.

² For the meaning of this term, which the Latin translator of Irenaeus expresses by the word "*conjugationes*," the reader may consult Torrey's *Neander*, Vol. i. pp. 416-434.

³ *Contra haeres.* iii. 11.

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.* v. 1.

passed in the reign of Antoninus Verus, about A.D. 177. In this they say: "So was fulfilled that which was spoken by our Lord, 'The time shall come in which whosoever killeth you shall think that he doeth God service.'" ¹ In speaking again of a certain youthful martyr, they first compare him to Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, affirming in the very words of Luke that he "had walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless;" ² and then go on to describe him as having the Comforter in himself, the Spirit, more abundantly than Zacharias, where they apply to the Holy Spirit a term peculiar to the apostle John. The Gospels of Luke and John, then, were well known and in common use in Gaul in the West, and Asia Minor in the East, in the days of Pothinus, bishop of these churches, who suffered martyrdom in the persecution. But Pothinus was ninety years old, so that his knowledge of these Gospels must have reached back to the first quarter of the second century, when many who had known the apostles were yet living.

Tertullian. The testimony of this Father will come up again under the head of the integrity of the gospel narratives. At present we simply give two short extracts. Having shown that the Gospels have for their authors not apostles alone, but also apostolic men, he goes on to say: "In fine, of the apostles, John and Matthew infuse into us the faith; of the apostolic men, Luke and Mark renew it, beginning as they do from the same principles as it respects one God the Creator, and his Christ, born of a virgin, the fulfilling of the law and the prophets."³

"In a word, if it is manifest that that is the more true which is the more ancient, that the more ancient which is also from the beginning, that from the beginning which is from the apostles; it will certainly be in like manner manifest that that has been handed down from the apostles which was held as inviolable among the apostolic churches." And, after defending the canonical Gospel of Luke against Marcion's mutilated Gospel, he adds: "The same authority of the apostolic churches will defend the other Gospels also, which we have in like manner through them and according to them—I mean, those of John and Matthew; although that which Mark published may be also called the Gospel of Peter, whose interpreter Mark was."⁴

Clement of Alexandria. "But in the same books [the lost books entitled Ὑποτυπώσεις] Clement has given a tradition of the primitive presbyters⁵ concerning the order of the Gospels to the following purport. He said that of the Gospels those which contain the genealogies [that is, those of Matthew and Luke] were first written; but that the history of that according to Mark was as follows: When Peter had preached the word publicly in Rome and promulgated the gospel by the Spirit, those present, being many in number, entreated Mark, as one who had followed Peter for a long time

¹ John. xvi. 2.² Luke i. 6.³ Adv. Marcion, iv. 2.⁴ Adv. Marcion, iv. 5.⁵ παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων.

and had his words in memory, that he would write down the things spoken; that Mark having composed the Gospel gave it to those who had asked it of him, which when Peter had learned he neither forbad nor encouraged it."¹

Theophilus of Antioch. Of this man we find the following notice in the writings of Jerome: "Theophilus, the seventh bishop of the church at Antioch after the apostle Peter, who has left to us a monument of his genius in constructing a single work out of the words of the four evangelists, has spoken thus in his commentaries concerning the present parable."² In his books to Antolycus, Theophilus quotes from Matt. v. 28, 32, 44, 46; vi. 3,³ and from Luke xviii. 27.⁴ Also the following from John: "Whence the holy scriptures teach us, and all the inspired men, one of whose number, John, thus speaks: 'In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God,' showing that in the beginning God was one, and the word in him"⁵

NOTE B.

Justin Martyr's Citations.

Respecting the character of the documents cited by Justin there has been a very extended discussion. We only notice here a few writers of different countries and different ecclesiastical connections.

Among Americans Professor Norton, in the first volume of his work, entitled "Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels," has discussed the question at some length.⁶ In the fifth of his "Additional Notes" marked E, is a valuable classification of Justin's citations, with remarks on the quotations of the Fathers generally.

Westcott of England, in his work "On the Canon of the New Testament," has examined the same matter with great thoroughness and candor, devoting particular attention to the passages which contain more or less important variations from our canonical Gospels, or which introduce matter not found in them.⁷ The discussion will richly repay a careful and repeated perusal.

The labors of Professor Semisch of Germany in this field of investigation are well known to biblical scholars. His judgment respecting the sources of Justin's citations has already been given.⁸

In Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*, Justin's citations may be found arranged under the appropriate heads, with some valuable foot-notes. It is superfluous to add that the subject is discussed more or less fully in the modern critical commentaries.

We pass by Justin's citations from Matthew and Luke as too numerous to need specification.

¹ In Eusebius's *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 14.

² *Ad Antolycum*, iii. p. 126.

³ *Ad Antolycum*, ii. p. 100.

⁷ pp. 109-206.

² *Epist. ad Algas.* Vol. iv. p. 199.

⁴ *Ad Antolycum*, ii. p. 92.

⁶ Part ii. ch. 2, and additional note E.

⁸ See above, p. 97.

The following passage has been adduced as containing a reference to Mark's Gospel: "But in what condition of sensation and punishment the unrighteous shall be, hear from the following words which are spoken in like manner with reference to this thing, 'Their worm shall not cease, and their fire shall not be quenched.'" But it is not decisive; for the words quoted may be from the Septuagint version of Isa. lxvi. 24, to which passage, indeed, Justin's words have the closer resemblance, as will be evident from the following comparison:

Isa. lxvi. 24: 'Ὁ γὰρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται.

Mark ix. 44, 46, 48: "Ὁποιον ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται.

Justin Apol. ii. p. 87: 'Ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ παυθήσεται καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται.

But the following passage is decisive, for it contains a notice peculiar to Mark: "And the statement that he [Christ] changed the name of Peter, one of his apostles, and its having been written in his memoirs; and also that he changed the name of two other brethren, sons of Zebedee, to that of Boanerges, which signifies sons of thunder."¹ The notice respecting the epithet "Boanerges," as given to the two sons of Zebedee, is found only in Mark iii. 17.

The following passage cannot be regarded otherwise than as a free quotation from John iii. 3-5: "For Christ said, except ye be born again, ye shall by no means enter into the kingdom of heaven. But that it is impossible that they who have once been born should enter into the wombs of those who bore them is manifest to all."² To affirm that a passage so peculiar as this was borrowed by both Justin and the evangelist John from a common tradition, is to substitute a very improbable for a very natural explanation. Besides, Justin uses phrases peculiar to John, calling our Saviour "the Word of God," "the Word made flesh," and affirming that "he was in a peculiar sense begotten the only Son of God," "an only-begotten One to the Father of all things, being in a peculiar sense begotten of him as word and power, and afterwards made man through the virgin"; and calling him "the good rock that sends forth (literally, causes to bubble forth, compare John iv. 14) living waters into the hearts of those who through him have loved the Father of all things, and that gives to all who will the water of life to drink."³

NOTE C.

References of Papias and the Epistle to Diognetus.

Papias's account of Mark's Gospel is as follows: "Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately what things he remem-

¹ Apol. ii. p. 333. ² Apol. i. 61. ³ See in Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*.

bered; not indeed as recording in order the things spoken or done by Christ. For he was not a hearer or follower of the Lord; but afterwards" — after the Lord's ascension — "of Peter, who imparted [to the people] his teachings as occasion required, but not as making an orderly narrative of the Lord's words. Mark, then, committed no error in thus writing some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, to omit nothing of the things he heard, and not to repeat anything among them incorrectly."¹ These words of Papias are not very definite, but the fair interpretation of them seems to be that Mark composed his Gospel from materials furnished by the preaching of Peter, who imparted to the people his instructions as occasion required. We need not press the words "some things" and "not in order" (*οὐ μὲν τοι τάξει*), as if Papias intended to say that Mark's Gospel was only a loose collection of a few narratives without connection or arrangement. He meant simply to say that it was not exhaustive, and that he did not restrict himself to the chronological order of events.

The author of the epistle to Diognetus sees in Judaism no divine element, and wholly ignores its relation to Christianity; for the last two sections of the epistle are admitted to be spurious. In this grave error he approaches to the position of Marcion and the Gnostics; yet the epistle contains none of the peculiar tenets of Gnosticism. It is not by direct quotation, but rather by his allusions, that he betrays an acquaintance with the Gospel of John and the Epistles of Paul also. Thus he says: "He who is truly the Almighty, and the Creator of all things, and the invisible God, himself founded from heaven among men and established in their hearts the truth, and the holy and incomprehensible Word, not sending to men, as one might naturally suppose, some minister or messenger or some ruler of those that manage earthly matters, or some one of those entrusted with the administration of affairs in the heavens; but the very Artificer and Maker of the universe, by whom he created the heavens, by whom he enclosed the sea within its proper bounds, whose mysteries [hidden laws] all the elements faithfully observe, from whom the sun has received to keep the measures of his daily courses, whose command to shine by night the moon obeys, whom the stars obey that follow the course of the moon, by whom all things are disposed and limited and subjected, the heavens and the things in the heavens, the earth and the things in the earth, the sea and the things in the sea, fire, air, the deep, the things above, the things beneath, and the things midway. This one [this Word, mentioned above] he sent to men," etc.² And again: "Having formed a great and ineffable conception [the plan of man's redemption] he communicated this to his only Son.³ As long, therefore, as he kept secret his wise counsel, he seemed to neglect and disregard us. But when he revealed by his beloved Son⁴ and

¹ Eusebius's Hist. Eccl. iii. 39.

² Epistle, § 7.

³ ταύτην ἐκoinώσατο μόνῳ τῷ παιδί.

⁴ διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδός.

made manifest the things which were prepared from the beginning, he gave at the same time all things to us," etc.¹ "He himself gave his own Son a ransom for us, the Holy for the unholy," etc.² "For God loved men for whose sake he made the world, to whom he subjected all things in the earth, to whom he gave reason, to whom mind, to whom alone he gave the privilege of looking upward to himself, whom he formed after his own image, to whom he sent his only-begotten Son,³ to whom he promised the kingdom in heaven, and will give it to those that love him."⁴

If the former passages (with the exception of the term "word" as applied to the Son of God) remind us as much of Paul's Epistles as of John's Gospel, this last contains an expression peculiar to the latter.

NOTE D.

Citations of the Apostolic Fathers.

Clement of Rome is the earliest among these. Many among the church Fathers identify him with the Clement mentioned by the apostle, Phil. iv. 3. But this seems to be nothing more than conjecture without valid foundation. The question of his relation to the church of Rome, of which he is represented to have been one of the early bishops, need not be discussed here. Of the numerous writings ascribed to him, the great mass is acknowledged to be spurious. But the first of the two Epistles to the Corinthians that bear his name is generally admitted to be genuine. From its contents we infer that it was written shortly after some persecution (chap. 1), which Grabe, Hefele, and others suppose to have been that under Nero; Lardner, Cotelierius, and others, that under Domitian. Upon the former supposition it was written about A.D. 68 — a supposition apparently favored by the way in which the author refers to the temple and service at Jerusalem as still in existence (chaps. 40, 41); according to the latter, about A.D. 96 or 97. Clement frequently refers to the Epistles of Paul, and especially the Epistle to the Hebrews. Of his references to the synoptical Gospels the following are examples:

"For thus he [the Lord Jesus] said: Be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that ye may be forgiven; as ye do, so shall it be done to you; as ye give, so shall it be given to you; as ye judge, so shall ye receive judgment; as ye are kind, so shall ye receive kindness; with what measure ye measure, with that shall it be measured to you."⁵

"Remember the words of Jesus our Lord, for he said: Woe unto that man; it were good for him that he had not been born, rather than that he should offend one of my elect. It were better that a millstone should be

¹ Epistle, § 8.

² πρὸς οὓς ἀπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ.

³ Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. 13

² Epistle, § 9.

⁴ Epistle, § 10.

placed around him [that is around his neck] and that he should be plunged into the sea, than that he should offend one of my little ones."¹

Since the Epistle of Clement is about as old as the fourth Gospel, we cannot expect to find in it any allusions to that Gospel.

Ignatius was bishop of Antioch, and suffered martyrdom A.D. 107, or according to some accounts 116. We give from those of his epistles which are generally received as genuine² the following selection :

"Be wise as the serpent in all things and harmless as a dove."³

"For what is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"⁴

The other passages may be seen in Lardner, Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, etc. Of the passages which have been supposed to contain allusions to the fourth Gospel we give the following: "He [Christ] is the door of the Father, by which enter in Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the prophets and the apostles and the church."⁵

"I desire the bread of God, the heavenly bread, the bread of life; which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was afterwards made of the seed of David. . And I desire the drink of God, his blood, which is incorruptible love and perennial life."⁶

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, was a disciple of the apostle John. He suffered martyrdom about A.D. 166. Of his writings only one short epistle remains to us, addressed to the Philippians. This abounds in references to the books of the New Testament, especially the Epistles of Paul. Of his quotations from the Gospel of Matthew the following are specimens :

"But remember the things which the Lord said in his teaching: Judge not, that ye be not judged; forgive, and it shall be forgiven to you; be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; with what measure ye measure, it shall be measured back to you. And: Blessed are the poor and those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."⁷

"As the Lord said: The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak."⁸

The following testimony for the fourth Gospel, though indirect, is decisive: "For every one who does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is antichrist,"⁹ a manifest quotation from 1 John iv. 3. But that the Gos-

¹ Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. 46.

² Of which there is a longer and a shorter recension, the former generally admitted to be interpolated.

³ Epistle to Polycarp, chap. 2.

⁴ Epistle to the Romans, chap. 7. On this passage Kirchhofer remarks: "The old translation omits it; on which ground Grabe regards it as an addition."

⁵ To the Philadelphians, chap. 9.

⁶ To the Romans, chap. 7, compared with John vi. 32-65.

⁷ Epistle to the Philippians, chap. 2.

⁸ Epistle to the Philippians, chap. 7.

⁹ Epistle to the Philippians, chap. 7.

pel of John and this first Epistle both proceeded from the same author, is an acknowledged fact.

There is an epistle current under the name of *Barnabas*, of which until 1859 the first four chapters were known only through the medium of a poor Latin version. But the Codex Sinaiticus, discovered by Tischendorf in that year, contains the entire epistle in the original Greek. That the author was Barnabas, the companion of Paul, may well be denied. But the composition of the epistle is assigned, with probability, to the beginning of the second century. "Clement of Alexandria at the end of the second century reckoned it as a part of holy scripture."¹ In this epistle occur the following remarkable words: "Let us take care that we be not of those of whom it is written that many were called but few chosen" — a plain reference to Matt. xx. 16; xxii. 14, and that as scripture; for the form of quotation, "as it is written," is employed by the writers of the New Testament only in citations from scripture.

ARTICLE IV.

THE NATURAL THEOLOGY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

BY REV. JOHN BASCOM, PROFESSOR IN WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

NO. V.

EXCHANGE AND CURRENCY.

ONE of the striking features of man is the multiplicity of his desires. There is truly no limit to them. The increase in the number and kinds of internal impulses, when human life is compared with any form of brute life, is very great. Alike significant is the fact of the very limited ability of each individual to gratify these wishes. The circle of attainment is expanded in man to dimensions of which we have no previous prophecy, while the direct organic means of acquisition — the physical weapons of offence and defence and nutrition — seem rather to have fallen away than to have been enlarged.

The most rapacious hunger of the brute is simple in its claims, easily lapses into entire satiety, and comes to the

¹ Tischendorf, Sinaitic Manuscript, chap. 4, where the reader may see this matter discussed at some length.

labor of provision, armed with senses, weapons, and powers that ordinarily make of sustenance a light task. The impulse is simple and direct, the means present and adequate, and the pressure for new devices slight.

The number and variety of man's wants, their tendency to indefinite expansion under the encouragement of gratification, taken with the feebleness of his physical powers, indicate at once an entirely new claim for thought, for a combination and thus for a division of labor hardly hinted at elsewhere. Man's personal power to gratify his wishes is so disproportionate to the diversity of pleasures he covets, and to their difficulty of attainment, that we are surprised that his exertions can, even in connection with all the mechanism of civilized society, be made to play such a part in the great productive processes and circuits of the world, as to compensate the variety of toil represented in his food and clothing, in his means of shelter, of comfort, luxury, intellectual and spiritual enjoyment. In a single manufacture in which many are engaged, and whose joint products are divided among the laborers, there is in the share of each a great increase of the fruits of labor. The larger the number of persons, and the more the machinery employed, the more marked is the multiplication; but when the individual makes his toil a constituent of that of the whole civilized world, when he divides labor not merely with individuals but with nations, races, and zones, his portion of the proceeds, his dividend, assumes astonishing dimensions and variety. The produce of all climates, the products of all skill are represented in it, and he bears away, as the just equivalent of his own simple, single form of labor, a wealth that would be fabulous if computed in the exertion its direct attainment would have cost him. Nor is this true of one only, it is true of all who stand in the productive circle, and the aggregate gain therefore is beyond computation. It is the space which separates the most barbarous from the most civilized society, which parts that production of which each individual is the centre and circumference from that whose circulation inter-

laces the world, and fills from pole to pole the channels of commerce.

That which gives the opportunity for this combination of power is exchange. Exchange is the most constant and pervasive of the processes of political economy. It attends constantly on production, while distribution appears only under this form. Indeed, looking upon it as the ever-present and peculiar economic phenomenon, some have neglected more inherent distinctions, and termed political economy the science of exchanges. The direct advantages of traffic between individuals are, the greater skill which it enables each to acquire; the accumulation of capital and productive agents which it makes possible in every branch of art. Such a thing as skill could hardly exist without that concentration of effort which trade invites. Each would find occasion to do too much of all kinds, too little of any kind, of labor to develop in it the resources of either mind or body. But a more unfortunate consequence even than this want of skill would be the want of all implements and machinery; the naked, unarmed hand of man being left in each direction to make what progress it might in gratifying his wants. Thus exchange, transfer, which has been regarded as itself unprofitable, a burden on productive labor, lies in part at the foundation of production, and is its constant, essential condition.

The indirect consequences of an arrest of exchange would be yet more disastrous. The desires of men would be called forth only within the narrow circle of their necessities, and their tastes would thus sink toward the appetites of the brute. The greater part of man's nature would remain unlocked, no force awakening those impulses which quicken his powers. Beyond a little half-instinctive cunning, man would have no skill, no ease in the adaptation of means to ends, no rule over nature, no mastery over mind. The art called forth by traffic holds up the lures, the strongest and most universal incentives to social attainments; the things we desire to have and to be known to have; the things which society

makes indispensable, and which are in turn indispensable to the ameliorating, humanizing effects of society. Thus dress, houses, equipage, works of art, means of knowledge, develop the man under influences which come from the most varied quarters, which have their sources deep in the past, and broadly scattered in the present.

The labor and skill which the gratification of desires so evoked calls forth become the framework of character, occasion that constant play of thought which secures to all the rudiments of intelligence, and makes way for the growth of general knowledge.

Thus, in God's providence, it is the individual weakness of man, his inability to supply with tolerable fulness his own wants, that becomes the occasion of his grandest achievements, and the development of unimagined power. He is forced into society by dependence and defencelessness, and in society reveals a strength that, growing by the motives which first called it forth, at length seats itself with imperial power amidst the forces of nature.

To some minds there has seemed a profound loss in this gain, and that the appliances and indulgences of society rob the individual of independence and efficiency, set him apart to some barren routine of labor, burden him with the toil of acquiring that which is only necessary as society deems it so, and makes him the prey of desires only the more numerous and ravenous as they are fed. Hence, in part, the proverb: Blessed be nothing. This impression arises from the false, poetical light cast over a primitive, barbarous condition, the euphemistic phrase, a state of nature, by which it has been characterized, and from the real discouragements which belong to transitional and incomplete forms of society, causing us, under the discomfort of present pain and the fret of immediate evil, to be willing to overlook the greater dangers from which we are escaping.

There is no true independence in savage life. It has but the merest semblance, not the substance, of liberty. It is an escape from servitude on the dead, negative side; downward,

not upward. The flinty rock, least of all susceptible of influence, most free from extraneous force, is the image of this freedom. An independence which arises from the absence of the objects of desire can have no attractions, except as we mistake it for the government, the calm scorn and composure of a mind occupied with greater things. The lowest brute, in the glut of a single appetite, of all sensitive objects approaches nearest that independence which consists in freedom from irritating wants.

The only liberty which is an excellence is found in the full possession and perfect proportion of desires. The clamor of the brood of pleasure is not so importunate that we must needs exterminate them to have peace; the irritability of the social and intellectual sensorium so great that we must rely on the opiate of ignorance for rest; the wilfulness of our wayward powers such that we must plot their eradication to restore order. Impatience and satiety are as abnormal to the soul as neuralgia or nausea to the body. Nerves that are only avenues of pain are not less undesigned than susceptibilities whose indulgence is a burden. A scorn of life shows the abuse of life, and the sad confusion we have brought into it. The egress and safety of annihilation are sought only when we have so embarrassed our spiritual powers and reversed their action as to make their perpetual yield one of pain instead of pleasure. The philosopher or poet that sighs for the independence of brute savage life has turned his back on the future, and, in sheer indolence, refuses to climb by the only ladder that leads to the light. To escape the anarchy of an ungoverned empire he lays down the sceptre, and withdraws from a labor because of that which chiefly recommends it — its call for manliness and strength.

Nor is the second loss of a system of exchange much less fanciful, that of efficiency, of powers broadly cultivated by a general provision for all one's wants. Certain physical faculties are doubtless trained by barbarous life, and somewhat impaired by the great division of labor which accompanies civilization; but to suppose that the whole circle of powers called

forth in the first state is equal to that in the second is preposterous. To succeed in London demands the exercise of faculties in a fulness, variety, and degree which show the cunning of the patient and crafty savage to be in comparison little better than that of a wild beast. If we turn our attention to the drudges of civilization, to those who labor without hope, without ambition, who do what they do doggedly, and under the sternest necessity, and contrast these with the idealized savage of poetry, bringing his forces into fierce, free play, we seem to find some ground for disparagement. But we are to remember that the first class utterly disappears in primitive barbarous life. The waves are too violent for them; at the first blow they beat the life from the weakest, and these sink at once. It is only a few strong swimmers that can live at all on the rough, wild sea of uncivilized society. As the conditions of existence are made easier, many appear who are yet but just able to keep the surface. Their presence and character, however, testify to the lighter stress and stringency of natural law, the yielding hand which nature extends to those who do little more than beg for life, who have no assiduity, forecast, virtue, or good fortune to bring to its labors and risks.

Exchange does, indeed, narrow down the exertion we put forth for mere subsistence. To fish and to hunt require more varied skill, and give fuller physical development, than to follow the jenny, or turn a boot under a pegger, whose rapid, precise, imperious blows seem to have caught the will and skill of manhood, and laid the more menial service on the patient attendant. Yet even thus, there is not only more development for the whole man, a broader social and intellectual life, a more thorough calling forth of all resources, and quickening of the entire circle of feeling than belong to the uncivilized man; but these artizans of the shop, these men of disproportionate and unequal powers, so called, the skill of a life-time lodged between the thumb and finger, in the turn of the hand, the quick detection of the eye, with what they are, can make, and can become, match themselves

in most disproportionate numbers against savage strength, endurance, and cunning. A colony of Englishmen, a troop of Spaniards, rule over, or roll up and press back the inhabitants of a continent with no other hold on the soil than this loose, aboriginal growth.

The power of the individual, whatever he may concede, whatever he may seem to lose, is that of the society to which he belongs. This it is which gives him the stamina of its own character, the stubbornness of its patience, the wealth of its resources, the skill of its methods, the sanguine hope and sense of possibilities which belong to its achievements. It is only the lowest galley slaves of labor, chained to their seats by the most pressing want, that are weakened, deadened, and wasted by industry, that catch none of its curious and skilful powers, that realize none of its social immunities. Yet, even these get a liberty to live they would lose instantly on lower conditions.

In proportion as physical exertion is the only exertion which men will put forth, some variety of effort is in this exacted of them. When, however, by combination and exchange of labor they have lessened the task of the individual, there arise at the same time new calls for social activity, new avenues for intellectual life are opened which reabsorb the powers liberated from the toil for subsistence. Well may labor at one point be narrowed in kind, since, in connection therewith, there arise so many, so new, so diverse desires, giving play to manhood in a broader and better field than that of mere work. Ease and simplification in the lower departments rightly attend complexity and growth in the higher; and it is not with loss that society substitutes for diversity of manual skill the discipline of the emotional, intellectual, and spiritual natures. It is only by the singleness and efficiency of labor that we are ultimately to be redeemed from it, in its painful forms, while earning for ourselves those accumulated enjoyments which bring to life its true amenities. It is from the partial and perverted action of a law of individual and social growth that unfavorable results incidentally arise.

While it is usually conceded that the indispensable condition of all social, and, as man is but the leaf and bud of society, of all individual growth, is exchange, complete and free, it has often been thought that national strength and well-being have another law. If we look narrowly at the structure of the world we shall see that there is much designedly tending to national isolation. There are broad distinctions of families and races, issuing in deep-seated antipathies and unconquerable prejudices. There are wrongs of the past, giving occasion to hereditary hatreds. There are diversities of customs, institutions, and language, arresting sympathy and social connections. There is great variety of powers and of attainments, rendering the maintenance of political equality and commercial justice difficult or impossible. There are, finally, those natural barriers of rivers and seas and mountains, of diverse soils and climates and local adaptations, which divide the earth's surface into kingdoms and provinces, whose limits and ramparts nature has ordained. Population, flowing into certain basins, is segregated there as certainly as the lake or sea between its banks.

The history of the world hitherto has received its form very much from these natural divisions. It is not without reason that the unity of the human family is represented as broken up by sin. The separation of tribes and nations, however, has not merely followed as a result of transgression, has not been simply a consequence of degradation and war, but has helped to arrest the evil, and furnish more favorable conditions for renewed growth. The homogeneity of great empires, the kindred, uniform forces that act on them, the swell of popular sentiment that sweeps completely through them, are unfavorable conditions for nascent civilization. The feeble germ of growth needs more isolation, more protection. In the track of armies, amid the surging and resurging of a lawless population, it is uprooted and swept away. Industry is robbed of its rewards, society is not allowed time to take up and complete a decisive movement,

to fasten and defend itself, to acquire the momentum of national character, to enkindle the enthusiasm of success, and feel the inspiration of great achievements. The centres of growth have been restricted, have unobservedly acquired a power sufficient to resist the inroads which increasing wealth provokes, and passed the weak and flexible periods of germination and growth in comparative obscurity and safety. England has owed much to her insular position, Venice to her natural defences, and America to her remoteness from European powers.

So, too, the conditions under which the problem of human society has been wrought out have been by these divisions made correspondingly varied and hopeful. Peculiar phases of climate, soil, and national character have been allowed their full, undisturbed action. Diverse tendencies have been completely developed, and have settled into national characteristics, customs, and institutions. All that was promising in each has gained maturity, made its entire contribution to the progress of society, and been prepared later to impart impulse to diverse forms of growth, and, in turn, to receive it from them.

A civilization matured in Egypt, shaped by its physical and intellectual conditions, lets fall the seeds of a new and diverse development in the remote soil of Greece. Here the varied conditions of life not only turn the old into the new, the pyramid into the Parthenon, but bring again to maturity germs which are ready later at Rome, and later still in the western wilds, to yield new varieties.

That separation which creates and encourages distinct tendencies; which arrests the ebb and flow of homogeneous forces; which resolves the single problem into a thousand, inserting into each new possibilities, new motives, taking from each certain dangers; which secures varieties, and, by combination and dissemination, establishes fixed, national stocks, bearing with them through centuries the seeds of law or of art or of religion, has indeed, from the call of Abraham downward, played a most important part in civilization.

Progress by separation is preliminary, is characteristic of a period essentially barbarous and violent, whose intercourse is one of war, disrapture, and overthrow, whose angry currents overleap the levee only to devastate and devour, not to fertilize. Counter forces have long been at work, whose complete prevalence will indicate a much higher state. Lakes, seas, oceans, have become means of communication, bonds of union more than barriers of division. Mountain ranges are pierced by railroads, commerce creates common interests, knowledge removes prejudices, intercourse softens hatred, humanity inspires sympathy, and Christianity enkindles love. Once more the world becomes one, not under the iron bands of empire, but of productive interests; not under the sway of lawless physical force, but of scientific knowledge, social influences, and philanthropic aims. Nations accept a moral obligation to their fellows beyond that of specific contract, and we have in the laws of nations the first of those ties of justice which are to weave the races into universal and peaceful order.

But neither of these forces, either that of separation or of unity, should, passing the limits falling to it, displace the other. Each should be left to perform its natural office. Unity is of little value without the full variety of national life. Local excellence loses the major part of its worth if it does not freely and faithfully yield itself to the common good. Chief among the forces that work beneficently, even-handedly for both single and joint development is exchange, commerce.

Production must rest on national growth; in this must be found its abiding strength; yet it cannot reach perfection, secure the widest circle of enjoyments with the least labor, without a free and constant interchange of national products. There are many natural forces which provide for home growth, for domestic manufactures, for the multiplying of national resources. The shorter the distances of transfer the more profitable is trade. A community which can supply its wants within itself escapes the multiplication of the means

and agents of traffic, and thus the compensation of a large class of laborers. The toil of commerce, like all other toil, exhausts our productive resources, and should be subjected to the rigid claims of economy. To be able to dispense with a portion of it is as tangible and certain a gain as the introduction of a new machine. Nature gives to the trade of neighbors this bounty, that it consumes less time, and costs less labor.

Again, production provides by its own laws for the quickening and development of home resources by the various tastes and talents to which, in its diverse fields, it affords exercise. No community is by constitution or desire organized into the guild of a single trade. A variety of powers, circumstances, and feelings lead to a kindred variety of callings, and enhance success in each by more pleasing and perfect adaptations. While a novel employment, a new branch of production, has its dangers, it has also its peculiar advantages, and furnishes incentives which are not found in the old walks of industry. As a people grow in wealth and enterprise they become bolder, stronger, more inventive; a new sense of power takes possession of them; difficult undertakings become first possible, then easy; their abundant, varied, and restless activities seek and open fresh channels without deserting the old ways. The wide-awake, inventive power which is quickened by enterprise, and belongs to every productive nation, is a strong, natural force working for the diversity of home industry.

A still stronger provision in production itself for this end is the number of commodities whose value is either lost or greatly diminished by distant transfer. Produce is generally of this character. Meats, fruits, and vegetables seek a home market, and tend therefore strongly to create it. The grains, though capable of long carriage, rise in value as they pass every depot, and thus, at each point of the route, offer easier conditions of livelihood to those who will consume them there, than to those farther on. All the productions of the earth, then, especially its more perishable ones, make the

proffer of abundant and cheap subsistence to the artizans who will consume them on the very soil that produces them. Agriculture, unable permanently to prosper, to maintain and enrich the soil, when dependent solely on a remote market, furnishes many inducements to those manufactures which bring consumption nearer, and enable it to return more to the fields whence it draws its nourishment.

Again, the natural agents of production, water, wood, coal; the coarser materials, ore, lumber, cotton, wool, are broadly scattered, and invite use at the points at which they are furnished. An immediate fine is, as it were, imposed on their removal in their rough state by the extra cost of transfer.

A fourth force strongly counteracting the consumption of foreign goods, and that too at a time when the claims of trade are most generally recognized, is the reduction of the rate of profits with the increase of capital. As production enlarges, and in its most remunerative branches accumulates capital, this agent, made more abundant, commands less returns, and is ready to accept branches of business previously regarded as unprofitable. Capital, always reluctant to enter on foreign investments, will, as fast as it fills the old employments and secures from them their first and largest gains, be ready for, and desirous of, even less advantageous occupations, and will thus create a demand for new branches of home industry. Indeed, contemplating these many and growing motives to a varied development of national resources and national independence, we might well be apprehensive, till we had considered the adverse provision of nature, that growth would result in too great separation, even in complete national isolation. Let us see the equally important and compensatory action of natural laws by which the world becomes one socially as it is physically.

The same principle which secures diversity of employment between individuals and a free exchange of products, finds no natural, and can suffer no logical, arrest when communities and nations, instead of persons, become the parties. The

man, the village, the city, the province, the kingdom, the empire, may, one as certainly as another, find place in the grand division of labor which organizes individuals into communities, communities into nations, and nations into the commercial, civilized world. Heterogeneity, diverse powers, opportunities, and hence employment, is no local law, no city or state regulation, but just so far as progress, the highest efficiency with the least labor is sought, enter inevitably as the only method by which the wonderful powers of nature and of man can be fully unfolded, and the whole globe as one complex, related, and mutually dependent organization can give to each of its inhabitants something of the wisdom and pleasure and power of all. No economist can render reasons why we should at any arbitrary state line arrest a law on whose action thus far our prosperity has depended. If we plant the germ we must accept its growth; if we nourish the root we must respect the stem and branch, though they rise beyond the plucking and bending of our hands.

More than this, the law of heterogeneity finds new enforcement as between nations. National character and adaptations are even more distinct than individual, while soil, climate, and locality impose a law that can at best be only partially evaded in the kinds of produce to be raised, of manufacture to be undertaken. So positive and imperative is nature on this point, that she renders many forms of production impossible to one country and inevitable to another, easy to this nation and difficult to that, pleasurable here and painful there. She sketches out the globe with thermal lines that are to her forces and servants no imaginary boundaries. Where she places cotton, the tea-plant, the sugarcane, rice, or wheat, there they grow, not to be coaxed into disobedience by all the importunity of man. Not only does she lay commands, she expresses wishes. She imparts to this soil some subtle quality, to that climate a delicate balance of heat and cold, to this atmosphere a degree of moisture or peculiar electric condition, and straightway some vegetable or chemical or mechanical process is facilitated, the wine

is flavored, or the fruit is ripened, or the thread is made smoother, and nature thereby bestows an advantage, makes a distribution of favors, which it is impossible to reverse.

This national division of resources, these territorial gifts, are at once more marked, more important and more firm than those which distinguish the parts of the same community, and they give peculiar power, nay, necessity, to the principle of free interchange at the point at which it is especially liable to suffer arrest.

The conflict of local with general interests is also carefully guarded. The freest home development is not retarded by foreign commerce. No advantage which has been gained in the home-labor market is lost by competition with the depressed labors of less fortunate regions. It matters not what the Chinese, the blacks of the West Indies or of America receive for their toil. The lowness of their wages does not lessen the returns of labor in England or in New England. The laborers of no one country are in competition with those of any other, however often the products of the two classes may cheapen each other in the same market. An invisible barrier of law hems about the industry of every land, and enables it to rest wholly on its own skill, and secure to the full the advantages of the forecast and energy that belong to it.

Suppose a country whose rate of wages is but one fourth that of a second with which it is maintaining unrestricted commerce. No additional liability or hazard is imposed on the nation whose laborers are more prosperous by this traffic. The ability of a nation to trade profitably with another in any commodity depends not on its actual but its relative cost of production; and this, not as compared with the same article manufactured elsewhere, but as compared with the cost of other commodities produced in the same community. If a people raise or manufacture one thing with twice the facility with which they can furnish equivalent amounts—equivalent in the world's market—of anything else, they can trade profitably in that product though every nation on the

globe produces it more readily than they. This their favored commodity is carried to a foreign port. They there find that it exchanges for an amount of other products double that which they could have secured at home by the labor which this has cost. This is the only fact in which they have any interest, and they go contentedly back with their gains. If any other law prevailed, a land of barren soil and nipping climate and stingy resources would be unable to carry anything with its wealthy neighbors to the world's market, since all of these have an absolute power of production greater than its own. What we buy abroad is brought back to our own market for consumption, and we compute our gains and losses by the condition this market presents. The values taken from and restored to the market whence we start and whither we return decide, and alone decide, the profits of a transaction. If labor is a shilling a day in the fabrication of that we carried out, so would it have been in the production of that we bring home, had we chosen to make rather than purchase the article. It matters nothing to me in an American market, that a Chinaman has received for his labor, contained in the produce purchased by me, no more pennies than my own countrymen would have received shillings. There is no direct competition of laborers with laborers in foreign trade. In commerce every nation prospers by the perfect development of its relative advantages over other nations, and is not in the least depressed either in labor or capital by the low wages paid in the nation to whose competition it is subjected in trade.

Development, civilization, depends on specialization and the perfection of skill, and these must result in constant exchange. The area over which this movement tends to extend itself, and may profitably extend itself, is the whole productive area of the earth. Contemporaneous with this extension in surface there tends also to rise a more varied subdivision of occupations in every part of the productive territory included in the general movement. The principle of specialty pervades the parts while it enlarges and

combines the whole ; and true growth lies in accepting and encouraging both movements with that mutual balance and safe relation of them for which natural forces have provided. They are not in conflict, but complement each other, are the diverse applications of the same principle, and can only impart entire prosperity by a joint and complete movement, the laws which rule production assigning the limits of each. The parts can neither be sacrificed to the whole, nor the whole to the parts. The organic principles which rule in production are as delicate, certain, and self-guided in their action as those of life, and can neither be arrested or modified in their application without loss. The body may number its bones, muscles, and organs by hundreds, and be the better for them all. Nature is as omnipotent when she combines and provides for the whole as when she finishes the parts.

Protection of home labor is not an attempt to avail ourselves of natural advantages, but to dispense with them ; to do that with difficulty which these enable us to do with ease, to beard fortune and pluck prosperity from her hand. Protection interferes with natural forces, with their inherent balance ; strives to localize progress and arrest universal development. In principle it is like the action of the individual who, envying the prosperity trade gives to the shopman, should resolve to produce all things for himself, and thus secure the profits at both ends of the bargain. It differs only in this, that it does not check the movement at so early a stage, striving for national and not for individual independence, and thus correspondingly diminishes the disaster. Protection has, however, no reason to give why natural forces and productive laws that suffice to rule within the nation may not rule over it. It cannot show how the varying, accidental bounds of civil government are able to impose new principles ; on what ground it is that a method good for communities, provinces, and states is not good for nationalities.

The reasons given for interference with the laws of exchange are either deceptive, or anticipate and provide for hostile, not

peaceable, relations. The advantages already spoken of as pressing forward local development, easy interchange, variety of occupation, complete development, are urged in behalf of protection. In this argument it is forgotten that these gains all exist without protection, beyond protection, and are present expressly to render it unnecessary. Each of them has a cash force, and up to that full force are operative, ready to favor any incipient effort that is made under them. These forces are good to secure home manufacture, and will secure it so far as they exist. Their theoretical is their actual power, and they cannot, therefore, be still further urged as sustaining artificial inducements which they have not supplied, and which are by so much in excess of the forces and motives actually presented by them. These, so far as they exist, are operative, adequate to their work, and make protection superfluous; so far as they do not exist, they cannot be urged as reasons. All wise men must cordially admit the necessity of home development. Nature provides for it; progress rests on it as an essential moiety of the movement, as one of the two limbs of motion. The only question is, whether we shall by artificial stimulus press growth at one point, and arrest it at another; whether we shall substitute partial for even, wide-spread, universal growth? Local advantages cannot be urged for this policy, since the opposite policy gratefully accepts these in their full force.

It is said that certain foreign nations have, in some directions, acquired a skill and momentum of manufacture which enable them to anticipate and baffle the incipient efforts of a growing people. This argument evidently rests, in large part, on the notion that the skill of one party is a disadvantage to all competing parties, that nature has left us open to the inroads of our fellows, that we must establish a guild to protect our craft, and national embankments to keep out the flood of foreign wares. Thus struggling to raise our own heads above the waters, we are willing to press a neighbor down. We forget that this method is finally ruinous, that competition is the very force designed to spur our invention,

renew our industry, call forth our resources, compact our powers, and strengthen our endurance ; that it is the life of the commercial world. It is no part of the plan of God to allow any to protect themselves from it, and, so far as they do, they are sure ultimately to weaken effort by reducing the motives to it. The skill, knack, and facility of our neighbors are, in the division of labor and general prosperity, working for our good ; and we also are to enrich and cheapen the world's market by acquiring in favoring branches of production a like power. The profits of trade rest on relative, not absolute, advantages, and it should be our aim, therefore, to compete successfully at some, not at all points. Those things we do best are our chief sources of gain, not those which we can with difficulty be made to do at all. The more skilful my fellow-worker is, the more advantageously can I trade with him, and the provoking cause of trade will be found in the fact that my products are not the fac-similes of his. Thus, and thus only, can I incorporate myself with him as a concurrent agent in general progress. To try to compete with all is foolish ; to shun fair competition with any in our own field is cowardly and weakening. We do the first when we force new branches of industry by protection ; we do the second when we thus shelter established branches.

The enervating effects of protection are not sufficiently regarded. A form of industry lies in the path of our national growth. We wish to anticipate those natural forces which must soon enable us to take it up. We make the manufacture immediately possible by a moderate duty. If we were perfectly sure of our ground in all this we should seem to accelerate local, without materially retarding general, development. But other considerations come in to render our success problematical, even in this most favorable case. Certain parties are taught to look to law for the prosperity of their business, and not to rely exclusively on their own foresight and thrift. According to the protective theory, the import is not intended as a permanent burden, but is shortly to be removed, having brought the favored branch to

an honest birth. Will this implied promise, this expectation, be realized? In the great majority of cases it will not. More frequently there will arise a clamor, difficult to resist, for more governmental aid in support of the first purpose, and for new purposes. Indeed, a growth of duties seems inevitable in a protective system, both because there are new interests to be encouraged, and because each impost, acting unfavorably on some branch of business into which the protected product enters, seems to require correction by a second and a third. If the system were to proceed thoroughly through, and remedy its own mischief by removing all the inequalities of advantage it had created, it would indeed destroy itself, and restore again the natural, just balance of each pursuit with its fellows; but even to make good its first purpose, any tax on any of the material or appliances of a favored branch must be followed by an advance of duty on the products competing with it. When, then, a struggle is openly and broadly instituted for an increase of profits by law, the same enterprise which under more normal conditions would be developed, in meeting the difficulties of production, will now show itself in affecting legislation, in extorting new profits from this easy and fruitful source of gains. The productive tone and energy of the nation will thus be relaxed, and importunate claims, political tricks, the jugglery of figures and arguments, the cries of party-politics and of national prejudice, be substituted therefor. The world has rarely, if ever, seen the phenomenon of a protected interest reaching the point at which it was willing to resign the aid rendered; it has often seen those whose profits were large using every method to retain and increase protection. This, therefore, is a most unsafe method of doing that which lies nearest to the line of natural growth, since it weakens enterprise, debauches the commercial sense of justice, inflames selfishness, and displaces patience and industry with social clamor and political intrigue.

That endless strife should follow in production from an interference with the natural distribution of advantages in

behalf of this and that interest is inevitable. It offers the possibility of profits, sudden and sometimes great, by law. One interest cannot be aided without the liability of injuring, unexpectedly, other branches of business into which the enhanced prices are to enter. Iron, steel, wool, are materials so broadly serviceable, that we know not exactly what, or how many, kinds of manufacture may be affected by an advance in them. Every producer must thus be alive to see that his gains are not encroached upon by others, and to institute plausible claims in his own behalf. The natural balance being destroyed, there is pulling in all directions to secure a new one favorable to this and that party. It thus becomes a fitting lament over more than one such vexatious and unsatisfactory project: "It died in the arms of its friends, who, in quarrelling about the means of cure, experimented till they killed the patient."

In this scramble of interests the poor are especially liable to suffer as weak, as having no form of industry to urge on the public favor, and as compelled to meet in all directions the enhanced prices of products.

There is one argument for protection whose force we freely admit, — that it tends to give that independence which is preparatory for war. But the separation and hostility thus engendered, the defiant attitude thus taken, are not productive, nor yet social, nor yet philanthropic, gains. These results serve rather to condemn the policy which habitually aims at them than to commend it. Nature does not wish division. None of her productive laws provide for it. War is the convulsion of society, the overthrow of commerce, and, like a disease in the body, is not anticipated in the laws of health. If we look upon peace as preparatory to war, as affording the combatants momentary respite, —

"Each themselves to breathe lett,
And, oft refreshed, battle oft renew."

renewing their resources and making ready for their mutual devastation; if we accept the maxim, "In peace prepare for war," and regard our neighbors as always our rivals, and

momentarily liable to become our avowed enemies, then indeed shall we have an unanswerable argument for protection; and the policy will be none the less clear to us because of the covert way in which it seeks to restrict and tax the commerce of others, because of the menace it conveys, and the retaliation it provokes.

If, however, we believe that in this constant provision for war there is found a chief provocation of war; if a policy that conciliates is felt to be safer and nobler than one which offends; a policy which makes of all the nations of the earth one family, each playing its own part undisturbed and unembarrassed of others, to be preferable to one which looks upon trade as a milder form of war, — then shall we accept that freedom of exchange which binds with the bonds of interest all climates and lands, every meridian and latitude into one productive system; we shall accept the broad law of progress which includes others besides ourselves, and makes them as ourselves. To war against exchange, or its extension to all the channels which it is able, by the pure power of profits, to make for itself, is to reject one of the most beneficent and humanizing of the influences which the divine plan includes in our behalf, is, like other disobedience, to injure ourselves under the disguise of injuring others.

God's government is clearly revealed in the laws of trade. There are such laws resting on the constitution of nature and of man. The commercial world does not wait to be legislated into order, but has within itself the only safe principles of growth. These claim recognition and obedience, and impose themselves as laws not to be evaded on individual and national action. They contemplate the growth of the whole and of the parts; they put all on the same platform of privilege, though with variety of powers and opportunities, and leave to each an open path. The collisions which arise are not only not inherent, not necessary, they are injurious to all, and arrest the progress of all. There is, therefore, the possibility of perfect concurrence between the principles of exchange and those of morals. Nay more, the one, resting

on discriminating selfishness, tends to prepare the way for the sympathy and philanthropy of the other, resting on love. While commercial law never attains to the office of conscience, it nevertheless spreads broadly beneath social action, affords the means of a strenuous and just government, and is ready to pass those subject to it under the religious principle without jar or conflict. The penalties, also, which it imposes are in kind with the offence it punishes—those of interest. Without departing, then, either in reward or penalty from its own sphere of interest, commerce affords a transition from war to peace, interlocks the world in a lively pursuit of common interests, and furnishes a type, cold and remote indeed, yet a type of the moral commonwealth and Christian brotherhood of man.

Money is the chief, the peculiar, the subtle instrument of exchange. Its offices are, first, to express; secondly, to retain; thirdly, to transfer; and fourthly, to divide, values. Through it there is readily given to values a known, permanent, mobile, and divisible form. When by production a value has been secured, it may by traffic find expression in some one or other of the many products open to its purchasing power. This, in a savage state of society, with no market, with only a limited and direct transfer of commodities may meet the want of the parties. As production, however, increases, as many articles are offered for sale, and many persons are present with the same article, the trader wishes some more general measure and expression of the value at his disposal than is reached by the willingness of one purchaser to exchange for it a given amount of one kind of produce. He is in doubt, both whether other merchants might not give more of the product now offered, and whether he might not himself prefer other products, if the conditions of trade in them were more advantageous. To resolve these doubts quickly and safely there must be some scale of market values to which he can bring his own product, and there compare it with every other. He is thus able to know the

general terms of trade, to approximately estimate the purchasing power of his own property in any product whatsoever without the labor of a tentative proffer. Moreover, there is thus eliminated from the answer more perfectly those exceptional influences which cause values to fluctuate — the ignorance of the parties of the exact worth of each other's products; the reluctance of the one or the other to sell; the overreaching of those less by those more expert.

Money furnishes the desired scale of values, expresses in a market price the general mark at which commodities are held, and enables each purchaser to form a ready estimate of the conditions on which he can exchange his products for all others. A most convenient expression of value is thus not only reached, but one much more accurate, just, and of more general acceptance than could be secured by one or more cases of actual exchange. It is thus decided not merely what A will give, but what any one of the whole class of merchants to which he belongs will give. All that is peculiar to him is overlooked, and a more general value, the result of a broader and more faithful comparison of purchases, hit on, and one therefore which more nearly approximates the results to be reached by a perfect knowledge and estimate of all the conditions of sale. In any given trade, therefore, the margin for shrewdness and trickery is comparatively small. A slight hoped-for concession from the market price, a little fluctuation of that price, the exact quality of the articles offered, are the remaining elements of uncertainty.

This expression of value thus easily and inevitably given in connection with price, is a very necessary condition of extended trade, and one not to be reached otherwise. Each new product settles with increasing definiteness its own price by every sale, and is thus open through current prices to easy comparison with every other product. Its purchasing power in all directions is expressed, and its holder, minor fluctuations aside, knows exactly what can be done with it. A ready gauge of value, the more exact as the market is large and active, is thus reached.

A second office of money is to put into a permanent form perishable values. Most commodities cannot be held without loss. Some are liable to rapid decay, others to slow deterioration, and even those which can be either so used or rented as to be sources of income require for their management labor and oversight. To be able therefore to lodge what one has gained in a permanent form, to secure it without further labor against the waste of time, and to make it with little exertion the source of income, become most desirable objects. To accomplish these is one of the offices of money. The products of our labor converted into a sound medium of exchange, can retain indefinitely their purchasing power, and this in so available a form as to afford the constant possibility of profitable loan. Thus money furnishes more permanence of value, a more easy and definite income, than any other, the most substantial of possessions — than real estate. One may arrest the process of requisition at any point at which he pleases, and is not compelled to renew his exertion merely to retain what he has gained.

A third office of money is to facilitate the transfer of values. Any given product has in itself only a limited purchasing power; it can command certain things in exchange at the hands of those, and those only, who hold these, and wish it in return. It is thus restricted both as to the persons from whom the purchase may be made, and the goods that may be obtained of them. The possession of any article thus constitutes an order on the limited number who wish it, for anything they may have for exchange. Money converts this inconvenient and restricted order into a most facile and general one. I throw my product into the market to seek its own purchasers, and take an expression of its value, current everywhere. I change a partial and remote purchasing power into one universal and immediate. What I have sold may pass through many hands before it shall rest with the actual consumer. I have no care for him, no need to search him out. His desire, unknown to me, hidden from me by retirement or by distance, has nevertheless given value

to my product, a value to which money imparts the instant range of the market, and enables me in a brief period, and by two transactions, to complete, so far as I am concerned, a series of exchanges which may have originated months previously, and may still require months to be finished. Articles from distant periods and remote quarters are travelling toward me, articles destined for remote periods and remote consumption are travelling from me. Money generalizes purchasing power, anticipates traffic, and gives instantly and easily the result of numerous and laborious and unfinished transfers. It thus makes most ready and perfect the exchange of values; it holds purchasing power in safe abeyance, waiting the beck of desire, and prepared in each place and instant to exert its full force.

A fourth purpose subserved by money is the division of values. By its means they fall apart into the smallest units, or recombine into the largest sums; stoop to the traffic of a newsboy, meet the exigencies of a fruit stall, and with equal ease purchase shops and warehouses, or mass the revenue of a nation. Value thus, while existing in many ponderous, immovable, indivisible things, has all the divisibility of numbers, and their power of composition; sinks to quotients or mounts to products, takes up remainders or carries amounts, with the same facility. So subtle, mercurial, and substantial is the power of money. It throws into definite form, into figures, a force dependent on a balance of desires world-wide, an obscure play of feelings, hopes, fears, appetites, pervading every civilized community. It makes relatively indestructable the most variable and evanescent of qualities, and gives it so valid a being, that it becomes henceforth an independent, productive power. It bestows easy transfer and perfect division on a force often impossible of removal and incapable of partition. It matters not to what the value originally attaches, to products or to services, to lands or houses, to grain or the oxen that feed on it, one transfer makes it in each instance equally ductile, equally mobile; frees it from every taint, every inability, and sends it search-

ing at option for pleasures high or low, purchases great or small.

Of these four offices, — to express values and make them permanent, to render them mobile and divisible, — the first two are more essential, primary, central, and closely united, while the last two are more mechanical, pertaining to the ease and felicity of fulfilment, rather than the very essence and substance of the task assigned a medium of exchange. As a currency is not an absolute necessity, as traffic can proceed in a limited, painful way without it, and as the office of money is not to create, but only to develop and greatly facilitate a process independent in its origin; we cannot separate these couplets of duties as the first essential and the second desirable. We can only say, that while all four offices give ease and convenience to trade, the first two relate to the safety and precision of the movement, the second two to its readiness and rapidity. These, therefore, seem to pertain somewhat less to the very essence of a good currency, to lie a little less central than the former. In marking the properties of the precious metals which set them apart to meet the claims of a circulating medium, and in observing the effects of paper money, we shall see more clearly the difference between these two sets of duties.

The quality which fits anything to express values and make them permanent in the hands of the holder is unchangeableness in its own value. Nothing more embarrasses computation than a fluctuating standard. If its variations are great, are rapid, are obscure, not capable of ready determination, the standard is worse than worthless, failing to do what it pretends to do, throwing us off our guard against error, and rendering confusion hopeless. A fluctuation of values presents that intricate, shifting character which especially confounds measurement, and leaves to our calculations no determinate unit. We cannot, ourselves on the ocean, determine the elevation of the restless waves, since, rocked by every swell, lifted and let fall by every roll of the sea, we have no fixed point from which to start and to which to re-

turn our estimates. Thus is it with the fluctuating prices of ordinary products in an open market, subject to every breath of desire, to every tidal movement of feeling, every decline or advance in the ease of production. In exchanging one product for another we find that the quantities claimed on either side have changed their ratio; that one commodity, A, has fallen in reference to another, B. The amount of the change is at once obvious, but not so plain is it, whether it be due to causes which have affected the first alone, or to causes affecting the second, or to causes affecting both equally, or if unequally, in what degrees. If we strive to aid our inquiry by comparing A with C or D, or B with E and F, we may cast some light on the problem, but have also most likely added new elements of uncertainty. We shall find that value, purchasing power, in whatever commodity expressed, in whatever direction explored, is subject to minor variations, involving new influences in each new case, and presenting no fixed position from which the ceaseless and fugitive flow of circumstances can in their effects be measured. No commodity for any length of time contains exactly equivalent amounts of labor, or calls forth exactly the same desire. As, however, the fluctuations of value are due to the changeable cost of production and a changeable demand, that product will afford the best standard of comparison, will be most stable itself, and best able to measure the instability of other products whose cost of production is the most uniform, and for which the demand is the most uniform. The precious metals are found best to meet, though by no means to meet with scientific precision, these requisitions, and to afford a proximate and practically adequate measure of values. There has, indeed, been through long periods a slow decline in the value of gold and silver, but they have been comparatively little affected by those constant, minor, and violent fluctuations which beset other products. The slow surges which depress continents they have felt, but have escaped quick, volcanic action.

The cost of production is, indeed, very different in some

portions of these metals from what it is in others. This is not material. Value is not altered by the good fortune of a few, is not determined by the prodigality of nature, casting unearned treasures into the laps of the lucky ; but by the amount and steadiness of that effort which is requisite to supply the last of the demand actually met. Suppose a tendency to rise in value in any commodity, the actual increase of price will depend on the variety of sources from which the product may be obtained, the facility with which the number and activity of laborers engaged in its production admit of increase under the new stimulus, and the ease with which the production can be extended to new points. A lake with broad and gently sloping shores may receive a large volume of water with but a small vertical movement, while a narrow stream with precipitate banks becomes a torrent at once.

The precious metals are obtained from many places, and, though a portion is secured with no corresponding effort, there are many mines and forms of mining whose profitable development turns on slight changes in the value of gold and silver. A trifling rise thus opens the sources of supply, a trifling fall closes them, and a very limited range of fluctuations affects instantly and broadly the corrective forces of production.

But the stability of value in the case of the precious metals is chiefly due to other causes. These metals are so durable that vast quantities of them have been accumulated. No sudden and large consumption springs up to cause fluctuation. Their value is chiefly determined by the relation of this supply to the actual demand, and therefore the two forces are in a comparatively stable equilibrium. Nor are there any incalculable forces, any unexpected contingencies, except of a limited, local nature, which arise to disturb this balance.

When, however, a local demand does spring up, the precious metals are of so fluent a character, mobility being that property for which in large part they have been chosen as a

medium of exchange, and which much ingenuity and many supplementary contrivances have served to develop to the utmost, that it is capable of almost instant correction, with slight fluctuation of value. Indeed were it not for unsafe paper currencies, for the fear and distrust these beget, for the want of reliability and honesty in men and nations, and the lack of safe and untrammelled intercourse between them, no considerable or severe pressure of demand would ever arise for the precious metals. When credit is good they are as fluent as water, and exist in a vast body like the ocean. No local demand, the opening of no new inlet or outlet can sensibly affect the level of the stupendous sum of values now expressed in gold and silver. The violent fluctuations of currency, the disastrous losses which nations have frequently suffered from an unsound currency, arise from nothing in the precious metals themselves, or in their relation to value. Indeed the slow decline to which they are exposed, coming as it does from a large increase of amount, renders them more and more firm against minor changes. The actual difficulties experienced have sprung from the weakness of mercantile systems, and ultimately of morality. This has been the heart-rot that with outside luxuriance has left the tree weak in the blast.

These causes, then, secure in gold and silver great firmness of value ; the variety of sources from which they are obtained, the many mines on the limits of profitable production, the vast amounts already accumulated, the slight consumption, the equable nature of the demand, their great fluency in themselves and still more through the devices of trade, bills of exchange, and balances of credit. These causes aid each other, and render gold and silver in a currency that perfectly avails itself of their power, a practically, though not theoretically, perfect medium of exchange. The permanency of value is the central feature of such a medium, fitting it for its chief office.

Other qualities, however, as their divisibility, and the relation in them of bulk to value, furnish in gold and silver

the mechanical conditions of exchange, and make them a convenient instrument as well as a safe one. This more obvious and palpable fitness has doubtless been chiefly instrumental in causing their use as a currency, and in leading to the displacement of the inconvenient methods which preceded them. Yet these qualities, while conspicuous, and completing the striking adaptations we find in the precious metals, are by no means the most essential to them as a sound currency. There are so many methods of formal without actual transfer; such representative power can be given to paper, that ease in division and transportation would not, if the end of firmness could be reached, be an indispensable condition of the basis of a good currency.

Currency has been more frequently mixed than pure, its circulation being composed principally of paper, sustained more or less completely by a reserved, specie basis. The first motive for the introduction of paper is the additional mobility it imparts, more especially to those smaller sums which are immediately and directly transferred with each purchase, and sustain the minor and multitudinous transactions of traffic. This advantage is fully reached when paper rests on a basis as broad as itself, each note having a strict representative power, making it simply a certificate of deposit.

The great and dangerous motive to the use of paper has been the gains thereby to be secured. The actual substitution of paper for gold and silver, dollar for dollar, is a matter of convenience rather than of economy. The loss and abrasion of the metals are very trifling, and the cost, waste, and counterfeiting of paper a serious compensatory item. The balance, therefore, between the two in expense is not very material. This has not constituted the kind of gain chiefly coveted in issuing that tempting and deceptive paper which has so often destroyed the currency of a nation, sunk its credit, and left it amid the wide-spread overthrow and prostration of general bankruptcy! It has been thought that paper might be substituted for gold in a less strict ratio than

that of equality, and this line once passed, no other fixed, universal, and natural limit has been found. The one element has frequently so gained on the other as to leave the connection little more than nominal, giving no security in those emergencies where strength is required. Those in whose hands has been lodged the discretionary power of enlarging the currency, of issuing paper with a partial metallic basis, have found the temptation most subtle and formidable. The work of inflation is done in quiet and prosperous times, when almost every method seems safe, when the poorest craft can keep the sea. Nothing but severe, protracted, and fatal experience is able to secure that unwavering respect of the conditions of safety which enables ordinary men to put steadily aside the opportunity of immediate and hopeful gains on the ground of a remote contingency. But disaster comes at long intervals, and is then weakened in its effects by being attributed to other than the true causes, or looked upon as a sort of hurricane outside the range of prudent forethought. The experience of the past, forgotten or misinterpreted, rarely avails for the present. If parties fortified by the observation of a lifetime become at length ready to observe the strictest laws of prudence, less experienced successors take their places, enlarge the risk, and reap the old harvest of ruin. All nations, therefore, who have accepted a mixed currency with an unequal dependence of one element on the other, have, without exception, been tempted into excesses, have in critical moments of trade or war suffered great losses from an unsound currency, and made shipwreck of far more than they have gained by the largest and longest inflation.

Indeed, the declivity sloping to bankruptcy, on which a nation places itself by suffering either its government or its citizens to entertain the hope of gain by an enlargement of the circulation, is too steep and slippery, as shown by theory and practice, not to result in a rapid or a slow descent to the gulf below. Whether it glides like water or grinds like a glacier, downward the currency is sure to slip. The motive

to enlargement is immediate, constant, powerful; the danger is remote, uncertain, under-estimated; other parties are incurring like risks, and reaping great gains; no definite line divides safe from unsafe issues; at the opening of the movement, the liabilities are least obvious, the returns most certain, while later past immunity gives ungrounded boldness; in fine, if there is one road to financial ruin more alluring and deceptive, more prodigal of promises, more safe and liberal in its first proffers than every other, it is this of over issue.

Nor are the gains of a paper currency which passes beyond its strict representative duty, so great to the community as they are thought to be. If the ratio, for instance, of paper to specie were that of three to one, and this form of currency were to be generally accepted among civilized nations, there would be consequent thereon a heavy fall in the value of the precious metals, resulting in loss to their holders. Nor is this decline a general gain of much moment, since these metals are used in the arts for the most part as means of luxury and ornament, and thus owe their utility to their high value. We gain nothing in cheapening that whose expense is its excellence. Gold if less costly, less expressive of wealth, would be thereby less able to gratify vanity and become a means of indulgence. The gains which accrue to bankers arise in one form of production, and would be replaced by equivalent gains, if, with equal skill, they directed their energies into other channels. Also, by the fall in gold and silver, a larger volume of currency is required, and the one third of this inflated medium, still represented by the precious metals, would constitute a larger fraction, say one-half or two thirds, of the pure currency displaced. The gain, then, would be the release of one-half or one-third of the gold previously employed in the circulation, and its return to the arts, where its chief effect would be the cheapening of ornament.

If we compare this trifling gain with the losses of a single financial crisis they appear utterly insignificant. No wise

individual or nation would for a moment think of the exchange, did they not suffer themselves by the blindness of cupidity to be drifted into a position in which retreat is impossible, and the wretched result forced upon them as retribution, not as an accepted alternative.

They play upon themselves the deceptive assurance that over-issues and the consequent crises are not necessary, inevitable concomitants of a mixed currency, and, on the naked possibility of regulation sufficiently stringent and secure, yield to the universal fact of imminent and unguarded liabilities, of loose, changeable, and inadequate restrictions.

The immediate gains of a paper currency are somewhat greater if it be confined to a single country, and other nations afford a market for the liberated metal. But an overtopping compensation of this seeming gain is the distrust universally felt toward such a nation, and the reluctance to accept her obligations.

The full danger and extent of loss in an expanded and fluctuating currency few understand. We must present them somewhat in detail before we can see the hazards, discipline, and play of moral forces in this field. Recondite and powerful are the influences here at work on conduct and character.

We saw that the chief office of money is to measure value, to express and hold it firm. Now, if a paper currency is to be allowed indefinite increase at the pleasure of those who issue it, nothing can be more plain than that currency will utterly fail of performing this, its first and most essential task. The decline of paper thus detached from gold one, two, three hundred per cent in the brief period of a few months is a familiar phenomenon. Such a medium does but embarrass, distract, destroy trade. Better were it to be without money, and fall back on simple traffic, or be left to seek a new invention, than that each transaction should be one of uncertainty and fraud. The utter confusion and universal wrong, the irremediable injustice of such a currency are the most painful and disastrous exhibition the financial world affords. But

no one advocates such a state of things, it only comes as the climax and catastrophe of a mixed and irredeemable currency. Yet we apprehend that a result so often reached, and so overwhelming when reached, should constitute alone a sufficient condemnation of any scheme remotely exposed to it. We would not suffer a discretion so often shown capable of fatal error, a prudence that by imperceptible steps of concession has again and again involved nations in utter financial overthrow.

Strange to say, a few still think that paper can be indefinitely increased, and, the promise of payment being ultimately met, not fall in value. This is ascribing to paper more power than belongs to gold itself. Multiply this, and it sinks in value; so must that paper which at the very best is its representative. Make money plenty in any form, and purchases will be quickened, prices rise, and, as long as the abundance continues, pass from one stage of enhancement to another. Money is worth nothing but for purchase, and carrying this its function beyond a previous limit must advance prices, that is, must itself sink in value.

We wish now, however, to show that, if this danger did not exist, a mixed currency in which paper is not simply representative, in which it exceeds the coin whose presence it implies, is, to the whole extent of this excess, an unstable and undesirable medium. Suppose the ratio to be the moderate one of three dollars in paper to one in reserved specie. It is by this specie dollar that the three paper dollars are anchored, united to that which has intrinsic value. This, like the string of the kite, checking a too ambitious ascent, guards equally against a hasty fall.

In the first place, in the general introduction of such a system there must be a violent decline in the value of gold, as it is a method of tripling its power, and thus, of virtually enlarging in a sudden and unprecedented way the supply. If at any future time there is a modification of the ratio, or a return to a pure currency, there must be given a second similar shock to value; another paroxysm of wrong and

alarm must run through the commercial world, our standard, by its own fluctuations, egregiously failing to measure and safely retain the values in good faith entrusted to it. Nor would this movement be simple and single, but complex and protracted. The disturbed level would result in a succession of waves backwards and forwards, prices painfully seeking by rise and decline a new equilibrium.

But, suppose the ratio settled, and the consequent circle of disturbances completed, are we then safe as regards the first feature of a good currency, firmness? Quite the reverse. We have, as the result of our cunning, multiplied all the natural, inevitable fluctuations of gold by three. Our paper dollars stand connected by a sum one third their nominal value with the stable, inherent value found in gold, subject, like other products, to its own causes of fluctuation. Suppose one of these causes at work, occasioning a heavy foreign demand, coin, in compliance with this, will be taken from the currency; but, to maintain the ratio between the two elements, three dollars of paper must be withdrawn from the circulation for every dollar exported. The movement is thus threefold what it would otherwise be. A like and reverse movement follows when the gold returns to the vaults of the banks. We have checked the channels of connection between our own medium of exchange and the great ocean of values, and the waves of an otherwise easy ebb and flow come surging through with precipitate, gigantic, and destructive power.

The fitness of gold, its imperceptible change of value, its many correcting tendencies, are lost. We have artificially magnified every defect, increased every perplexity, and converted a safe, tranquil medium into a fitful and violent one. The great mass of the precious metals act as a heavy balance-wheel on the irregular, jerking play of an excited exchange. By substituting paper in the constitution of our currency, two parts in every three, we have correspondingly weakened this governing power.

The effects of these fluctuations are so disguised under familiar phenomena, are so concealed in the constant rise

and fall of prices, that few appreciate their disastrous results, or are even aware, except in extreme cases, of their existence. A commodity rises or falls ten per cent; it is easy to refer the enhanced price to this and that cause, and very difficult to say how much of it is due to an unsound currency.

Some of the effects of fluctuation we shall mention as exposing the nature of this constant and pervasive source of mischief, and revealing the incomparable wisdom and economy of a currency, resting dollar for dollar on a metallic basis. Suppose a sudden decline of twenty per cent in the medium of exchange. The price of all commodities must rise correspondingly. But how—uniformly and at once? By no means. The mating of prices one with another has been the work of many years. The slow approximation of justice by successive trials, it has often been attended, as in the case of wages, with a severe struggle; and now the ground is at once taken from beneath the foot of the producer, to be won again inch by inch. The large supply of money indicated by the decline puts peculiar advantages in the hands of capitalists. Manufacture, commerce, and speculation are quickened, abundant means are placed at their disposal. The more active products are first affected by the rise of prices; this rise still further stimulates speculation, and large fortunes are realized. The more sluggish products, meantime, are relatively depressed, and leave their producers burdened with unusual difficulties. Now among the things less sensitive to the change of prices will be nearly every kind of services, and usually those minor manufactures which are in feeble hands, and have little influence in the market.

Thus the wealthy and fortunate are able to steal a sudden march on the poor. The workers, from the salaried men to the day laborers, find their wages less adequate than before, and that it is difficult or impossible to secure a sufficient advance. The poor thus become poorer and the rich richer. The manifest prosperity of the latter class, and the rapidly acquired fortunes of a few, fill the public eye, produce the

appearance of prosperity, and hide the many small losses scattered through the community at large. The decline of the currency in the late rebellion affords abundant illustration of these statements. Many mills were run at very unusual profits, while the wages of the operatives, nominally greater, actually fell away.

A sudden fluctuation of currency is a temporary financial anarchy, and they are sure to win who already have the upper hand. Those who hold their comforts by a constant struggle, find that under the deceptive appearance of gaining they have really lost ground. The hard-working men of the country have had in the past war the sudden profits of the few divided among them as losses, as increased difficulty in meeting current expenses with current means. Careful inquiries show that wages have advanced fifty, while products have increased a hundred, per cent. A large part of this fluctuation has been due to currency, and unequal, severe, and depressing have been the losses it has entailed on the masses, in many instances endangering educational advantages or social position, or even the very necessities of life.

Every decline of the currency is a cry, hurly-burly, a letting loose the dogs of financial war; and we shall find that when a second equilibrium is reached, the poor and weak have sunk, the rich and strong have risen; that plodding industry has lost a portion of its patient gains, while we are bid, because of the showy, noisy prosperity of the few, to congratulate the nation on its prosperity.

Another more obvious but less generally disastrous result of a decline in currency is, that indebtedness is by so much reduced, and the claims of commercial justice violated. A debt is paid to the eye only; a half or a third of its former value is canceled without an equivalent. This is an injustice to every creditor, but one grievous to be borne by those who in comparative feebleness depend on the interest of a fixed sum for support. Widows, minors, pensioners, charities, colleges, feel severely the fraud.

The effect of such a decline on the industrial tone, the

courage and patience of a productive community is most unfavorable. The rewards of comfort and wealth in a measure cease to fall to the diligent. Good fortune comes suddenly and conspicuously, not as the result of toil, but of a lucky purchase. A gambling, speculative spirit is aroused; all are excited by it. The impulsive are dissuaded from labor, or disheartened by its meagre results; and that patience which is most of all needful to safe, permanent industry is lost. The productive tone thus lowered cannot be restored again, except by a return to a close and fixed dependence of position and wealth on industry, to a secure measure of value; and these will not be reached till the speculative spirit has run its career, has been overtaken with general disaster, has produced a prostration of business and wide-spread suffering, and thereby given weight once more to sober thought and first principles. Indeed, such bankruptcy is far preferable to a result immediately and apparently more favorable, in which the rich maintain the ground gained, and the poor sink in rank with increased servility and dependence.

A fourth evil of an inflated, fluctuating medium is the great obstacle it opposes to business, especially to some branches. A large and very incalculable element of risk enters into all transactions, and demands, therefore, unusual shrewdness and foresight to escape the increased liabilities of loss. Ordinary and inferior talent suffer new and needless exposure, and the paths of industry are strewn with pitfalls into which many faithful workers slip. Especially is this true in all contracts which involve any considerable length of time. Their obligations cannot be assumed on the basis of current prices without the liability of heavy loss on the probable contingency of a sudden advance, and no advances are more sudden and incalculable than those which spring from a disordered, feverish currency. Hence this convenient form of business must be surrendered, or contracts taken only at those exorbitant rates which enable the operator to meet all risks. Equally dangerous are invest-

ments which look to light and late returns. Tenements cannot be safely erected, since some future decline may greatly reduce their value and render a remunerative rental impossible.

Again, the very causes which in a mixed currency, with a relation of its two elements barely sufficing for quiet, prosperous times, compel suspension of specie payment, and provoke the inflation consequent thereon, frequently occasion aggravated and protracted national loss by measures which the inadequacy of the medium has alone made necessary. The suspension which accompanied the rebellion was followed by a rise of prices so great as to enlarge the expenditures of government by fifty, eighty, a hundred per cent. Thus a large fraction of our national indebtedness has been incurred for no more necessary reason than the weakness of our medium of exchange, breaking down at once under the burden laid upon it. This debt is most of it to be paid, and considerable portions of it to foreign holders, at a rate of value in the unit expressing it much greater than that at which it was incurred.

One more irreparable consequence of these fluctuations is the blow they give to the sense of financial justice, and the commercial immorality they occasion. They at once and everywhere of necessity cause an inextricable concatenation of wrongs. Every transaction has an unexpected and inexpressible percentage of robbery in it. Debts are contracted at one value and paid at another, commodities are diversely affected, and hence exchange each for each unfairly. Wages sink below their true value, their value as hitherto expressed in the products consumed. Salaries, rentals, interests, dividends depreciate, and the taint of unfairness spreads everywhere. Is it surprising that such periods are sometimes followed by repudiation, and are often accompanied with a feeling of liability to it? Indeed, in this utter confusion of obligations, justice herself is confounded, and hesitates to enforce the full payment of a debt in a sound currency which was contracted in one two hundred per cent

below par. Abstract right is scarcely less violated in paying than in refusing to pay. The numerical inequality is as great in refunding one dollar with two as in withholding the one. It is only the sense of national faith, that overlooking every other consideration, claims the sacrifice.

Any one of these losses is of more moment than all possible gains of a mixed currency, and together they constitute a ground of action which renders the further pursuit of such profits not merely a trifling with great interests, but a criminal disregard of rights. The soundness of currency is the health of commerce; and any chronic weakness here is sure to develop some accute disease, wasting in a few days the strength of years.

We have thus hastily sketched the offices and liabilities of a circulating medium, that we may see the moral bearings of the subject, its relation to the ordained discipline of individuals and nations. We could not arrive at our results by a shorter path, as we could not presume a general knowledge of the social phenomena concerned. We invite attention to the adaptation of gold and silver to the office they have to perform. In quantity and quality they are as finely fitted to form an elegant, convenient, and stable medium, as is iron to its large circuit of mechanical uses, or coal to the purposes of combustion. Beyond their direct properties, imparting appropriate, physical conditions, their quantity and manner of attainment have been so ordered as to exactly adapt them to their commercial office. Exchange in all its exigencies is anticipated, and met in the qualities of the precious metals, showing a physical construction of the world in reference to the secondary wants of society.

The slow increase of gold and silver from century to century has enabled them to meet the growth of commerce, has softened the pressure of indebtedness, and without materially interfering with the stability of values, has been a sensible advantage to the arts. These slow gains of gold are as incomparable to the quick, violent mutations of paper as the orbit of a planet to that of a comet.

Again, what we may call the high-toned integrity which a sound commercial system, a safe currency, calls for, is most observable. Mere paper, a mere promise, cannot be made to take the place of intrinsic value. It must be fully backed and broadly sustained by that which it represents. Slight trespasses lead by insensible gradations to larger trespasses, and these to speedy and thorough retribution. What an image here of the moral world! What a kindred discipline! Men must learn to accept the strictest principle, to lay an unflinching law at the core of their commercial institutions, and this in the face of much greedy selfishness, of much clamor against it, and denial of its necessity; and holding fast there, impart soundness and safety, justice and strength, to every later act of traffic. Compromises and concessions are all proved the letting out of water, which knows no arrest, and a bolder, firmer, more inherently sound method becomes an inexorable necessity. This type of moral purity, this discipline of integrity, this grounding of traffic on principle, places the financial plane of action but one grade lower than the moral. The great struggle of man ever is to save the sin and escape the consequences. They are most unwilling to believe that minor deflections from the strait path of law are so fatal in their results, so certain to find out and punish the delinquent. Here, however, in the very centre of commercial life and selfish activity, is a law at war with cupidity, which will not suffer any concessions, but exacts, with pain and penalty, implicit, self-established obedience.

Observe also how the whole conflict, here as elsewhere, is laid on the masses, and can find no successful issue save in their intelligent action. The interest of a few, if under a banking system the currency is intrusted to private parties, the exigency of rulers, if it be retained exclusively in their hands, prompt expression. An influential, moneyed class find their gains in abuses, and rally around and support them. The people on whom the burden of disaster ultimately falls can alone correct these, and by joint, intelligent action hold the evil in check. Thus are communities and

nations scourged round and round the same circle of suffering, nothing sufficing for their redemption save their own recognition and enforcement of their rights, save progress. Thus is their discrete action put, in the discipline of the world, higher than the objects of that action. The financial field in its gains and losses is ordered more for the making of men than the making of money. The instruments of prosperity are not provided; but a school in which men are taught how to construct them, and a recognition of the principles on which they rest. Manhood is put before means, training before success. God redeems all by making the wisdom and well-being of all conditional to general improvement.

Once again we see how the plane of financial law while developing the most keen intellectual life, and disclosing the tenacious claims of justice, while lying parallel with the higher discipline of our moral nature, can hardly of its own forces alone achieve progress or maintain it even when achieved. Simple self-interest will claim and secure approximations to justice here and there, now and then; but as the immediate gains of more intelligent classes will always be found involved in abuses, these, with superior firmness and resources, will turn aside reform from its perfect issue, and use the past gains of a false method to retain the old or to reach some new and unequal division of power. If one generation were to be driven through all the tortuous windings of perverse policy, were to trace results to their causes, and, by suffering them, to unfold to the full their evils; if a wrong method were to unbind at once and plainly its whole budget of disasters, self-interest would be a more adequate impulse to progress, aside from those moral forces which come in to quicken and sustain it.

In the long delayed consequences of a false system, in the comparative ease with which the superior few bewilder, mislead, and baffle the many in the understanding and prosecution of their claims, in the extent to which the truths of the case are hidden from all by involved and overlying

causes, disaster finding other reasons for its explanation, and prosperity being wrongly attributed to a method which has really counter-worked it, we find influences so powerful as to cut off unaided society from safe and hopeful growth.

The philanthropy of the few, directing, steadying the desires of the many; the sense of justice pressing all consciences, and shaming the most ungenerous; the clear development of rights and advantages by the insight of the moral nature, constitute the forces which must take up and exalt financial policy, which from a higher point must play down into, adopt, and enlarge its principles, before even an external, formal, legal life of society can be established in perfect health. It is ever and alone the soul whose well-being is ultimately the well-being of the body. The conditions and material of growth are present, but growth itself must be reserved for life, equally in the physical and spiritual worlds. To close with opportunities and make the potential actual, this is proof of a power as high as the result reached. If those ends be moral, the agencies also which have secured them are moral. No matter in what line we trace the forces at work, spiritual incentives alone yield spiritual fruits. We do not find the lower growing into the higher, but craving the higher for its own completion. From many points must we direct attention to the truth so often denied, so vital in itself.

ARTICLE V.

WHAT WINE SHALL WE USE AT THE LORD'S SUPPER?

BY REV. T. LAURIE, D.D., FORMERLY MISSIONARY OF A. B. C. F. M.

ALL good men desire to remove social evils. They differ only as to the method of removal. Among them we may distinguish two classes. One devises its own method for removing them, and plies it with untiring zeal; the other goes to the Bible for the remedy, feeling that there we have the counsel of a present God, and that we are safe only while we follow his guiding.

Intemperance is one of the evils which good men long to bring to an end. It has occasioned untold misery to man. The tears it has caused to flow have never known intermission; the sorrow of angels over it has known no pause. The greatest marvel is the madness with which its victim clings to his destroyer. No sooner does he recover from one attack than he cries: "I will seek it yet again." Open a door of escape to any other sufferers, and they do not wait to be told to flee; but these beat down iron barriers to get back into the fire.

All good men agree that the use of intoxicating drinks is dangerous; that even the weakest of them drunk to excess involves drunkenness; that there are special reasons, both physical and moral, why children should be trained to avoid them; for physicians testify that their use in medicine is not so dangerous to the man of mature age, as to the young. We are to see that they shun this road to ruin, that they pass not by it, but turn from it and pass away; they are not even to "look on the wine when it is red; for at the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder."

All agree, moreover, that if our example tends to lead others astray, the spirit of Christ will induce us to abstain from things lawful in themselves, that we may not be an

occasion of stumbling to a weak brother for whom Christ died. It is evident also that the man who has fallen under the power of intemperance must not only flee out of Sodom, but he must not tarry in all the plain if he would not be destroyed. The least indulgence may involve such in the guilt of self-destruction. So far it is to be hoped that good men are of the same mind.

But when some insist on banishing all that intoxicates from the *Materia Medica*, and proscribe what they call fermented wine at the communion table, many draw back. Their consciences will not allow them to do otherwise. Their desire for the most extensive and permanent triumph of the temperance reformation, leads them to protest against such teachings. Leaving the medical part of the question to others, we now inquire: What is the wine proper to be used at the Lord's table? And here, to forestall prejudice, it may be proper to say that we practise on the principle of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and, both in the pulpit and at the ballot-box, have stood among the friends of prohibitory law. We are also free to assert that the wine proper to be used on that occasion is not that which has been enforced by the addition of distilled liquors, but hope to be able to show that it is such wine as the pure juice of the grape becomes when left to the regular processes of nature.

None deny that wine was the element originally used by our Saviour, and appointed by him to be the emblem of his blood in showing the Lord's death till he come. Some, however, would condemn the use of it if fermented; but what if it be its nature to be fermented? What if fermentation be essential to its becoming wine? What if the liquid called unfermented wine be unknown in the Bible or in Bible lands, and known in history only as one of the unnatural and rare luxuries of the most corrupt period of the Roman empire?

If wine is the element to be used, it would certainly seem proper to learn what it is from those works which give us

the meaning of words, not according to the private opinions of any, but as fixed by general usage. We can make no progress in any discussion, and as little can we commend a good cause to general confidence, if in order to do so we must use the names of material objects in a sense different from their established meaning; but if that meaning is so fixed that rival lexicographers, while differing widely where usage is divided, agree perfectly in their definition of wine, ought we not to accept it without question? What then is their testimony?

Webster gives four definitions: "(a) The fermented juice of grapes; (b) the juice of certain fruits prepared with sugar, sometimes with spirits, etc., etc.; (c) intoxication; (d) drinking." The only one of these definitions with which the present question has to do is the first, and the same remark is true of Worcester who gives two definitions: "(a) the fermented juice of the grape, a spirituous liquor resulting from the fermentation of grape juice; (b) the fermented juice of certain fruits, resembling in many respects the wine obtained from grapes, but distinguished therefrom by naming the source whence it was derived, as e.g. currant wine, elderberry wine, etc., etc." Appleton's *American Cyclopaedia* defines it as "originally and properly the name of the liquor obtained by the fermentation of the juice of grapes, and in less strict usage beverages prepared in like manner from the juices of many other fruits."

Now why prejudice a good cause by denying the fixed meaning of a well-known article, and arraying against that cause the settled use of language? There is no greater hinderance to a favorable reception of the arguments for temperance among those who have not yet become the slaves of a debasing appetite, than the suspicion that, however plausible they appear, yet they contain a lurking fallacy, which needs only to be brought out to spoil them all. Now why confirm such prejudices by doing violence to the acknowledged meaning of words? What is an intelligent man to think of the unfermented wine which some insist

shall be used at the sacrament when he reads such definitions?

Leaving the dictionaries, let us next inquire whether there are any traces in Bible lands to-day of an unfermented wine. We say in Bible lands; for the prodigalities of Roman luxury are not safe guides in determining a Bible usage. It would be just as legitimate to infer that, because a Roman emperor provided at his feasts dishes prepared from the brains of rare birds at a fabulous cost, therefore such food was eaten in Palestine, as to infer that, because we find traces of an unfermented wine in a few classical writers, therefore such a drink was common in Judea in the days of our Saviour. Even those writers speak of it as very rare and found only in small quantities. Pliny says:¹ "*Medium inter dulcia vinum est quod Graeci ἀειγλεῦκος vocant, hoc est, semper mustum. Id evenit curâ quoniam fervere prohibetur, sic enim appellant musti in vinum transitum*" (the medium quality among sweet wines is that which the Greeks call ἀειγλεῦκος, i.e. always must—the fresh juice of the grape. This is made with care, since it is not allowed to ferment; for so they term the passing of must into wine). Pliny evidently regards this as an exceptional fact, since he expressly says that fermentation is the process by which grape-juice becomes wine. Even then we must remember, as Dr. F. R. Lees tells us, that "the Jews carefully eschewed the wines of the Gentiles," and the reason he gives why the Mishna forbids the use of smoked wines in offerings, is that "the prohibition had reference chiefly to the Roman practice of fumigating them with sulphur, the vapor of which absorbed the oxygen, and thus arrested fermentation."²

Should modern science ever secure the general manufacture of wine, free from its present possibilities of evil, and yet retaining all its beneficial effects, we shall rejoice with exceeding great joy; but the present inquiry relates to what has been and is, and not to what may be.

Writers generally agree that our Saviour used the ordinary

¹ Hist. Nat. xiv. 9.

² Kitto's Cycl. of Bibl. Literature, ii. 956.

wine provided for the Passover. Thus L. Coleman, D.D., says:¹ "The common wine of Palestine is of a red color. Such was the wine which our Saviour used at the sacrament, as it would seem both from the nature of the case, and from the declaration: "This is my blood."

We have no accounts of the customs of Bible lands so reliable as those of missionaries familiar with biblical literature, and equally so with the daily life of the people among whom they dwell. Let us hear their testimony:

Dr. Justin Perkins says:² "Inquiries have often been made of me on the subject of the wines of Persia, and I may here state the facts in the case. The juice of the grape is used in three ways in Persia. When simply expressed it is called "sweet," i.e. sweet liquor. It is not drank in that state, nor regarded as fit for use, any more than new, unsettled cider at the press in America; nor is it even called wine till it is fermented. A second and very extensive use of the juice of the grape is the syrup, made from boiling it from this sweet state, which resembles our molasses and is used in the same way for sweetening but is never used as a drink. This is in fact neither more nor less than Oriental molasses. The third use of the juice of the grape is the distillation of it into arrak, or Asiatic brandy. The wines of Persia are in general much lighter than those of Europe, but they are still always intoxicating. In making these statements I throw down no gauntlet for controversy on the much vexed wine question, but wish simply to communicate information. Were I to hazard the expression of personal feeling and opinion on the general subject, it would be that of the deepest regret for any approximation in the tendency of the age to the removal of the sacred landmarks of scripture institutions."

Rev. Benjamin Labaree, Jr., who has been seven years a missionary among the Nestorians, writes to his father, Dr. Labaree, late President of Middlebury College (I copy from

¹ Ancient Christianity Exemplified, p. 437.

² Residence of Eight Years in Persia, p. 236.

the original manuscript which Dr. Labaree has kindly allowed me to use): "The inquiries which you recently made in regard to the wines and habits of wine drinking in Persia, are not the first which have been addressed to me on the the same subject. Let me state some of the facts; and

"First, in regard to the character of the wines produced. With the most careful inquiries I have been unable to learn that any wine is ever manufactured in the country which is not intoxicating. The various kinds made differ more or less in their intoxicating powers, but all are fermented, and all, sooner or later, produce the same effect. The simple, unfermented juice of the grape is never used as a beverage. The very Syriac word for wine, ܡܝܬܝܢܐ, by its etymology, signifies fermented."

It may give this testimony of Mr. Labaree more weight with the friends of temperance to add that the whole letter earnestly maintains the principle of total abstinence, in opposition to the moderate drinking, so-called, of Europe and the East.

Dr. Eli Smith, long resident in Syria, and to whom Robinson's Biblical Researches are largely indebted for their minute and accurate information, gives an account of the "wines of Mount Lebanon" in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*,¹ from which we condense the following information.

"The methods of making wine in Lebanon may be reduced to three: (a) The must is fermented without desiccation or boiling. Little is made in this way, and except in cool localities it does not keep well, though "possessing rather strong intoxicating powers." (b) The must is boiled down about four or five per cent, and then fermented. (c) The grapes are dried in the sun from five to ten days, till the stems are dry; they are then pressed, and must, skins, stems, and all are put into open jars to ferment about a month. This wine keeps better, and will sometimes burn; but it is only about one third of the weight of the grapes that are used in making it. The best wines yield thirty-three per

¹ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1846, pp. 385-389.

cent of what is called good brandy. Bhamdoon, four thousand feet above the sea, has vineyards two miles long and half a mile wide. The grapes are the principal food of the people for three months; then they make about one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of raisins, and twenty-four thousand pounds of dibs, all of which last is used in the village. To make it, the must, fresh from the press, is mixed with clay, to destroy the tartaric acid, and is boiled down till the product is twenty-five per cent of the weight of the grapes, and is as thick as molasses. Sometimes it is beaten to the consistency of ice-cream. It is classed among eatables, and not among drinks. It is generally eaten with bread or used in cooking. (Does Exod. xvi. 31, wafers made with honey (חֶמֶץ), refer to this last use of dibs?) Wines are never enforced with brandy, but says Dr. Smith, "unintoxicating wines I have not been able to hear of. All wines, they say, intoxicate more or less. So also when inquiring for unfermented wine, I have uniformly been met with a stare of surprise. The very idea seems to be regarded as an absurdity. The name for wine in Arabic خمر (Hebrew תִּיבֵּר) is derived from the verb to ferment. It is cognate with the word for leaven, and itself also signifies fermentation. I have not been able to learn that any process is ever adopted for arresting vinous fermentation before it is completed"; and if Dr. Eli Smith could not learn it, the world may rest very sure that it was not to be learned, in Syria at least.

"In regard to the wine used at the sacrament, I have questioned both Papal and Greek priests, and received the same answer. It must, they say, be perfect, pure wine. If unfermented it will not answer, nor will it if the acetous fermentation be commenced. The acknowledgment of the necessity of fermentation by the Papists is worthy of special notice, inasmuch as they reject fermented bread. This rejection is owing to their belief that our Saviour used unleavened bread at the institution of the ordinance, and their admission of fermented wine consequently indicates a belief that he used fermented wine. To this, so far as I have ob-

served, the custom of the Jews in Palestine now corresponds. In 1835 I called on the chief Rabbi of the Spanish Jews in Hebron during the feast, and was treated with unleavened bread and wine. Finding the wine fermented, I asked him how he could consistently use it, or have it in his house. He replied that as the vinous fermentation was completed, and there was no tendency to the acetous, it did not come within the prohibition of the law; and that if any wine was found at the beginning of the feast in danger of running into the acetous fermentation, it was in that case removed."

Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, who has been for more than a quarter of a century in Syria, and is perhaps more familiar with the Arabic language and literature, and more intimately acquainted with the customs of the people than any other foreigner, writes to me as follows:

"In reply to your question about wine for communion; there is not, and as far as I can find out, never was (in Syria), anything like what has been called unfermented wine. The thing is not known in the East. Syrup is made of the juice of the grape, and molasses, as you know, but nothing that is called wine (خمر or نبيذ) is unfermented. They have no unfermented drinks, but water of liquorice root. Raisins are sometimes soaked till they swell, and then eaten, and the water drank; but it is never called wine, or supposed to be related to wine. The name of the unfermented juice is مصطار. Wine is called خمر, because it is fermented from سَتَر = خَمَر, *he concealed*, as the Kamûs¹ says:

سَتَى خَمَرًا لَانِهْ يَخْمَرُ لِعَقْدِ اِى يَسْتَرُ

'It is called *Hhamr* because it *Hhamrs* the understanding or covers it up,' whence eighth form اختمار, *fermentation*, and خمير, *leaven*."

"In Syria, and as far as I can learn in all the East, there

¹ The Kamûs is a Lexicon explaining Arabic in Arabic, and is a standard authority among scholars in Syria.

is no wine preserved unfermented, and they never make wine of raisins, but they do make dibs or molasses of raisins, and they ferment them, and make arrack of them (by distillation); but they could not keep grape-juice or raisin-water unfermented, if they would; it would become either wine or vinegar in a few days, or go into the putrefactive fermentation."

"The native churches, Evangelical, Maronite, Greek, Coptic, and Armenian, all use fermented wine at the communion. They have no other, and have no idea of any other."

"The Jews not only use fermented wine at their feasts, but use it to great excess, especially at the feast of Purim (Esth. ix. 26-28), when according to the Talmud 'a man is bound to get so drunk with wine as not to know the difference between 'Cursed is Haman' and 'Blessed is Mordecai.' At the Passover only fermented wine is used. As I said before, there is no other, and therefore they have no idea of any other."

"From the above you can easily infer my judgment as to the proper wine for the sacrament. The same as the blessed Saviour used when he instituted the ordinance, namely, the juice of the grape so fermented as to be capable of producing intoxication when taken in sufficient quantity. The wines of the East differ in the percentage of alcohol which they contain, but all the various kinds are used by the native churches and by the Jews. They take that which chances to be at hand, just as the Saviour took that which was at hand at the Passover."

Dr. Van Dyck, as the result of extensive and protracted inquiry, is decided in the opinion that such a thing as unfermented wine never has been known in Syria.

The word "wine," according to the best lexicographers, means "the fermented juice of the grape." However they differ on other points, all agree in this. Bible lands now know nothing of any other wine, and the most diligent in-

¹ See also Dr. McCaul's "Old Paths," p. 25 (London, 1837), who quotes Megillah, fol. 7, col. 2.

quiries of those longest on the ground and most familiar with the people, satisfy them that no other has ever been known there; but does not the Bible speak of an unfermented wine? As considerable pains have been taken to show that it does, let us give the subject a more thorough examination than otherwise had been necessary.

A remarkable instance of striving to commit the Bible to the figment of an unfermented wine, is found in the Articles under the words "Wine" and "Fruit" in Kitto's Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature, written by Dr. F. R. Lees. But nothing could be better fitted to prejudice an Oriental scholar against the temperance reformation than to put those Articles into his hands. In the improved edition of this valuable Cyclopaedia, just completed by Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander, Professor of Theology to the Congregational churches of Scotland, the Article of Dr. Lees is left out, and a much more accurate and reliable statement of the whole subject by Rev. Isaac Jennings, a Congregational minister in Kelvedon, Essex (England), is inserted in its stead.

The Bible uses a variety of words to denote wine, but before examining them, let us notice some which have been erroneously supposed to refer to intoxicating drinks. Among these are:

אַשְׁמָנִים, our version renders this "flagon" in the four passages where it occurs, 2 Sam. vi. 19; 1 Chron. xvi. 3; Hos. iii. 1; Cant. ii. 5. In all except the last the Septuagint translates it some kind of pastry or cake, and there it renders it "unguents or perfumes." Gesenius renders it "raisin cakes," from אָשַׁם, *to squeeze or press together*, and the appropriateness of this meaning will be manifest to any one who will read the passages referred to. The Targum of Jonathan has אַשְׁמִינָה where our version has "wafers" (Exod. xvi. 31).

חֶמֶץ, *vinegar*, from חָמַץ, *to be sour*, as fermented bread, occurs only five times in scripture. חֶמֶץ as a noun occurs ten times, and in our version is always rendered leaven or leavened bread.

מְשָׁרֵת עֲנָבִים, *the steeping of grapes*. A drink made in that

way, and drank before it ferments, occurs only in Numb. vi. 3, and is not counted wine any more than the moist grapes or dried, in the same verse; all of which were alike forbidden to the Nazarite.

דְּבַשׁ, often rendered "honey," means also the grape molasses already described. This, rather than wild honey, may be referred to in the expression "a land flowing with milk and honey." Though דְּבַשׁ is sometimes called wine by western scholars, no dweller in Bible lands would call it so, any more than our own molasses. The word occurs fifty-four times in the Old Testament.

We now come to the Hebrew words for fermented, and therefore intoxicating, drinks. One of these is סָבָא from סָבַא, *to tope, to absorb, to drink to excess* (Gesenius). The noun סָבֵא means *drunkard*, and with the verb sufficiently indicates the character of the wine; indeed, the second definition of Gesenius is "a drinking bout," "a carouse." He translates Hos. iv. 18: "When their carousal is over, they indulge in lewdness"; and Nah. i. 10: "For though they were closely interwoven as thorns, and thoroughly soaked with their wine," etc. The word occurs only three times.

שָׁמַר, *lees of wine*, from שָׁמַר, *to preserve*, because wine is kept in full strength and color by letting it stand on the lees. This word occurs four times, but only twice in connection with wine (Ps. lxxv. 8; Isa. xxv. 6). Gesenius renders this last "Generous old wine, purified from the lees." See also Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (large ed.), Article "Lees." This word marks the strongest and most intoxicating wine, and the use of it in Isaiah to symbolize the blessings of the Gospel, shows that the favorable mention of wine in scripture does not depend on the absence of intoxicating power.

הָמָר, Deut. xxxii. 14; Isa. xxvii. 2; הָמַר, Ezra. vi. 9; vii. 22. חָמָר, Dan. v. 1, 2, 4, 23. The two last are Chaldee forms of the first, and all are from the root הָמַר, *to ferment, to foam*. They are identical with the Syriac ܚܡܪ, Hhamro, as the Jacobites pronounce it, or Hhamra, according to the Nesto-

rian pronunciation (see Mr. Labaree's letter, page 168). It is also written חִמְרִי Hh'mor or Hh'mar, from which חִמְרִי Hhameero or Hhameera, *leaven*, and we have already noted the Arabic خمر, *wine*, and خمير, *leaven*, pages 169, 170. In Daniel it is the word used to denote the wine drunk by Belshazzar and his princes, his wives and his concubines, in the night that he was slain. Was the wine used on that occasion unintoxicating; or any wine so identified with the idea of fermentation in Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic?

מִצְרָה, Ps. lxxv. 8 from מִצְרָה, *to mix*. A mixed wine is obviously intoxicating, from the connection. The same is true of מִצְרָה, Prov. xxiii. 30. It occurs again (Isa. lxx. 11) as a drink offering to an idol. מִצְרָה (Cant. vii. 3) means wine flavored with spices, though some understand it as mixed with water; but even then, why is wine mixed with water, unless to diminish its intoxicating qualities?

שִׁכָּר occurs twenty times, and is rendered "strong drink" in our version. It denotes, according to Gesenius, "any intoxicating liquor, whether wine, or prepared from barley, honey, or dates," and so corresponds to Webster's and Worcester's second definition of wine. That it is intoxicating is manifest from the prohibition of it and wine to the priests when on service in the tabernacle (Lev. x. 9); from Hannah's denial of the charge of drunkenness (1 Sam. i. 15): "I have drunk neither wine (יַיִן) nor strong drink (שִׁכָּר)"; and from Isa. xxviii. 7: "They also have erred through wine (יַיִן), and through strong drink (שִׁכָּר) are out of the way. The priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink (שִׁכָּר), they are swallowed up of wine (יַיִן)," etc. The verb שָׁכַר means "to drink to the full," "to be drunken," as (Gen. ix. 21) Noah was drunken; see also Isa. xxix. 9. The Piel form "to make drunk" is used (2 Sam. xi. 13) to tell us that "David made Uriah drunk." See also Isa. lxiii. 6 and Jer. li. 7. The Hiphil form has the same meaning, as in Deut. xxxii. 42, "I will make mine arrows drunk with blood." See also Jer. li. 39, 57. The Hithpael form means "to act

like one drunk," as Eli supposed that Hannah did (1 Sam. i. 14). Different forms of this verb occur in the Old Testament nineteen times, and in every instance, either in the text or marginal rendering our version associates it with the idea of drunkenness. The derivative טָכְרוֹן, means "drunkenness" (Ezek. xxiii. 33). In Syriac the verb ܡܚܝ is "to be drunk," and in Arabic سكر has the same meaning, and سكران is the common name for "drunkard."

צָסִיס, *new wine*, from צָסַס, *to tread*, i.e. the wine-press. This word occurs only five times, and in two of these its intoxicating qualities are manifest. At first, of course, it is not fermented. But James F. W. Johnson¹ says: "Within half an hour, in ordinary summer weather, the clearest juice of the grape begins to appear cloudy, to thicken, and to give off bubbles of gas. Fermentation has already commenced; and within three hours a sensible quantity of alcohol has been formed in the body of the liquid." How much time, then, is needed in a Syrian climate for צָסִיס to ferment? That it intoxicates we learn from Joel i. 5: "Awake, ye drunkards, and weep and howl all ye drinkers of wine (יַיִן), because of the new wine (צָסִיס), for it is cut off from your mouth." Here it is the loss of the צָסִיס that calls for weeping and howling. Why do drunkards lament for it if it does not intoxicate? And Isa. xlix. 26 makes its qualities very plain, when it says: "They shall be drunken with their own blood, as with new wine (צָסִיס)."

יַיִן occurs about one hundred and forty times in scripture, and is the most common name of wine. The Greek οἶνος the Latin *vinum*, and the names for wine in most of the languages of modern Europe seem to bear some relation to this word. Gesenius derives it from an obsolete root signifying to ferment, and Dr. Lees has controverted this derivation; but it is hardly needful to prove that it is fermented, when we find it in such scriptures as Gen. ix. 24: "Noah awoke from his wine," i.e. stupor of intoxication, the cause by

¹ Chemistry of Common Life, Vol. i. p. 262.

metonymy being put for the effect; and 1 Sam. xxv. 37: "When the wine (i.e. intoxication) was gone out of Nabal." So also 1 Sam. i. 14, however Eli was mistaken as to the fact, shows his idea of the meaning of the word, when he said to Hannah: "How long wilt thou be drunken? put away thy wine from thee." There could be no meaning in such words if יין does not intoxicate. It was יין that made Lot so oblivious to passing events (Gen. xix. 33, 35). Let these suffice to prove its intoxicating qualities. True, it is not always associated with drunkenness, because it was not always used to excess, but often in a commendable way, as we shall see, and also on the most sacred occasions, and for the most holy purposes. Contrary to a frequently expressed opinion, the non-condemnatory mention of יין in scripture by actual count is found greatly to exceed in frequency its unfavorable mention.

יין, *new wine*, from יָרַשׁ, "*to seize, to take possession.*" "So called because it gets possession of the brain, inebriates" (Gesenius). This derivation has also been controverted by Dr. Lees. But when a thorough Hebrew scholar, with no special theory to maintain, gives the results of his researches as to the meaning and origin of words, and another striving to maintain a favorite theory of his own, gives us assertions on the opposite side, and especially such assertions as Dr. Lees has made, it is not difficult to decide which to follow. In the discussion of this question we have purposely adhered to the definitions of the prince of Hebrew lexicographers, because it is *prima facie* evidence of the unsoundness of an argument when it cannot be made to agree with the generally received results of science, and its advocates must find some other foundation whereon to build. The Rabbins say that "יין is the juice of the grapes first pressed out, which easily takes possession of the mind of man." The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan render it by חֲמֵר, which we have seen is an intoxicating wine. The word יין occurs thirty-eight times in the Bible.

Dr. Lees advances the strange notion that it is not a

liquid at all, but a solid. One looks for the bones of the old Rabbies to move in their graves at the announcement. It would seem as if Joel ii. 24 were enough to correct such an idea: "The floors shall be full of wheat, and the fats (vats) shall overflow with הִירוֹשׁ and oil." But the Doctor, no ways disconcerted, proceeds in all soberness to explain that scripture thus: "The floors are full of winnowed wheat, and the press is running over with grapes and olives." The rendering "winnowed wheat" is perfectly correct, for that is the meaning of בָּר; but did not the writer see the incongruity of making the threshing-floors full of the finished product, i.e. wheat already threshed and cleaned, and the press full of the new material, i.e. grapes not yet subjected to the process for which the press was made? How quickly does scripture cry out against the violence that is done to it! The want of fitness between the parts forced into unnatural contact, bears witness to the dislocation that wrenched them from their true position. But the want of congruity is not all. Our version rightly renders יִקְבִּים *vats*, but he translates it "the press." Why? evidently because "vats" would not suit his purpose. He could not say that the cisterns into which the הִירוֹשׁ flowed down from the press above were full of grapes, for these are only in the press. So he changes the rendering, and doubtless some scriptures would seem to justify the change; for in other books of the Bible the word sometimes stands for the whole apparatus used in wine-making; but how does Joel use the word? The only other place where he uses the word is iii. 13 (Hebrew iv. 13): "The press (נֶחֱר) is full, the fats (יִקְבִּים) overflow." Here Joel uses another word for press, and the one in question for the vats below it; and yet in full view of this Dr. Lees reverses the meaning. If it is said that הִירוֹשׁ must mean grapes because it is trodden (Micah vi. 15), then for the same reason יֶקֶן must be solid also (Isa. xvi. 10).

The misuse of one scripture involves the misuse of others; for scripture is so jointed together that one dislocation cannot stand alone; so making הִירוֹשׁ a solid involves a corres-

ponding change in *רִצְקָה*; that must mean olives and not oil. Now a large room designed for storing the meat-offerings, *הִירוֹשׁ*, *רִצְקָה*, frankincense vessels, etc., was turned into a chamber for Tobiah the Amonite (Neh. xiii. 5). Admit then that *הִירוֹשׁ* was liquid, and it follows that it is fermented; for how long could the juice of the grape be stored away in Syria without becoming so? Our Saviour tells us that only new bottles could bear the strain of the imprisoned fermentation. So to avoid this, *רִצְקָה* must also change into solid olives. But this storehouse was for the offerings and tithes; and what form did the fruit of the olive tree assume in these? Every one who has lived in Syria knows how largely olive oil enters into household stores, for cooking and for light, and these offerings of oil were for the support of priests, Levites, and temple attendants. Then there was pure olive oil for the light that burned continually in the sanctuary (Exod. xxvii. 20); there was the anointing oil (Exod. xxx. 24); there were unleavened cakes tempered with oil and anointed with oil for consecration of priests (Exod. xxix. 2); the leper at his cleansing not only offered fine flour mingled with oil, but a log of oil besides (Lev. xiv. 10); the continual meat-offering which was offered with the sacrifices was to be mingled with oil, or anointed with oil, and if baked in a pan it was to have oil poured over it (Lev. ii. 4-7); the twelve princes offered each one a silver charger and a silver bowl, both full of fine flour mingled with oil, on twelve consecutive days (Num. vii.); peace-offerings were unleavened cakes mingled with oil, and unleavened wafers anointed with oil, and cakes mingled with oil of fine flour fried (Lev. vii. 12). To this day the Nestorians mingle wine and oil with the flour that makes the sacramental bread. In Mount Lebanon the rent of an olive grove is paid to the proprietor in the form of oil.¹ But we will not pursue the argument further. Enough has been said to show how the disturbance caused by one rash change of the meaning of a word, may extend much beyond the original design of the innovator.

¹ Churchill's Mount Lebanon, i. 123.

Isa lxxv. 8, where תירוש is said to be found in the cluster is claimed as favoring the idea that it was a solid; but so does lxxii. 8 speak of it as being brought together as grapes are in the vintage, and yet, as if the misconstruction was foreseen, the next verse (9) speaks of it as being drank. The critic must be very prosaic who can suppose that the prophet uttered such a truism as, "The grape is found in the cluster," that too prefaced by a formula so solemn as, "Thus saith the Lord." The same verse (lxxii. 9) speaks of those who gather the corn also eating it. Did the Jews therefore eat corn as it came from the field, and not in the form of bread or cakes? Because Exod. xvi. 4 says that God rained down bread from heaven, must we believe that Israel found loaves ready baked lying on the ground? Because Solomon's bread (Hebrew) for one day was thirty measures of fine flour and sixty measures of meal (1 Kings iv. 22), does bread mean flour in the ordinary use of that word? That must be a desperate cause that has to resort to such hypercriticism to carry its point. Job says xxviii. 5, that "as for the earth out of it cometh bread," i.e. that which makes bread; just as Isaiah says that new wine is in the cluster, i.e. that which yields new wine. Hos. iv. 11 settles both the fluidity and the intoxicating qualities of תירוש: "Whoredom, wine, and new wine (תירוש) take away the heart." Only think of reading that "whoredom, wine, and grapes take away the heart," or as we would say, take away the reason! See Exod. xxxv. 35, "wisdom of heart"; Matt. xiii. 15, "understand with their heart"; also Job xxxviii. 36. It seems as if the desperate attempt to make תירוש a solid, was a virtual admission that if liquid, it must be intoxicating. But why is תירוש added after יין had expressed the general idea of wine, if it be not intoxicating? How it is so may appear from another portion of the letter of Rev. B. Labaree, Jr., already referred to.

"It is quite possible that a traveller passing through the country at some seasons of the year might not see a single case of intoxication, and hastily infer that drunkenness was a total stranger in the land; but let such an one make a

tour from village to village during the months that occur between the vintage and the beginning of Lent, when the *new wine* is abundant, and he would find intoxication in its most disgusting forms. This is the favorite season for betrothals and weddings, the principal attraction of which occasions is a plentiful supply of wine. It follows that drunkenness in its various grades is too common to excite surprise; even priests apologize with the greatest coolness for some impropriety in their conduct, by stating that they were under the influence of wine at the time; to apologize for being in that state is rarely thought of, as scarcely any disgrace attaches to the lighter degrees of intoxication, provided a man keeps the peace."

The idea is advanced by some that *תירוש* is the word uniformly used when the Bible makes favorable mention of wine, and *יין* when it is mentioned unfavorably; but such is not the fact.

תירוש occurs eleven times in the expression "corn and wine," *חֵקֶן*, *grain*, representing the edible productions of the earth, and *תירוש* those which are drunk. Hence bread and wine are symbolical. It occurs also fourteen times in the formula "corn and wine and oil," which is a more full expression of the same idea. Four times it refers to tithes, four times to first-fruits, and once to an offering to God. Israel was allowed to drink both *תירוש* and *יין* at their feasts (Deut. xiv. 23, 26).

On the other hand, much less than half the passages in which *יין* occurs indicate a reprehensible use: It is once an offering to God (Hos. ix. 4), and eight times it denotes the drink-offering (Ex. xxix. 40; Lev. xxiii. 13; Num. xv. 5, 7, 10; xxviii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 38; 1 Chron. ix. 29. Melchisedec brings forth bread and wine (*יין*) to Abraham (Gen. xiv. 18). The Nazarite might drink it without blame at the expiration of his vow (Num. vi. 20); Hannah carries up a goat-skin full, with little Samuel, to the house of the Lord in Shiloh (1 Sam. i. 24); Saul meets a man going up to God at Bethel carrying the same (1 Sam. x. 3); Jesse sends the same, with

other provisions, by his son David to Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 20); Abigail brings a much larger supply of provisions and two goat-skins full of wine (יין) to David (1 Sam. xxv. 18); Ziba meets David when he flees before Absalom with stores of food and a goat-skin of wine (יין), for such as are faint in the wilderness to drink (2 Sam. xvi. 1, 2); Solomon gives Hiram twenty thousand measures of wheat, the same amount of barley, twenty thousand baths of wine (יין), and the same quantity of oil (2 Chron. ii. 10); a good commentary on "the corn, the wine, and the oil." In the song of Solomon both bride (i. 2) and bridegroom (iv. 10) say to each other, thy love is better than wine (יין). Isaiah lv. 1 sets forth the blessings of the gospel under the symbols of wine (יין) and milk. Zephaniah denounces it as a judgment from God (i. 13): "Ye shall plant vineyards, but shall not drink the wine (יין) thereof." That is a touching lamentation of Jeremiah (Lam. ii. 12): "The children say to their mothers where is corn and wine (יין)? when they swooned as the wounded in the streets, when their soul was poured out into their mother's bosom." That holy man of whom his enemies said, "We shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God," describes his fasting thus (x. 3): "I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine (יין) into my mouth till three whole weeks were fulfilled." How was it, then, before and after those three weeks? Other passages of the same tenor might be quoted, but in view of these now given, how can it be said that "the lawful use of wine in scripture is always connected with חריש, and that יין is always mentioned with disapproval"? No doubt "יין is a mocker, טִיפֹר is raging, and whoso is deceived thereby is not wise" (Prov. xx. 1); but it does not aid us in keeping men from being so deceived to suppress a part of God's truth, or explain it away. The end does not sanctify the means. No good cause is promoted by unsound arguments. Our warnings are best heeded when men see that we state the truth precisely as it is. It is much better for the cause to follow reverently

the teachings of God's word, than to wrest one scripture in favor of what some might deem the most telling arguments. The temperance reformation cannot afford to meet the terrible reaction that must inevitably follow such a course. Even on the low ground of expediency it is not wise to place the cause in antagonism with a book which is moulding the character of the world, and every day exercises a mightier and more extensive sway; a book, too, that never requires the use of wine except at the communion table, or as a medicine prescribed by another than the party who is to use it.

It only remains to notice the Greek terms for wine in the New Testament. These are *οἶνος* and *γλεῦκος*. "*Οξος*, *sour wine*, or *vinegar*, does not concern our present inquiry.

Οἶνος is the same as יַיִן, and is sufficiently characterized in Matt. ix. 17, where new wine, i.e. not yet fully fermented, in completing the process bursts the skin bottles that are old and weak. Eph. v. 18 makes its intoxicating qualities very plain: "Be not (made) drunk with wine."

Γλεῦκος is the word used by the mockers on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 13), "These men are full of new wine." If they did not deem it intoxicating, or did not mean to charge the Christians with drunkenness, why did Peter reply, "These men are not drunken, as ye suppose"? Or if he knew that *γλεῦκος* would not intoxicate, why did he refute the charge at all? Or why did he not do so by reminding them that *γλεῦκος* was powerless to intoxicate? We do not quote the favorable notices of wine in the New Testament, for our sole object is to show that all the kinds of wine mentioned in the Bible were fermented; and for that purpose the passages quoted are abundantly sufficient.

Is it needful to sum up the argument? Has it not been shown from the established meaning of the word, from the customs of Bible lands, and from the testimony of holy scripture, that wine is the fermented juice of the grape, and that such is the element appointed by the Saviour to be the memorial of his blood in the sacrament of the supper.

Before leaving the subject it may be well to learn a lesson

from Mohammedan experience. Most of their writers teach that it is a sin to taste wine, and a crime to make or to sell it. They even affirm that it is unlawful to eat the flesh of cattle that have eaten grass from ground on which wine had been spilt. Turkish law forbids a Moslem to use an earthen vessel that has contained wine, or one of metal till it has been washed ten times. To have tasted a drop of wine is enough to convict of drunkenness, and to drink it openly in the month of Ramazan is a capital offence. Yet with all this strictness, no sooner had the Moslems conquered Syria, than they drank wine freely. Several caliphs were notorious drunkards, and Sultan Selim Second was surnamed "the sot." In his reign even their religious teachers drank it openly. We do not speak of the drunkenness prevalent in Turkey and Persia to-day among the followers of "the prophet," for that may be charged to the account of a waning religion. But if such excess of zeal was so powerless without the grace of God when Mohammedanism was in its prime, is it worth our while to seek the same end by setting ourselves against one jot or tittle of his word? The history of Moslem temperance is written; and if any other reformation treats lightly either Bible truth or Bible ordinances, let us remember that the history of its success is not yet written.

ARTICLE VI.

NOTES ON EGYPTOLOGY.

BY REV. JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D.D. LL.D., NEW YORK.

MONS. F. CHABAS, of Chalon-sur-Saone, who has a high reputation as an interpreter of the hieratic text, has deciphered and published a curious manuscript itinerary, of the fourteenth century B.C., in a comely quarto of upwards of four hundred pages, under the title *Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, en Palestine, au XIV^{me} siècle avant notre ère*.¹ Mons. Chabas gives the hieratic text of the original papyrus in fac-simile, a transcription of the same into its equivalents in hieroglyphics and in Coptic letters, an analytic translation, a glossary of geographical and Egyptian words, a philological disquisition, and several essays upon the people and countries named in the itinerary. This itinerary has been the subject of essays by Drs. Hincks, Birch, Brugsch, and other Egyptologists; and a translation of a few pages of it by Ch. Wicliffe Goodwin, Esq., appeared in the Cambridge Essays for 1858. Mons. Chabas has spent upwards of two years in translating and annotating the whole journal, and in the greater part of this work has had the special collaboration of Mr. Goodwin. The result is a valuable contribution to geographical science and also to Egyptian philology; an acute and learned analysis of a very obscure document. Among the geographical names which Mons. Chabas thinks he has identified in the Itinerary, are Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Aleppo, Gaza, Berytus, Joppa, Sarepta, Adullam, Beitsean, Hazor, Magiddo, Jordan, and Ezion-geber.

This narrative is found in a papyrus which formed part of the collection of M. Anastasi, formerly Swedish Consul in Egypt, and is now the property of the British Museum, where it is registered under the name Anastasi I. It is clearly written in the hieratic character of the period of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, and consists of twenty-eight pages, containing in all two hundred and thirty-one lines. The author, who was a learned scribe, mentions incidentally that he was educated at a college of Ramses II., and other data assign this work to the fourteenth or fifteenth century before our era, a little prior to the Exodus of the Hebrews; the writer, however, did not record his own experiences, but edited the letters or journal of a high public functionary, a Mohar, whose manuscript was submitted to his literary revision. This personage, who was often charged with official embassies remote from Egypt, kept up a consecutive correspondence with his scribe, who reduced its materials into shape for publica-

¹ Paris, Maisonneuve et Cie, Libraires, 1867.

tion. The scribe eulogizes his hero as a brave commander, an eloquent orator, an accomplished scholar — one who was ignorant of nothing and was beloved by all — in short, a man without an equal or a rival. In the opening of the book he invokes for him the choicest blessings of the future life. This section gives a poetic picture of the happiness provided for the elect of the Egyptian heaven ; pure waters, exquisite perfumes and dishes, the society of the just, the life divine.

But after this flattering introduction, the scribe has presently a falling out with his patron, who charges him with want of zeal in his service, and whom he in turn accuses of promoting others less faithful than himself, notwithstanding their known vices of character ; from all which it would seem that official life in Egypt three thousand five hundred years ago was much what it is in America to-day. Merit was seldom the condition of success.

The seventh section of this narrative has an important reference to the Book of the Dead. The sixty-fourth chapter of the Ritual, under the caption "Of Coming Forth as the Day," contains the most profound mysteries of the Todtenbuch, mysteries which no one was permitted to approach, unless he had first thoroughly washed and purified his person, had kept himself from women, and refrained from tasting flesh or fish. According to the Turin copy of the Ritual, this section was found at Sesennu, written upon hard-baked colored tiles, at the foot of the statue of Thoth ; the discoverer was a prince Hartatef, at that time the inspector of the temples, and who is commonly assigned to the reign of Menkara or Mycerinus, one of the early kings of the old empire. Now the Anastasi papyrus, which dates from the fourteenth century before Christ, refers to this chapter of the Ritual under the name of "the formulas of Hartatef," as being at that time regarded as very ancient, very mysterious, and very hard to be understood.

In recounting the services of his patron, the scribe mentions the erection of a grand obelisk, made of granite from the "Red Mountain," the name given by the Egyptians to the granite quarries near the city of Assuan ; and from incidental allusions to the mechanical process by which the monument was set in its place, it would appear that a great inclined plane of sand was constructed ; then, by means of rollers, the obelisk was dragged up this by human strength.

Bokhen. The first point of geographical importance named in the narrative is Rohana, to which the prince was sent to quell a revolt. This Mons. Chabas identifies with Bokhen, which was upon one of the most frequented routes between the Nile and the Red Sea, in the mountainous region of Hammamat. The peaceable possession of this district was necessary to Egypt for the protection of her commerce with Arabia and the East, and for the secure working of the mines and quarries of the peninsula of Sinai. The prince had under his command foreign mercenaries — or

probably contingents furnished by neighboring tribes or nations that had been conquered by the Egyptians—among which can be identified negroes and a maritime people of Syria. The supplies of the army are said to have consisted of bread, wine, and cattle. The fact of provisioning an army with wine shows that the grape was extensively cultivated.

Syria. After this introduction we come to the Itinerary of Syria. Having reached the coast of Phenicia, probably by sea, the traveller explored the Lebanon, going as far north as Aleppo, the Haleb of the Arabs, then returned southward, visiting many places whose names are familiar in our sacred geography. Mons. Chabas has expended much critical labor upon the determination of these names, first analyzing the text with care, then collating it with all other known references in the literature of Egypt to the same places, and, by a comparison of historical data with these philological terms, fixing upon the site which best answers to all the conditions of the case. Omitting his processes, we shall indicate such of their results as possess some special interest or value for biblical students.

The Country of Khéta. The Khétans appear in monumental inscriptions as an Asiatic nation with whom the Egyptians were often at war. In the reign of Ramses II., however, a treaty was concluded between the two powers, which may still be seen upon a wall of the temple of Amon at Karnac.¹ By this treaty the two kings agree to act equitably toward each other, to refrain from incursions into one another's territories and from all trespass, to aid each other against their respective enemies, to return fugitives from justice, and also to send back immigrant laborers. Blessings are promised to him who shall observe the treaty, and curses are denounced against him who shall violate it, and all the gods of both countries are invoked at its ratification. Upon the side of the Khetans these include gods of the mountains, the rivers, the winds, and the clouds; Baal does not appear, but Set and Astarte have been deciphered.

Subordinate clauses of this treaty give an insight into the laws and customs of both nations. It is stipulated that returned fugitives shall not be mutilated in their own persons, and that their families shall not be subjected to cruelty on account of their offences, a stipulation which is supposed to have been derived from the more just and moderate criminal code of the Egyptians, with a view to restrain the barbarous punishments of the Khétans. These were probably a warlike tribe in the northern district of the Lebanon, evidently the most important people of Syria at the epoch of the Rameses in Egypt. The city of Kheleb, mentioned as within their territory, is supposed by Dr. Brugsch to be Haleb near Damascus. Other places are named in the general region of Coele-Syria. The natu-

¹ For the text of this treaty and a translation, see Dr. Brugsch's "Recueil de Monuments Egyptiens," i. p. 43; also a translation by M. de Rougé in the *Revue Archéol.* iv. p. 268, and by Mr. Goodwin in the *Pantheon*, No. 14.

ral history of the country may help to identify it. "The cypress, the oak, and the cedar are so large and so abundant that they obscure the sky by day; lions, wolves, and hyenas abound." The Egyptian Mohar had a rencontre with a moving tribe of Arabs — the Shasous — apparently near the Orontes, crossing the river at a ford. A servant of the Mohar who entered the camp of the enemy as a spy, is said to have transformed himself into an Asiatic, an expression which identifies the Shasous as a roving Asiatic tribe.

Cities of the Coast. A subsequent paragraph describes the route of the traveller by way of Berytus, Sidon, Sarepta, the ford of Nazana (?), Aoutou (Avata?), to Tyre. The port of Tyre is particularly mentioned as a second city built in the sea; it abounded in fish, and its supply of drinkable water was brought in boats from the main land. From Tyre he struck inland and went as far east as Hazor, then northward to Hamath and Takar, which last is described as a rendezvous of all Mohars; from which it is inferred that Egyptian officers, with a military force, had been accustomed to overrun that part of Syria.

A vivid description is given of the Mohar's return by way of the valley of the Jordan. In a very narrow pass where the road was full of rocks and rolling stones, his chariot was suddenly obstructed by a thicket of hollys, nopals, aloes, and other bushes; on one side was a precipice, on the other the perpendicular mountain; his horses took fright, and at that instant the enemy appeared. However, the invincible Mohar bravely conquered every obstacle.

He arrived at Joppa in the height of the fruit season, and there regaled himself with fruits and with the charms of *la belle jardinière*; but a troop of robbers took advantage of his indolent repose to plunder his effects and mutilate his chariot, and he was obliged again to rouse himself to deeds of valor. At length he reached Egypt by way of Gaza, covered with victories and honors.

This curious document, brief and fragmentary as it is, acquaints us with treaty relations subsisting between Egypt and Canaan at a period anterior to the occupation of that country by the Israelites, and with the general characteristics of the commercial tribes on the sea-coast, and of the roving, predatory tribes of the eastern frontier. The further study of this papyrus may lead to the clearer identification of places and tribes now left in uncertainty. Brugsch regards the Shasou as the "shepherds" of Manetho, a horde of nomadic Arabs. Long after the expulsion of the shepherds from Egypt, Sethos I. waged war in Syria upon these same Shasous, who harassed his frontier. But at the time covered by this narrative an Egyptian officer could travel in Syria with no more danger or inconvenience than attend the modern traveller, especially in the valley of the Jordan and the country lying to the east.

Dr. Henri Brugsch has published an *Examen Critique*¹ upon this volume

¹ Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature. Paris: Librairie A. Franck.

of Mons. Chabas, in which he dissents from the opinion that the hieratic text under consideration is a description of a journey actually performed by an Egyptian warrior. In his opinion a scribe, impatient of the quiet of a literary life, and ambitious to figure as a hero (Mohar), had expressed this intention, somewhat vaguely, in a letter to a literary collaborator; and the latter wrote the reply contained in this manuscript, to dissuade him from so rash an undertaking. As if he had said: "Before you set out to be a hero and to distinguish yourself in foreign adventures, consider what it is to be a hero, and follow me in the description which I will give of such a character." Hence the document is not to be interpreted as the itinerary of a traveller, but as a sketch thrown off hastily, and without geographical order, embodying the writer's general knowledge of places and people beyond the frontier of Egypt toward the East. This view of Dr. Brugsch's, however, is purely a conjecture, based upon an analogy of two or three somewhat similar documents, and upon certain internal marks in the style of the letter. Upon either interpretation the geographical and philological results are substantially the same. Dr. Brugsch accords praise to Mons. Chabas for his philological analysis of the hieratic manuscript, even while differing from his readings in certain minor particulars; and his theory of the origin and design of the document makes it a no less substantial witness for the knowledge of Syria and Phenicia among educated Egyptians, and for the general condition of those countries in the fourteenth century before our era. It is evident that the Israelites were not then in Canaan.

To this criticism Mons. Chabas has replied with much acrimony,¹ reviewing at length Dr. Brugsch's contributions to Egyptian philology, and disparaging his dictionary as an authority in the rendering of hieroglyphics. Such a controversy between two leading savans is the more to be regretted where the circle of scientific explorers is so limited; but it is a relief to be able to trace it largely to personal jealousies, and to find between such sharp contestants a substantial agreement in the principles and results of hieroglyphic interpretation. Nothing essential is touched by their variances. The general results are the same, on both sides.

The Granaries of Egypt. In the collection of Egyptian Papyrus at the Imperial library of Paris, are several rolls — numbered from 1882 to 1889 — known as the Papyrus-Rollin.² These date from the year 1519 to 1260 B.C., according to the chronology of Dr. Lepsius, thus covering, in part at least, the period of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt. Several of these rolls are the statistics of the royal granaries, chiefly at Memphis; and they contain exact accounts of the sacks of flour, of wheat, and other grains received upon certain specified days, and of the quantity of flour issued to bakers.

¹ Réponse a la Critique, par F. Chabas. Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie.

² Les Papyrus Rollin, publiés et commentés, par W. Pleyte. Leide: E. T. Brill. 1868.

and the number of loaves made. With each entry is given the month, the day of the month, the place where the bread-stuffs were received, their quality, the name of the scribe who received them, the quantity issued to bakers, and the number of loaves returned; even fractional numbers are reported. On some days the transactions were large, as for instance when sixteen hundred and one sacks of flour returned one hundred and twelve thousand and ninety loaves of bread. Certain weights and measures are specified, which bore numerical proportions one to another, but which it is not easy to reduce to our modern standards. Royal scribes were appointed to supervise the granaries, and from time to time the king himself visited these depots on a tour of inspection. One papyrus gives an account of the receipt at Heliopolis of different varieties of wood, and its distribution to garrisons, temples, and other public buildings.

This papyrus strikingly confirms the account of Pharaoh's granaries which Joseph filled and superintended (Gen. xli. 48-57).

Egyptian Numerals. Mr. Pleyte contributes a valuable essay upon the numeral signs in the hieroglyphics, and the use of fractions. His results are that Egyptian numerals are written from right to left; the names of numbers in old Egyptian are the same as in the Coptic; the names of units up to ten are formed according to the same laws as in other languages, and either accord with the Semitic roots, or are altogether new; the names of tens are either plurals formed from the singular of units, or are entirely new; the names of hundreds, thousands, etc., are expressed by conventional terms. Mr. Pleyte gives a table of numeral signs in hieroglyphics and the hieratic, and carries these out in parallel columns of phonetic and Coptic equivalents. His table runs in multiples of ten up to ten million. He exhibits also a valuable table of fractional signs, showing that the Egyptian system of numbers was elaborated into very minute and accurate ramifications.

Witchcraft. The Rollin Papyrus (A.M. 1888) is a judicial sentence upon a magician who is charged with many crimes and wickednesses committed through his magic arts and writings, such as paralyzing limbs, empowering a slave to do audacious things, etc. For his various abominations, "the greatest in the world," the magician is condemned to death, under a law declaring these to be capital offences. Does this shed any light upon the prohibition of witchcraft under the same penalty in Exod. xxii. 18 and Lev. xx. 27?

Dr. Lepsius has added to the materials of Egyptology, which he has already so much enriched, another contribution by the publication in facsimile of the ground plan of the grave of Ramses IV. as found in a papyrus of the Turin Museum.¹ In this plan the measurements of the different

¹ Grund plan des Grabes König Ramses IV. in einem Turiner Papyrus. Von Richard Lepsius. Aus den Abhandlungen der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1867.

chambers, passages, doors, niches, etc., are given with minute accuracy, and these have led Professor Lepsius into an instructive disquisition upon the use of the greater and smaller ell, by the Egyptians, as standards of measure.

Dr. H. Brugsch's new essay,¹ *Die ägyptische Gräberwelt*, presents a vivid sketch of the religious belief of the Egyptians, and of their social and domestic manners and customs, as illustrated by their tombs. In these respects the tombs mark distinct epochs of national character. The oldest sepulchres represent the first achievements of the race in civilization; their ornaments are the triumphs of man over his immediate surroundings, the labors and successes of his daily life. At the Theban epoch the inscriptions and sculptures give prominence to public events, and to the relations of the individual with the outer world. Battles, civic and military processions and honors, travels and adventures, now cover the walls; and the type of private character and of social life is perceptibly changed. The sacred hymn has now become a favorite mode of recording and transmitting the virtues of the departed as a child of the divinity. Later we notice the influence of Hellenism upon Egyptian life and belief, by the fading out of the grand old Egyptian symbols of rest and trust, and the introduction of more earthly and sensuous ideas; and these give place at length to symbols of the Christian faith. Thus the grave-world of Egypt is a history of humanity.

Progress of Egyptology. The French government has recently published a valuable report upon the progress of studies relative to Egypt and the East during the past twenty years. At the opening of the Paris Exposition in 1867, the Minister of Public Instruction requested the savans of the French Institute to prepare an exhibit of the works of mind during the latter half of the current century, especially of discoveries in science, pure and applied, and in the domain of letters and historical criticism, and also of the progress of ideas in philosophy. The volume before us is one of a series of reports prepared in accordance with this request.² It contains a report on the present state of Egyptian studies, by Count de Rougè, the substance of which was anticipated in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October 1867, and reports on the Cuneiform inscriptions by De Sauley, on Semitic studies by Munk, on Arabic literature by Reinaud, on Persian literature by Deffrèmy, on Armenian studies by Dulaurier, on Chinese by Stanislas Julien and Léon Feér, and on Sanscrit by Michael Bréal. A separate volume contains an *Exposé des Progrès de l'Archeologie*, by Alfred Maury.

¹ *Die ägyptische Gräberwelt.* Vortrag gehalten in der Museums-Gesellschaft zu Frankfurt, A.M. den 15 Nov. 1867. Leipzig: J. T. Hindrichs.

² *Recueil de Rapports sur les Progrès des Lettres et des Sciences en France. Progrès des Études relatives à L'Égypte et à L'Orient.* Publication faite sur les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction publique. Paris: à L'Imprimerie Impériale.

The labors of French savans are the special subject of these several memoirs, but the progress of each study is faithfully reported in a comprehensive survey of its entire field.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A. GERMAN WORKS.

EGYPT AND THE BOOKS OF MOSES.¹ — This first volume of Dr. Ebers's work on Egypt and the Books of Moses, embraces, among others, the following matters: Introduction: on Hieroglyphics and their Deciphering. Egypt considered Physically and Geographically. The Sihor (Nile). I. The Genealogical Tables in Genesis. The Egyptians: The Hamites; the sons of Mizraim: 1. A Glance at the Earliest Period; 2. The name Caphthorim and its etymology; 3. Biblical vouchers; 4. Phenician sources; 5. Egyptian sources; 6. Confirmations of our view from the religious usages of the Egyptians (Caphthorim, he maintains, was the current Egyptian name for the Phenicians). II. The Patriarchs and Egypt. Abraham and Egypt. Pharaoh; circumcision; the Hethites, etc.; slaves in Egypt; Potiphar and his position; Joseph; the name "Hebrew"; Joseph's imprisonment, the dreams of his fellow-prisoners and Pharaoh, and the interpretations, etc. Of the author's general relation to the biblical narrative, an opinion may be formed from the following words: "The patriarchs until Joseph, we regard indeed as historical figures, but deem them to be personifications of entire epochs, and, as Ewald expresses it, in a sort, 'typical' forms taken from the old, sacred, mythical history of the Israelites. No one has as yet succeeded in combining, in an intelligible manner, the years of the lives of the patriarchs" (p. 253). Circumcision is traced entirely to Egypt. On the other hand various matters, in such narratives as that relating to Joseph, which rationalistic commentators (e.g. Tuch) condemn as impossible, are shown to coincide exactly with what we elsewhere learn of Egyptian customs. So far as we are able to judge, Dr. Ebers's work is a clear, and, as to mere matters of fact, reliable, — though perhaps too confident, — a well illustrated, and therefore a valuable treatise on its subject. It is commended by Professor Lepsius of Berlin.

¹ Aegypten und die Bücher Mosis. Sachlicher Commentar zu den aegyptischen Stellen in Genesis und Exodus. Von Dr. G. Ebers. Band I. Leipzig: Engelmann; London: Asher and Co., Trübner and Co. 1868. Price, 80 sgr.

THE BIBLE AND NATURAL SCIENCE.¹—This new attempt to show the harmony of the two revelations in nature and the Bible, is an essay to which a prize of four hundred thalers was awarded by the central committee for inner missions in Germany. As a general rule prize essays are weak affairs; but the treatise of Pastor Zollmann is an exception to the rule. It is divided into twenty-eight chapters, of which the following are some of the principle themes: The so-called Exact Results of Natural Science; Faith and Knowledge; the Religious View of Nature in the Bible; the Atomic Theory; Creation, etc.; Lyell's Hypothesis; Light, Organisms, etc.; Man and Monkey; the Soul; the Idea of God; Freedom and Sin; Age of Man, etc.; Miracles, etc.; Immortality, etc. Herr Zollmann seems to be pretty fully acquainted with the most recent materialistic theories, both of Germany and other countries; though a good deal of his argumentation is directed against the shallow and impertinent book of Dr. Büchner, which some American has disgraced himself by translating into English. His criticism of the positions, assertions, theorizings, of the antagonists of the Bible is in many places masterly. We can scarcely, however, say that his treatment of the narrative in Genesis has satisfied us. On the whole, however, we can heartily commend the apology to the attention of our readers. One of its good features is the brevity of the chapters. The style also is clear and lively.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.²—This new work on the important subject of Biblical Theology is divided into the following sections: 1. Introduction, giving an account of the aim, method, sources, origin, literature, and aids of this branch of theology; 2. The doctrine of Jesus according to the oldest tradition; 3. The doctrinal hope of the first apostles before Paul's time—Acts, 1 Peter, James; 4. Paulinism; 5. The doctrinal hope of the first apostles after Paul's time—Hebrews, 2 Peter, Jude, Apocalypse, Historical books; 6. Johannine theology. These main sections are subdivided into sixty chapters and two hundred and twenty paragraphs. Our first glance at the table of contents awakened a degree of confidence in the book and a desire to read it. The two most valuable German treatises on this subject were hitherto Neander's *Planting and Training* and Schimdt's *Theology of the New Testament*; but as far as a cursory examination of Professor Weiss's work enables us to judge, it excels both; the former in precision and fulness, the latter in method, finish, and adaptation to practical use. The author's aim to do justice to,

¹ *Bibel und Natur in der Harmonie ihrer Offenbarungen.* Von Theodor Zollmann. Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses; London: Asher and Co., Trübner and Co., 1868.

² *Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des Neuen Testaments.* Von Dr. B. Weiss, Professor of Theology in Kiel. Berlin: W. Hertz; London: Asher and Co., Trübner and Co. 1868. Price, 3½ Thaler.

and find a reason and place for, every word of the New Testament, seems realized to an unusual degree. As a specimen of the treatment, we will translate paragraph one hundred and thirteen, "the idea of Faith." "Faith, which is the condition of justification, is the exact reverse of all the works required by the law; it is not a human performance at all. It is rather the renunciation of all performance of one's own, the unconditioned reliance on God, who justifies, or on Christ as the mediator of salvation. This idea of faith is derived from the significance of the word 'confidence,' which we find elsewhere in Paul's writings. Along with this, however, faith as the specific mark of a Christian, often denotes the confident conviction of the truth of the gospel as the message of salvation." Each paragraph, and this among the rest, is after German fashion, further elucidated and expanded in appended observations. One of the peculiarities of the work, as the author tells us in the preface, is its assertion that the Christology of the New Testament is a pure product of Christianity itself, and not due to any external influences. No one will study Dr Weiss's handbook without great profit.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.¹ — A monographic investigation of the question whether the pious of Old Testament times cherished the hope of future deliverance from the state of death, or in other words, of immortality. It is well known that many theologians have denied this — Whately, for example. Professor Klostermann examines in this volume three Psalms, cxxxix., lxxiii., and xlix., to which he confines himself because they alone are "written with the distinct design of setting forth the life in God, of which individual believers are conscious, in its relation to death." Other psalms rather touch on or allude to the subject under special circumstances, than, like these, calmly discuss it. Ps. cxxxix. treats of the riddle of the thralldom in which man is held by God, as testified by conscience; Ps. lxxiii., of the riddle of the patient endurance of the pious whom God calls on to suffer, while the ungodly flourish; Ps. xlix. of the question whether earthly inequalities imply a permanent inequality of human lots. In all three psalms the author finds expressed the "certain assurance of a future deliverance of the godly." The conclusion is in our view probably right, we should say so *a priori*; whether the writer's arguments are good his readers must judge; at any rate the work is good in spirit and thorough in treatment.

Buxtorfi Lexicon chaldaicum talmudicum et rabbinicum. A new 4to edition of Buxtorf's opus trignita annorum, with additions by the editor. It is publishing in parts. If the editing is as well done as the

¹ Untersuchungen zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. Von Lic. Aug. Klostermann, Professor of Theology in Kiel. Gotha: F. A. Perthes; London: Asher and Co., Trübner and Co. 1868.

printing this new edition will supplant the old ones. Price of each part, 15 sgr.

Corpus Reformatorum: Vol. XXXIV. I. Calvini Opera. An edition in 4to of the collected works of the Reformers, carefully edited by Drs. Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss, and well printed at a cheap rate, in Brunswick. Price per volume of 644 pages, 4 thalers. Well fitted for college libraries.

Ewald on the Prophets: The second edition of the well-known Commentary on Isaiah and the older prophets. Ewald seems to grow wilder with advancing years. Price 72 sgr.

Hachfeld: Life of Martin Chemnitz. The second life of this great theologian (relatively to whom the Romanists said, "Vos Protestantes duos habuistis Martinos, si posterior non fuisset, prior non stetisset") published within eighteen months. The present memoir is fuller than the one by Dr. Leutz, previously noticed in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Price, 78 sgr.

Heppe, Dr. H.: History of the Rhenish and Westphalian Protestant Church. The author's name is a guarantee for the thoroughness of the work, though its interest is mainly local. Price, 70 sgr.

Lau: History of the Introduction of Christianity into Schleswig-Holstein. A work similar to the above, said to be unpretentiously interesting. Price, 78 sgr.

Nitzsch, Dr. C. J.: Practical Theology. Perhaps the opus magnum of its recently departed, eminent author. We have little faith in so-called practical theologies at all; but especially when written by unpractical German Professors. The work is very extensive. The three published volumes cost 8½ thalers.

Dr. Piper: Evangelischer Kalendar. As usual to be well recommended. The publishers, Wiegandt and Grieben in Berlin, are now issuing a cheap edition of Neander's Posthumous Works, Christian Ethics, Miscellaneous Essays, Commentaries, etc.

Remy: The Fall. Able exegetical sermons on the second and third chapters of Genesis. With regard to the prohibition issued by God, the author remarks profoundly, "the commandment is the highest honor for man; it is the patent of nobility given him by God; it is the divine recognition and confirmation of his bearing the Creator's image." The literal use of the serpent by the devil is defended. The author was twenty-five years chaplain in Naples. Price, 20 sgr.

Dr. S. Schmidt: Life of Justus Menius, the Reformer of Thuringia. Said to be far too large a book, on one of the most vehement theological writers of his day. 2 vols. Price, 2½ thalers.

Siegfried: Spinoza as a Critic and Expositor of the Old Testament. A detailed review of Spinoza's *Tractatus politico-theologicus*, intended to vindicate for him the questionable honor of being the founder of the historical criticism of the Old Testament. Price, 20 sgr.

Thomasius: The Revival of Evangelical Life in the Lutheran Church

of Bavaria. A history of the inner life of Protestantism in Bavaria, from 1800 to 1848. It gives an account of the rationalism that prevailed at the commencement of the century; of the awakening of new life by pietism; and of the gradual consolidation of a higher state of things through the influence of Lehnbert, Raumer, Lailor, Gossner, and others, both Protestant and Catholic, both theologians and pastors. Price, 1½ thalers.

Lectures by various authors on such themes as Leibnitz; Jeremiah and Demosthenes; Stephen, the first Christian Apologist; Jesuitism; the Progress of Humanity and the Eternity of Man; the Beginnings of Greek and Christian Biography; the Religious State and Feeling of the Roman Empire at the Time of Christ's Appearance; the Self-criticism of Germanic Heathenism. Among the lecturers are Zöckler, Hundeshagen, Herbst, Frommel; all first class men. Price, 1 thaler.

Dr. Peip: Der Beweis des Glaubens. A philosophical defence of Christianity, consisting of three essays republished from the Zeitschrift, "Beweis des Glaubens." It is highly praised; but we found one of the essays hard reading. 22½ sgr.

Dr. Hamberger: Die Lehre des Jakob Böhme. Extracts from the works of the noted German theosopher, systematically arranged in twenty sections, comprising three hundred and ninety-five paragraphs. A brief memoir, an account of Böhme's writings, and a history of his doctrine are prefixed. The author tries, and seemingly with success, to rebut the charge of pantheism brought against Böhme. We should say that the book seems well fitted to give an idea of Böhme's system. 50 sgr.

Lutterbeck: Baader's Lehre vom Weltgebäude. An account of Baader's theory of the heavenly bodies, including the earth; almost as curious as the French theory, that every atom is a distinct intelligence. Baader represents the sun, for example, as a natural spirit without intelligence and will, but not without imagination (!); it is immaterial. The earth, on the contrary, is material, though destined to be immaterialized. Bold, some would say, very fantastic, speculations; but as made in all earnest, by an eminent man, not to be denounced as nonsensical.

Ritter: Philosophische Paradoxa. It would seem as though Ritter, the author of the History of Philosophy, were never to die; for he has been a philosopher forty years. He is his own school, and is in some respects more Anglo-Saxon than German. His principal defect is his Pelagianism, a common defect of philosophers. The paradoxa discussed are such questions as "the supernatural and the supersensuous in the world"; "doubt and certainty; authority and reason." Suggestive; but to be read with caution.

Frohschammer: Das Christenthum und die Moderne Naturwissenschaft. The author is a Roman Catholic who has been long trying to ascertain whether his church can tolerate freer philosophical investigation; and finding it cannot, has gone off a good way into modern unbelief; a course too.

commonly taken by thinking Romanists. His book seems to be a reconciliation of Christianity with science, on the principle of the former giving in to the latter.

Rabus, Dr.: Logik und Metaphysik. The first part of a work on logic and metaphysics, by a philosopher who *does* believe in the miraculous origin of Christianity, almost a *rara avis*. This volume treats of philosophy in general; thought; the criterion of truth; the dependence and freedom of the self-consciousness; the history of logic; the system of logic. The next volume will be devoted to the metaphysical portion. Highly praised.

Zirngiebl, Dr.: F. H. Jacobi's Leben und Denken. Life and System of the philosopher Jacobi, a man whose thoughts deserve more attention than they now generally get. The work originated in a prize essay, and is both praised and blamed. It seems fairly adapted to introduce strangers to the knowledge of Jacobi.

Meyer, Dr.: F. H. Jacobi's Briefe an Fr. Bouterwek. Letters by the philosopher just named. Nothing gives such insight into systems of philosophy as the letters of their authors. Well deserving attention.

Gildemeister, Dr.: Briefwechsel J. S. Hamann's mit F. H. Jacobi. Hamann is termed the Magus of the North; and notwithstanding the many riddles his works present, deserves studying. The correspondence here published is most interesting; the letters of both men, widely as they differ from each other, contain, with many trifling details, many profound thoughts, admirably expressed. 100 sgr.

Ludwig Uhland: Seine Freunde und Zeitgenossen von Karl Meyer. Principally letters, arranged in chronological order, of the celebrated German poet Uhland, addressed to such friends as Meyer, Kerner, and others, or addressed by them to him. The book exhibits Uhland in his private relations. Of course deserving attention.

Dr. E. R. Stier: Darstellung seines Lebens und Wirkens. The first volume of a life of the well-known author of the commentary on the "Words and Discourses of the Lord Jesus," by his two sons. The book is in every way worthy of perusal, both on account of its subject and on account of the manner in which it is written. Stier was a remarkable man, and passed through a rich and remarkable development, which is carefully and soberly depicted. Price, 35 sgr.

Friedrich Schleiermacher: Ein Leben und Characterbild. Von Dr. D. Schenkel. Schenkel wields a very facile pen, and, if he had not fallen into ecclesiastical demagoguery, would have been fitted to produce a really good life of Schleiermacher. As it is, one approaches the work with a suspicion that the author writes about Schleiermacher in the same way as the evangelists are charged with writing about Christ, namely, uses him to put forth and recommend his own ideas and practices; and the suspicion is not unjust. It professes to be written for the "German people," but will, we think, with its 605 octavo pages, be read by very few.

Fr. Adolf Lampe: Sein Leben und Theologie. Von Dr. Thelemann. A carefully written memoir of the celebrated reformed preacher and professor. The first part treats of his life, the second of his theology. His Commentary on John used to be more read than it is now. 45 sgr.

Ranke: Sämmtliche Werke. A new edition of the collected works of the celebrated German historian is now publishing. The first volume is entitled German History in the Age of the Reformation. We need of course only mention the fact. The value of Ranke's productions is acknowledged by all.

Cotta, B. Von: Die Geologie der Gegenwart. The author is an authority on the subject of Geology. Cotta appears to be neither a Neptunist nor a Vulcanist, but a chemist. The work is praised as in the best sense popular, while thorough and not so hostile to Christianity as too many treatises on natural science are now in the habit of being. 75 sgr.

Grimm, C. L. Dr.: Lexicon Graeco-Latinum. A new edition of the well-known "Welkii Clavis Novi T. philologica," or rather almost a new work based thereon.

Dr. F. Philippi: Das Buch Henoch. A new investigation of the difficult question of the age of the apocryphal Book of Enoch. The author shows that it was written at the end of the first or beginning of the second century, and that instead of Jude being founded on it as Baur's school maintains, it is founded on Jude.

B. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WORKS.

THE NEW ENGLAND TRAGEDIES. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868.

These two dramatic narratives, the first relating to the Quaker persecutions, and the second to the Salem witchcraft, are works of a very unambitious character. They wear a certain nameless grace and beauty, such as Mr. Longfellow naturally imparts to his writings. There is something extremely easy and unstudied in this volume, as if the author were not straining after effect, but was content to confer a gentle and simple pleasure upon his readers.

We like, as well as any part of the book, the two opening pages containing the prologue to John Endicott. There is an antique simplicity in these lines, which is quite charming. We admire the graceful way in which the author seeks to disarm criticism, giving us at the same time a choice truth, expressed under a beautiful image:

"Nor let the historian blame the poet here,
If he perchance misdate the day or year,
And group events together by his art,
That in the chronicles lie far apart;
For as the double stars, though sundered far,
Seem to the naked eye a single star,
So facts of history, at a distance seen,
Into one common point of light convene."

And yet, in spite of this caveat, we see no good and sufficient reasons for certain violations of historical truth in John Endicott. The author tells us that "the scene is in Boston in the year 1665," and the drama opens with Rev. John Norton preaching of a Sunday afternoon, and John Endicott sitting as one of his hearers. But Rev. John Norton died in April, 1663, and Gov. Endicott died in March 1665. In the course of the narrative a ship arrives from England bringing the news that

"Ten of the regicides have been put to death;
The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw
Have been dragged," etc.

But these things took place immediately after the restoration of Charles II., in the Spring of 1660. In the play reference is also made to the execution of the four Quakers, as something which had just happened. But this execution took place in 1659. We do not instance these discrepancies as proof that Mr. Longfellow has blundered, but simply to say that we know no reason why he should have chosen 1665 rather than 1660, when everything would have been harmonious.

We do not think that Gov. Endicott, Rev. Mr. Norton, Rev. Cotton Mather, and others get even and exact justice done them in Mr. Longfellow's representations. Unconsciously or not, they are tried, not by the standards of the world in their own generation, but in this generation, which can never be a fair method of procedure. However, if this be a fault in the present instance, it is a very common one, and we doubt not that Mr. Longfellow intended to be true to history. These dramatic pieces will not probably enlarge his fame and reputation as a poet, but they will give a quiet pleasure in many a household.

THE SABBATH QUESTION. Sermons preached to the Valley Church, Orange, N. J. By George B. Bacon, Pastor. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1868.

These sermons are written in a scholarly and an attractive style, and will be read with interest by the churches. The design of the sermons is to show that the real Sabbath is the rest of God, and the rest that remaineth for the people of God; that the Jewish Sabbath was one type of that rest; a monumental day, pointing backward to the exodus from Egypt, and forward to the kingdom of Christ; that the Christian Sabbath is another type of the eternal rest; was meant to be a privilege; from the earliest ages of the church has been observed as a privilege; is more glorious than the Jewish Sabbath, and should be kept as a day of voluntary and reasonable service to Christ, of loving ministrations to our neighbor, of spiritual rest to ourselves. While insisting that the Christian Sabbath is a privilege, Mr. Bacon says: "I cannot find in them [the texts ordinarily cited to prove the obligation of the Sabbath] or in any others, a commandment. But I do find in them a warrant for the privilege, a vindication of the right to dignify the Lord's day and to hallow it. If I can make men see the worth

of this privilege, if I can make men feel the value of this right, then I can even urge it on them as a duty. For in Christ's kingdom privilege is duty, and duty privilege. To his disciples right involves responsibility" (p. 113). Thus the author comes at the duty of observing the Lord's day "from the side of privilege," and not from the side of express commandment. Mr. Bacon, in allusion to Acts xx. 7, says of Paul: "And as he departed, commencing his journey before the Sunday had expired, for the day, of course, was counted from sunset to sunset" (p. 105). But on this subject there may be various opinions. One opinion may be that as Luke was writing for the Gentiles he calculated the days, not according to the Jewish style, "from sunset to sunset," but according to the fashion of the Gentiles; "so that his evening or night of the first day of the week would be the end of the Christian Sabbath, and the morning of his departure that of Monday" (see Hackett's Commentary on Acts xx. 7). Another opinion may be, that even if Luke does here reckon time according to the Jewish method, and even if he does consider the Lord's day as beginning at Saturday's sunset, still he is not describing an interview at the beginning of Sunday, during what we call Saturday evening, but an interview at some hour of the day-time, on Sunday, and that the apostle (as he was not afraid of lengthened discourse, see Acts xxviii. 23) protracted (*παρέτεινε* is Luke's word) his conversation through the remaining hours of that day and the following night; and that after he had engaged in the religious ceremony of the eucharist and the love-feast, he broke bread and ate, not in the distinctively ecclesiastical sense, but in the familiar sense of taking his needed refreshment (see Alexander on Acts xx. 7), and that during this early breakfast he perhaps still continued his familiar discourse; and thus persevering to the last in giving religious instruction, he took his departure, not on the morning of Sunday, but of Monday; so that the seventh verse is literally exact: "Upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow," i.e. on the next day, the second day, Monday. Paul went on foot to Assos, and seems to have remained in the upper chamber conversing with the brethren after his companions (Luke and others) had started for the ship which was to take them to Assos. They "left the meeting" for their voyage; thus the meeting seems to have been an informal one.

PROFESSOR HARKNESS'S LATIN COMPOSITION. A Practical Introduction to Latin Composition for Schools and Colleges. By Albert Harkness, Ph.D., Professor in Brown University, author of Latin Grammar, etc. 12mo. pp. 306. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1869.

When so much has been said and written of late against the study of the ancient classics, there is danger of discarding one of the best appliances for mental discipline; and the writing of Latin verses has so often been

held up to ridicule, that the public mind is liable to slide too easily into the conclusion that Latin is not to be written at all. Such a conclusion would greatly diminish the benefits of studying the Latin language. The easiest and surest mode of gaining an accurate grammatical knowledge of the language is by learning to write it; and the writing should be carried to such an extent that the differences between the Latin and English idioms, modes of conception and representation may be readily seen and felt. The language cannot be well understood without this, nor can the best fruits of the study be enjoyed if this is neglected.

For such a purpose the volume prepared by Professor Harkness is a timely and valuable aid. "Starting with the beginner as soon as he has learned a few grammatical forms, it conducts him step by step through a progressive series of lessons and exercises, until he is so far master both of the theory and of the practice of the subject, that he no longer needs the aid of a special text-book."¹

A series of models from Cicero, with the translation of the same in idiomatic English, precedes every exercise to be written; then follow explanatory remarks and a vocabulary. For the grammatical principles to be illustrated in the exercises, reference is made to the author's Grammar. Such guides and helps are provided for the student before he begins to write any exercise.

The work indicates a full appreciation of what the student needs, and everywhere gives evidence of a scholarly hand in the execution of the plan marked out. It will prove a safe, instructive, as well as pleasant, guide in Latin composition. We know of nothing better in its department.

MENTAL SCIENCE; a Compendium of Psychology and the History of Philosophy. Designed as a Text-Book for High Schools and Colleges. By Alexander Bain, Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, Author of "The Senses and the Intellect," "The Emotions of the Will," etc., etc. 12mo. pp. 527. New York; D. Appleton and Co. 1868.

The present volume is the author's abstract of the two volumes named on the title-page, and also of a third, entitled the Study of Character. It is especially valuable for its physiological statements. It is written in clear and vigorous English. While not agreeing with Professor Bain, we still derive much instruction from his works. We are happy to perceive that the Messieurs Appleton have now in press his Moral Science, a Compendium of Ethics, a continuation of the present work, and founded upon it. Those who differ most from Professor Bain in regard to the doctrine of the will, are perhaps the most desirous of seeing his own doctrine systematically and fully developed. The literary public have been previously indebted to the Messieurs Appleton for their edition of Pro-

¹ Preface.

fessor Bain's Manual of Rhetoric and English Composition, a treatise of great excellence, and one which deserves to be more studied than it has been generally.

THE HUMAN INTELLECT: with an Introduction upon Psychology and the Soul. By Noah Porter, D.D., Clark Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics in Yale College. 8vo. pp. 673. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1868.

This is the most important contribution to mental science which has been produced in our country for many years. It is the result of a life-long study, and reflects honor not only on its author, but also on our national character. It is a thorough and exhaustive treatise, and deserves the studious attention of our clergymen as well as professional scholars. It cannot be fully and fairly described except in a lengthened Article, which we hope to insert at a future time.

GREAT OUTLINE OF GEOGRAPHY for High Schools and Families. Text-Book to accompany the Universal Atlas. By Theodore S. Fay. 16mo. pp. 238.—Also, the **ATLAS TO FAY'S GREAT OUTLINE OF GEOGRAPHY** for High Schools and Families, with a Text-Book. New York: G. P. Putnam and Son. 1867.

Hundreds of literary men residing in Berlin where Mr. Fay was for many years the American Secretary of Legation, or at Berne where he was the American Minister, will delight to hear of his success in this new department of his investigations. He has submitted to severe labor and to great expense in preparing the present geographical Text-Book and Atlas. His work is highly recommended by the most competent judges, such as Humboldt, Kiepert, Von Sydow, in Germany, and by various American teachers. The plan of the work develops Mr. Fay's ingenuity and his practical judgment. The Atlas is beautiful and attractive. It awakens in us a fresh desire to commence anew our geographical studies. No one can examine the work without seeing and feeling the evidence that its author is a man of deep religious sentiment.

SERMONS BY HENRY WARD BEECHER, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. Selected from published and unpublished Discourses, and revised by their author. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 484, 486. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868.

It is wise to collect Mr. Beecher's sermons into volumes which he has supervised and approved. His great influence in the pulpit arises from his "curious felicity" of speech, his exuberant fancy, his illustrations as apt as they are fertile, his sharp insight into character, his diversified and generous sympathies, his earnest philanthropy, and his hearty interest in the moral and religious welfare of men. The sermons in which he has

exerted this commanding influence cannot fail to attract the attention of the public, and to be read in this and in other lands. The present edition of his sermons will take the precedence of the newspaper editions, as they have not, like the present, been printed after his own careful revisal. The editor of the two volumes already published is Rev. Lyman Abbot of New York City, who has in this enterprise laid the religious public under great obligations to him.

A COMPREHENSIVE DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. Mainly abridged from Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, but comprising important Additions and Improvements from the Works of Robinson, Gesenius, Fürst, Pape, Pott, Winer, Keil, Lange, Kitto, Fairbairn, Alexander, Barnes, Bush, Thomson, Stanley, Porter, Tristram, King, Ayre, and many other eminent Scholars, Commentators, Travellers, and Authors in various departments. Designed to be a complete guide in regard to the pronounciation and signification of scriptural names, the solution of difficulties respecting the interpretation, authority, and harmony of the Old and New Testaments, the history and description of Biblical customs, events, places, persons, animals, plants, minerals, and other things concerning which information is needed for an intelligent and thorough study of the Holy Scriptures, and of the books of the Apocrypha. Edited by Rev. Samuel Barnum. Illustrated by Five Hundred Maps and Engravings. 8vo. pp. 1219. New York: D. Appleton and Co.; London: 16 Little Britain. 1868.

The title page of this superb volume explains its design. Mr. Barnum has labored on it with a degree of diligence which merits a rich reward. He has made many corrections of the original work of Dr. Smith, and many judicious additions to it. He has rare skill as an editor, and we hope that he will continue his labors in preparing similar works for the press.

A TEXT-BOOK OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY: an Accurate, Modern, and Systematic Explanation of the Elementary Principles of the Science. Adapted to use in High Schools and Academies, with one hundred and forty-nine illustrations. By Le Roy C. Cooley, A.M., Professor of Natural Science in the New York State Normal School. pp. 315. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1868.

The style of this treatise is very plain, and well adapted to the scholars for whom it is designed. The arrangement of its topics is also simple as well as logical. Special care has been taken not to confuse the student's mind with an excessive multiplicity of subjects and theories. The work was prepared by a practical man, and is well fitted for practical use. Teachers as well as pupils will feel an interest in its clear statements, lucid order, and suggestive comments.

As many of our readers will be glad to see Biblical Notes from Professor Hackett, we have deferred until a future Number some Notices already prepared of new books, in order to insert the following Article.

ARTICLE VIII.

BIBLICAL NOTES.

BY HORATIO B. HACKETT, D.D., NEWTON CENTRE, MASS.

RENDERINGS OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION IN THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

It is proposed to notice under this head some of the renderings of the Authorized Version which differ from the generally received interpretation of the Hebrew text, and some also which may be regarded as more or less questionable. The object will be, in the main, to state, rather than justify, the changes which may be pointed out. On the whole, the fidelity of the English version in the translation of this book is to be admired and commended. Some of the corrections may seem unimportant, if it were not that nothing is unimportant which helps us to come nearer to the mind and spirit of the sacred writers. The number of obsolete English words, or of words which have changed their meaning, is less here than in some other portions of the Bible of the same extent. The statement of Max Müller, that the language of the English Bible is no longer the spoken language of England, and that one eighteenth part of its words are obsolete, must be qualified, of course, as applied to this or that particular book. Yet some examples of this mutability of living languages present themselves, which deserve notice. It would be aside from the object of these Notes to dwell on many of the finer shades of meaning and expression to which attention might be called in a Commentary or in the lecture-room. It must be borne in mind too, that the genius of the Hebrew language does not admit of the nicer adjustments to our own language of which the Greek of the New Testament is susceptible.

CHAPTER I.—In verse 1, “children of Israel” should be “sons of Israel.” The Hebrew has different terms for the different relations. There was no reason for making the distinction which does not exist for retaining it. The distinction is confounded in numerous passages of the Authorized Version. For “LORD” we should read “Jehovah.” This sublimest of the divine appellations is nearly lost to the English reader throughout the Old Testament. The device of the small capitals for writing LORD where it answers to Jehovah is the relic of an old superstition. In the same verse “against” should be, strictly, “to.” The Israelites were first to go

up to the Canaanites, and afterwards to fight against them, as stated by the next words. The Hebrew varies the prepositions. In verse 7 "meat" (added by the translators) should be "food." Though it was not so when our English version was made, it now means almost exclusively animal food. So also, it may be remarked here, "meat-offering" (as in xiii. 19, and often) should be "food-offering," for the other expression, as the rendering of the Hebrew word, suggests as a part of the sacrifice precisely the part which the sacrifice excluded. In verse 9, not "the mountain," as if a single one were meant, but "the mountains," or "hill country." This collective sense of the noun is often overlooked in speaking, not only of Judah as in this instance (see also verse 19 and ii. 9), but of Ephraim or Samaria. In this verse also, "valley" (for which the proper term is פְּתָח) should be "plain" or "low land" (שְׁפֵלָה). The word marks an important geographical distinction. The maritime "plain" of Philistia is here meant. In verse 17, "they called the city Hormah," rather than it "was called," as if it bore that name before its capture and destruction. Of course the impersonal verb admits of either translation. For the "coast thereof," in verse 18 (which we say now only of the sea-shore), better "border" as in many other passages. Gaza was on the coast, but that is not the meaning here. "Descry" (verse 23) is now obsolete in the military sense of "reconnoitre," "spy out." It occurs nowhere else in the English Bible. In verse 35, according to the usual punctuation (as old as the Bishops' Bible, and followed in the edition of the American Bible Society) there is no comma between "Heres" (more correctly Har-heres, according to the general usage of the Authorized Version in similar cases) and "in Aijalon." Heres thus appears as if situated in Aijalon. A comma should, no doubt, separate these names, as well as Aijalon and Shaalbim which follow.

CHAPTER II. — The Hebrew verbal form (verse 1) requires "I will make you to go up," instead of "I made you," etc. We must assume an ellipsis of "I said" at the beginning of the sentence. The promise referred to is that which God made before the deliverance out of Egypt. Further, if "the angel of the Lord" (Jehovah) is correct in verse 4, it should be definite here: "the angel," and not "an angel." For "as thorns in your sides" (verse 3) render "adversaries to you." The Authorized Version intercalates "*as thorns*" (an italicized addition), and adopts a wrong sense of the word for "adversaries." The origin of the error may be seen, in part, in the Bishops' Bible. In verse 18 the reader may choose between "it repented Jehovah" and "Jehovah had compassion," that is, because Israel was so distressed. In verse 21 "the nations" is the Old Testament ethical term for Gentile nations, i.e. "the heathen" (τὰ ἔθνη) in the New Testament. The Authorized Version renders the same word Gentiles in iv. 2.

CHAPTER III. — For the obscure "quarries" in verses 19 and 26

"images" or "idols" is, in all probability, more correct. The precise rendering in verse 20 is "the cool upper chamber" instead of "summer parlor." The modern *allijeh*, or upper chamber on the roof, appears to be the place intended. The same expression is to be noted in verse 23. The varied Hebrew designation in verse 24 indicates an appendage or recess of the chamber. It should be "Seirah" (verse 26) and not "Seirath," for the latter is only the directive local form of the proper name. In verse 27 we should translate "blew the trumpet in the mountains of Ephraim" for "a trumpet in the mountain," and again, just after, "the mountains," for "a mount." For "lusty" (verse 29) substitute "robust."

CHAPTER. IV. — The Kishon (verse 7) was a "torrent," and "river" misleads one here in his geographical ideas. Instead of "unto the plain of Zaanaim" (verse 11), it should be "as far as to the oak (or *terebinth*) at Zaanaim." The wanderers had reached this point in their progress from one station to another. The sacred oak stood near a well-known place. In verse 16, not "upon the edge of the sword," but "by the edge of the sword." For a "mantle" (verse 18), read "the carpet" or (alternative) "the coverlet," which formed part of the regular tent furniture. So in verse 21, not "a hammer," but "the hamner" which was kept (as among the Arabs at present) for driving down the tent-pins. In the same verse for "fastened it into the ground," read, "it (the pin) went through (i.e. his temples) into the ground."

CHAPTER V. — This chapter contains Deborah's celebrated Ode for the victory over Sisera. It contains a large number of very obscure words, in consequence of the infrequency of their occurrence. Its diction, in that respect, bears undeniable evidence of the antiquity of the composition. To change the translation of some of these terms would be only to substitute one doubtful interpretation for another. The English version of this song undoubtedly needs revision; but we confine ourselves here to a few words about which there can hardly be any difference of opinion. In verse 2, "for the avenging of Israel" we may translate "that the leaders led in Israel." In verse 8 we should omit the question: "No shield was seen, nor spear," etc. In verse 9, the more specific "lawgivers," instead of "rulers." In verse 10, "Ye that sit on carpets," not "in judgment." In verse 11, "Because of the voice of those who divide the spoil among the water-troughs," rather than "*they that are delivered* (added to the text, and therefore italicized) from the noise of the archers," etc.

Compare more formally also the following passages (verses 13-17):

Common Version.

Correction.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>¹³ Then he made him that remaineth have dominion over the nobles among the people: the LORD made me have</p> <p>¹⁴ dominion over the mighty. Out of Ephraim was there a root of them against Amalek, after thee Benjamin</p> | <p>Then came down a remnant of the nobles of the people;
Jehovah came down to me among the mighty;
Out of Ephraim [they came], whose root is in Amalek;</p> |
|---|---|

- among thy people. Out of Machir came down governors, and out of Zebulon they that handle the pen of the writer. And the princes of Issachar were with Deborah: even Issachar and also Barak, he was sent on foot into the valley: for the divisions of Reuben there were great thoughts of heart.
- ¹⁵ Why abodest thou among the sheep-folds, to hear the bleatings of the flocks? for the divisions of Reuben there were great searchings of heart.
- ¹⁶ Gilead abode beyond Jordan: and why did Dan remain in ships? Asher continued on the sea-shore, and abode in his breaches.
- After thee, Benjamin, among thy people;
 Out of Machir came down lawgivers,
 And out of Zebulon those with the commander's staff.
- And princes in Issachar with Deborah,
 and Issachar as Barak:
 Into the valley they rushed at his feet.
 By the streams of Reuben are great decisions of heart.
- Why didst thou sit among the sheep-folds
 To hear the pipings to the flocks?
 By the streams of Reuben are great resolvings of heart.
- Gilead abode beyond Jordan:
 And Dan,—why did he sojourn in ships?
 Asher sat on the shore of the sea,
 And abode in his havens.

In verse 23, "to the help of the LORD against the mighty," ought to be "help of Jehovah among the mighty." In verse 25 for "lordly dish" should be "dish of lordly ones." In verse 26 it should not be she "cut off his head" (of which there is no proof whatever), but "crushed his head." In verse 27 it is properly "between her feet" (twice), and not "at her feet," and in the same verse "sank down" (three times), and not "bowed." "The window" (verse 28), as in the Hebrew, makes the description more vivid, and not "a window." The mother of Sisera addresses (verse 29) "the wise ones of her princesses," rather than "her wise ladies." In verse 30 it should not be "Have they not sped?" but "Have they not found?" i.e. ample booty. The archaic "sped" was employed here for "succeeded." The more literal and approved translation of the rest of the verse is:

"A maiden, two maidens, for each warrior.

A spoil of dyed garments for Sisera;

A spoil of dyed garments, embroidered vesture,

A dyed garment, two embroidered vestments for the neck of the spoiler."

CHAPTER VI. — Supply the article before "caves" and "strongholds" (verse 2). The places are meant to be recalled as well known in this particular history; and so also (verse 8) "the angel of Jehovah" and not "an angel" (also in verses 12 and 22); and in the same verse, "the oak" and not "an oak." These traces of a still living knowledge (we indicate only some of them) are important to the narrative. In verse 13 insert "pardon me" (בִּי) before "O my Lord," and so in verse 15. It is an apology of the speaker for presuming to address such a visitant. In verse 26, "top of the stronghold" or "fortress" instead of "rock," the word being different

from that in verse 20. The same place may be meant, but possibly the new altar was to stand on the summit of the city so as to make the testimony against idolatry more decisive. The rendering should leave room for this possibility. In the same verse, for "in the ordered place," read "with the wood in order"; in verse 31, "for all that stood against him," read "all that stood near him"; and in verse 32 for "he called him Jerubbaal," read "they called him." The verb is impersonal. It was not Joash who so named Gideon, but the people gave him this name. "The spirit of Jehovah clothed Gideon" (verse 34) is more exact and expressive than "came upon him," which destroys the metaphor. It is similar to the New Testament language in Luke xxiv. 49 ("put on power from on high" as a garment), and Gal. iii. 27 ("put on Christ"), and elsewhere.

CHAPTER VII.—The Authorized Version, in the first verse, has "beside the well of Harod." It, no doubt, should be "above (בְּ) the spring" or "fountain of Harod." Its being a spring (and not a well, for which the Hebrew word would be different), and below the mount on which Gideon was encamped, enables us to identify this fountain with the present Ain-Jalood, and Moreh, on which Gideon lay with his little band, with Jebel-ed-Duhy, or Little Hermon, as known to travellers. This position of Gideon above the valley is evident from verse 8, where it is said that the host of Midian was below him in the valley. The lights in the pitchers (verse 17) were "torches," and not "lamps"; and the war-cry (verse 18) was "For Jehovah and for Gideon." Our translators intercalate "the sword," but without warrant from the Hebrew, and with an improper restriction of the idea. In verse 22 the proper name is "Zererah," and not "Zererath," which is the accidental local form; and the preposition "in" should be left out before the name and "to" be inserted; for the preceding Beth-shittah was a place by itself, and not "in" Zererah. In this verse also "border" should be "brink," and "unto Tabbath" should be "upon Tabbath." The passage involves difficulties of geography and of exegesis, but the translation to be adopted is plain. In verse 24 for "mount" read "mountains of Ephraim"; for "before them" read "against them," and for "unto" read "as far as to Beth-bara" It should be not "on the other side," but "from the other side (or beyond) the Jordan" (verse 25).

CHAPTER VIII.—In verse 4 it should be "faint (better "wearied") and pursuing"; for the turn given to the expression by "faint, yet pursuing" does not agree with the next verse. The reasons why Gideon's men should be supplied with food are two: first, they are wearied, and (even if they had no enemies to follow) would need refreshment; and, secondly, they must keep on in their pursuit of the foe, and therefore so much the more must they be invigorated for the conflict. In verse 13, instead of "before the sun *was up*" (the last two words, in italics in the Authorized Version, are interpolated), we should render "as far as to the

ascent of Heres." The place is unknown, but the writer's object is to state how far the Israelites chased the Midianites before they turned back. The Hebrew does not warrant the other translation. Instead of "he described unto him the princes of Succoth" (verse 13), the words mean "he wrote down for him [Gideon] the princes of Succoth," i.e. their names, so that Gideon, on taking the city might be able to chastise the offenders for their insolence and inhumanity. The precise Hebrew idiom is "wrote [and gave] to him," etc.

CHAPTER IX. — In verse 1 "commune with" in the Hebrew is simply "spoke to." For "men of Shechem" (verse 2) "chiefs of Shechem, or some equivalent term, should be used (see on verse 51 below). In verse 6 "the plain of the pillar" should probably be "oak of the pillar," that is, a pillar-oak, one near which was a monumental pillar. Instead of "where-with by me they honor God and man" (verse 9) it is, strictly, "which (that is, the olive-oil) God and men honor in me"; and instead of "to be promoted" (same verse) it should be "to wave," as a tree its branches (also in verses 11 and 13). For "adventured his life" (verse 17) the more expressive Hebrew is "cast away his life from him," as something worthless, and to be scorned when weighed against the claims of patriotism and religion. In verse 21 "for fear of Abimelech" is correct in sense, but strictly "from his presence." Instead of "they made merry" (verse 27), the Hebrew verb states how they did so: "they kept festivals." For "middle of the land" (verse 37), read "summit (properly "navel") of the land"; in the same verse for "the plain," read "the oak of the Meonenim." For "all they of the city" (verse 51), it should be "chiefs of the city." This the Hebrew word requires, as well as the sense; for otherwise the exhaustive "all the men and women" which precedes, leave none who can be "they of the city." It is not (verse 53) "a piece [fragment] of a millstone" as that would be naturally understood, but "the upper part of the millstone," which the woman threw at Abimelech. It is called the "rider" (רִכָּב) because it was the stone turned in grinding, and the woman had only to lift it from its pedestal, and she had at once an effective weapon for her purpose. For "all to break his skull" (same verse) we should say, at present, "broke in pieces his skull." The old English expression did not mean (though liable to be so taken now), either "all in order to break," or "altogether" (as if "all-to") break. The "all" meant "entirely" and "to" was an old intensive prefix to the verb (see Mr. Abbot's Note on this expression in Smith's Bible Dictionary (Am. ed.), Vol. i. p. 10). For a different view see *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. vi. p. 608.

CHAPTER X. — In verse 16 "strange gods" are "foreign" or "heathen gods"; and in the same verse "his soul [that of God] was impatient (not "grieved") for the misery of Israel"; i.e. he could no longer restrain his anger against their oppressors.

THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

(Continued from page 37.)

THE data for discovering the origin of the first three Gospels, as these data lie in the books themselves, are points of agreement coexisting with points of difference. For this reason it is often said that no hypothesis can establish itself which does not account for the twofold relation, and show why they differ as well as why they agree. But this statement, if not made with the proper limitations, is very apt to lead to error. For it is plain that when three persons sketch the same life, the strong presumption is, they *will* differ; and the variation will extend, it is very likely, to the general aspect of the character which they present, while it will without doubt affect the cycle of illustrative incident which each author makes up for himself by selecting some events out of many, and the turn of expression employed by each to convey his facts. The difference in personality, involving as it necessarily does a difference in the range of knowledge and the shape reflection takes, is a sufficient general reason for all such variations. But with respect to coincidences the case is utterly unlike. For, a single example of marked verbal coincidence between two writers, awakens at once the

suspicion of a special cause. When this sort of agreement occurs repeatedly, and combines with a general coincidence in the whole aspect given to the subject set forth, especially if the similarity extend so far that the same rare words occupy the same position in each, some very unusual cause must be assumed for so unusual an effect. The hypotheses which suppose that the writers made use of each other or drew from common written sources are not to be discredited merely because no satisfactory reason can be given in each case why the evangelist should omit one miracle or parable and retain another; should arrange the common material differently, or, after verbal coincidence up to a certain point, should then begin to vary. Nor can it fairly be required that these omissions and alterations should be accounted for on any one general principle.¹ Why are we to suppose that only one motive operated upon the writers in the use of each other or the common source? If all the subjective influences under which the evangelists laid the whole plan of their work, and executed each detail, were fully known, it might then be required that some one principle to explain all differences, or a separate reason for each one, should be given. Each writer may, however, have omitted here for one reason, and condensed there for a second, and expanded in another place for a third, managing his material in such manner that we may conjecture his motive in many cases with tolerable certainty, but in other cases with manifest uncertainty. As for the verbal differences, whoever demands a special reason for them has forgotten that the evangelists were men with free-will and powers of reflection who, as real authors, chose words for themselves. Here we are dealing with what is most inexplicable, with the most secret springs of action. What it is that leads one person to follow the words of another up to a certain point and then abandon them, to change the order or the construction of the sentence, to shade the thought so delicately unlike the original, is something concerning which fallible conjectures may be made; but to tell infallibly would

¹ Vid. Alford's *Prolegomena*.

involve such a knowledge of the mind's most hidden working as is more than human. The main demand, then, upon any hypothesis is that it account for the agreement. When this is fully accomplished, though in certain cases the phenomena of difference require a special cause, a large part of them find their common reason in the personality of the authors. These remarks, if true, throw suspicion upon a hypothesis which offers its best solution for the differences, and, while thinking to account for them by the variety in the forms which oral tradition took, refuses to consider in detail the very difficult problem offered by such wonderful coincidences. It may be remarked further, that the objection which is made against the so-called supplementary hypothesis, namely, that it forces us to think the evangelists have corrected and supplemented each other in a way hard to reconcile with any theory of inspiration, holds with equal force against the hypothesis of oral tradition. For the same principles of interpretation would, if the hypothesis of oral tradition were true, compel us to believe that the evangelists have accepted certain errors in fact and temporal sequence from oral tradition. There is, however, in either case the prior question about the truth of these principles of interpretation. If, then, the phenomena justify the conclusion that all three writers of the synoptic Gospels are authors, and not mere compilers, the main part of the entire question, as has been said, would seem to be: How shall we account for these coincidences? The hypothesis which best answers this question, while at the same time it does not oppose the general reason for all differences that derives from the personality of the authors, will be best. The inquiry whether any one of the writers would thus omit, change, or supplement another's material, is certainly a fair one, and in certain cases the answer may have considerable weight; but to exalt it into the only or most important test of a hypothesis is not permissible.

Before we classify and discuss some of the various suppositions which these phenomena of internal relation between the synoptic Gospels have called forth, the question presents

itself whether there is anything decisive, for or against any of the conflicting opinions, in the only passage contained in these Gospels, which gives direct testimony upon the subject of our inquiry. This passage, the preface of Luke (i. 1-4), has been forced into the service of contrary views. Oftentimes far too much has been derived from it. The proem of Luke appears to establish the following statements :

1. That certain written accounts of Christ's utterances and actions were in existence before the composition of the third Gospel. This statement is proved by the words, ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν, by the fact that his purpose to differ from his predecessors is set forth in the phrase καθ' ἑξῆς γράψαι (not merely γράψαι), and by the κάμοί, which ranks him as a writer with them as writers (vid. deWette, Meyer, and Holtzmann, page 244).

2. These written accounts were several in number, certainly more than two ; but it is impossible to decide how many, or whether Matthew and Mark were among them. Since the πολλοί of Luke is so indefinite, the question whether any of our present Gospels are included, will be decided according to that hypothesis of origin which shall have been adopted on other grounds. Meyer includes both Matthew and Mark. He also decides that the former of these, in its present form, could not have been regarded as the writing of an apostle, because of the contrast which is made between the πολλοί and those who were eye-witness (αὐτόπται). Holtzmann would exclude the two main sources, which he distinguishes from the synoptic Gospels, from the πολλοί, though Luke certainly used these sources, but would include the present Gospels of Matthew and Mark. DeWette would include the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Mark of which Papias speaks, and the present Matthew.

3. These written accounts were no mere fragments, but were of tolerable completeness, and compiled from the same sources which Luke himself intended to use. In proof of this statement, notice the words διήγησιν, καθὼς . . . οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, and κάμοί. In the word ἐπεχείρησαν there is no wish to

depreciate former efforts, but only a feeling of the "height and difficulty of the problem" (Meyer, so deWette and Holtzmann). Nor is his purpose to call in question the ἀσφάλεια furnished by the accounts of others, so far as they went, but only to intimate that for his purpose they might be improved in completeness (πᾶσιν), accuracy (ἀκριβῶς), and arrangement (καθεξῆς) (Holtzmann).

4. As to the character of the original sources which are mentioned in verse second, Luke does not furnish us ground for deciding whether they were altogether oral or in part written. He distinguishes the subject of παρέδοσαν and the πολλοί from each other, not under the categories of the oral and the written, but under those of the primary and the secondary authority (Holtzmann, whom Meyer follows). Under this παράδοσις may be included written sources, although the presumption is perhaps that they were sources chiefly oral. According to Meyer the λόγια of Matthew, mentioned by Papias, are to be included. DeWette, however, is of contrary opinion, and refers παρέδοσαν exclusively to the spoken gospel, quoting 1 Cor. xi. 2 in support (see, however, Acts vi. 14); while Hug contends for a limitation of the word to written sources (Einl. § 32 and p. 387 sq. of Fosdick's trans.).

5. Luke does not give any sure intimation as to whether he intended to use, besides these primary sources, the writings of those whom he designates by the term πολλοί.

This preface, then, does not furnish a decisive test for the different hypotheses. That test is found alone in the phenomena of variation and agreement.

In order to an examination of the various attempts to solve this problem, it is indispensable that some classification of them be given. But nearly all writers upon the subject have blended with what is the distinctive principle of their method of solution some things which, though subordinated in their view, have been made prominent in other hypotheses. A complete classification of the opinions, as they have been really held, is thus made very difficult by their complex and

manifold nature; not to speak of their number, which is so great that merely to mention all of them would be tedious. It is easy, however, to classify those principles of explanation that distinguish the more important views, and to present with each principle the hypotheses which, if not completely, at least more thoroughly than any other, represent the principle. We shall then classify and discuss the possible principles of explanation, rather than the actual hypotheses as they have been built upon these principles by a varied combination of them. Of such explanatory principles there are two: that which finds in the unity of the spoken gospel an adequate reason for the coincidences of the written Gospels, and in the divergences of the former an explanation for the discrepancies of the latter; and that which attributes this difference and agreement to the fact that the evangelic narrative had formed itself in written records. The hypothesis which corresponds to the first principle is that of oral tradition. If held in pure form, it claims that the story of Jesus's actions and words, being a main part of the preaching of the apostles and early evangelists, and through other causes, had become so fixed in form that all the phenomena of the synoptic Gospels can be accounted for by reference to this oral form. The other principle divides into two, according as it is assumed that the writers of the synoptic Gospels used a common written source or sources distinct from any of the present Gospels; or that they made use of each other, — the view of all those who hold any form of the so-called supplementary hypotheses. We have thus three principles of explanation. If an effort is made to give more than one of these principles a considerable place in the solution of the problem, the result is some form or other of opinion, which may be called a combination hypothesis. In strictness, there are few opinions which do not deserve this name by some attempt at combination. Certain hypotheses, however, have an especial claim to be thus styled, because they combine in more equal proportions.

It does not fall in with our purpose to make particular

mention of the opinions of Strauss, or of Baur and his followers. The former has contributed little towards the solution of our problem. And as for the latter, before examining their peculiar views, it is scarcely more than fair to call upon them to prove beyond doubt the existence of such parties as, in their opinion, must be assumed to account for the origin of our Gospels. If they rely largely upon the books themselves for their proof, they ought, at least, to be tolerably well agreed what is the distinctive party-spirit which each book exhibits. But the truth is, that while Baur thinks Matthew the distinctively Jewish Gospel, though with elements of universality intermixed by the hand of him who formed it over from its original, and Luke the distinctively Pauline Gospel, but with Jewish elements due also to some redactor, and Mark the Gospel written in the interests of neutrality, Hilgenfeld detects a mild Petrine spirit in Mark, and a decidedly Pauline spirit in Luke, and Köstlin decides that the spirit of Matthew is quite catholic, and Volkmar completes the circle by pointing out the Pauline spirit of Mark.

We inquire in the first place: What are the arguments urged in favor of oral tradition as an explanatory principle, and what objections are there to the opinion that it alone meets all the demands of the phenomena? ¹ In its favor, such considerations as the following are urged:

1. Those derived from the character and habits of the Jewish people at the time when the gospel was first promulgated. When Christ came, though literature flourished in Greece and Rome, and though the Alexandrine Jews had caught much of this book-making spirit, among the Palestinian Jews the case was far otherwise. Hundreds of years before, with loss of their nationality, the bloom of their literature had fallen away, and the spirit of composition had

¹ The views here given are to be found for the most part in the work of Gieseler "*Die Entstehung*," etc. Vid. also Westcott's *Introd.* p. 174 sq.; Davidson's *Introd.* Vol. i. p. 404 sq., and Norton's *Genuineness of the Gospels*, Vol. i. note D. iv.

perished. Though after the times of Ezra and Nehemiah some writers had arisen, what they left to the world could only reach posterity through Greek translations made by the Jews in Egypt. So fixed had this opposition to literature become, that the sacred traditions, highly exalted as they were in the esteem of the people, were handed down for the most part orally, generation after generation; and nothing but the risk which they ran of being utterly lost, could at length force the learned to break over the habits and rules of the schools, and commit them to writing. Indeed, "commit nothing to writing," was a Rabbinical maxim. This was, however, by no means because they had no taste for the old, nor desire to preserve it. Far from it. It was rather because they believed that what had been already written would suffice for scripture, while they themselves had found out another way to preserve all outside of the Old Testament which was most interesting to them—the way of oral tradition. Thus the sacred books which had been written of old became with them all needed literature. The search into the mysteries of the law and the prophets, the mastery of what their fathers had discovered to throw light into such awful depths, these employments engrossed all their time and mental powers, leaving no inclination and little ability for independent composition. At the same time, they had cultivated very highly that verbal precision and retentive memory, which were the indispensable conditions for the formation of such a well-defined oral gospel as the evangelists found in waiting for them. To these national characteristics Josephus bears witness, when he assigns to himself a condition superior to that of the other learned Jews for the composition of history, on account of his Greek education; as well as when he states that his countrymen esteem those alone wise, who are wise in a knowledge of the law, and skilful in the interpretation of the holy scriptures (Ant. xx.).

2. The apostles were by their education and habits particularly unfitted for composition; while their views of the gospel were such as tended to hinder them from the task

rather than induce them to undertake it. If we are led to believe that even the learned Jews would not readily commence the composition of written Gospels, much less are we to expect the same from Galilean peasants. Whatever motives we might suppose educated Jews to have from the tendencies of their culture, especially if it should happen to be of that more liberal sort which the school of Gamaliel allowed, would be quite wanting with the apostles. Rude, unlettered men among the Palestinean Jews of the first century would never have dreamed of transgressing the maxim of their rabbins, but would rather have resorted to that mode of transmission which was common among their people. We have also to consider how inconvenient were all the appliances for writing.

But such difficulties might have been overcome if the early Christians had had any inducement to the composition of books by the thought of the very important part which these books would take in the advance of Christ's kingdom. There is reason to believe, however, that they placed all their hopes in a preached gospel. Indeed, deliberate plans to provide for the promulgation of the glad tidings in far remote times, either by the spoken word or the written record, were not formed by them. The second coming of the Lord was so vividly before their mind that immediate preparation for this — the speedy proclamation of his salvation to as many as possible — was the work of all-absorbing interest. But, in order to convince the world of the claims of Jesus, no books save those of the Old Testament were judged necessary. To interpret these books so as to illustrate and enforce his claims, to prove that "the law and the prophets" bore witness to his Messiahship, was their work, so far as it stood connected with any writings (vid. Acts ii. 16; iii. 18, etc.). "The Jews expected at the entrance of the Messianic age nothing less than new sacred books."¹ Besides the intensity with which the idea of the *παρουσία* had taken hold of their minds, and the sufficiency which they found in Old Testa-

¹ Vid. Gieseler, "Die Entstehung," etc. p. 71.

ment scripture, the views which the apostles entertained of their mission offered an additional obstacle. The Master had bidden them at parting, "Journey and teach" (Matt. xxviii. 19), and their whole history shows that nothing could turn them aside from the effort to do his bidding. With them the gospel needed no Gospels. They were "ministers of the new testament — not of the letter, but of the spirit" (2 Cor. iii. 6). The Comforter, who was to teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance (John xiv. 26), was to bear witness with them, wherever they spoke of Christ (John xv. 26).

3. All the words which throw light upon the character of the activity of the early evangelists lead us to the same conclusion of an oral gospel. The word for gospel (*εὐαγγέλιον*) had then only reached the second stage in its threefold progress toward the meaning afterward common, and uniformly stood for the "glad tidings" themselves, rather than the written record of their contents; thus pointing to the living preacher who proclaimed them. Not until Justin's time, at least, do we find the later use of the word (Meyer, on the superscription of Matthew). The gospel is *λόγος* (Acts ii. 41), *κήρυγμα* (Rom. xvi. 25), *λόγος ἀκοῆς* (1 Thess. ii. 13); to publish it is *κηρύσσειν, παραδίδοναι εὐαγγέλιον, εὐαγγελίζειν*; to receive it is *ἀκούειν*, is to become *ἀκροατής* (Jas. i. 22). So thoroughly is it true that the gospel reaches men only *διὰ λόγου* that Paul seems to know but the one way of oral proclamation for spreading the knowledge of it (Rom. x. 14 sq.).

4. The testimony of early writers is to the effect that the first gospel was only an oral gospel. "The elders were not wont to write; since they were neither willing to hinder the care taken in oral instruction by the other care of composition, nor yet did they consume in writing the time which belonged to painstaking preparation of their addresses."¹ "For we have learned the ordering of our salvation through

¹ Clem. Alex. Eclog. Proph. 27.

none others than those by whom the gospel reached us, which, to be sure, they heralded at the first, but afterwards by God's favor delivered to us in writing."¹ It was the plea of the heretics, when they would justify their refusal to accept the books of the New Testament canon, that the original tradition was not "per literas," but "per vivam vocem."²

5. Bearing these truths and testimonies in mind, we may conclude that the gospel narrative received its first form as follows. After the death and ascension of Jesus, the apostles remained together for some time at Jerusalem in the closest daily communion. Even if their love for Christ had not continued after his departure, and if the desire for the growth of his kingdom had not induced them to preach unceasingly his salvation, they could scarcely have failed to tell over often the wonderful scenes through which they had so recently passed. But in the love they yet bore toward Jesus and the mission he had left them, they found the strongest inducements to repeat the incidents of his life. How joyfully and with what frequency must they have reverted to all the sayings and actions of their absent Lord, since these memories were the field in which their affections found most satisfying food. In those times, to speak of Jesus and recall each several occurrence connected with him,—each word, look, and gesture of his,—must have been no small part of their employment. Such a spirit of glad return in memory to the scenes of their intercourse with Christ, an early writer has well set forth, when he makes Peter say: "After midnight has once passed I now of my own accord awake, and sleep no longer comes to me; which hath happened to me on this account, because it was my habit to call back to memory the words of my Lord that I had heard from him."³ The calling of the apostles furnished them additional motive to rehearse often the evangelic narrative. To preach, to teach the converts, and pre-

¹ Iren. adv. haeret. 3, 1.

² Iren. adv. haeret. 3, 2.

³ Recog. Clem. 2, 1.

pare others to be in turn teachers and preachers was their great business. And for all this work the recital of Jesus's miracles and discourse, the concrete gospel, was alone adapted. By the way, in the market-place, and in the synagogue they told over and over their story, witnessing to the resurrection (Acts i. 21 sq.), speaking the things which they had seen and heard. Philip at Samaria, Peter with Cornelius, Paul at Rome teaching "two whole years in his own hired house," are examples of this activity. To the teaching of the apostles the converts resorted (Acts ii. 42), and the gospel was proclaimed "publicly and from house to house" (Acts xx. 20). In these circumstances the memory of one would supplement and correct that of another, and each one would receive and treasure what every other one had contributed. The bare fact of such frequent and careful repetition could not fail to do much toward fixing the form of the gospel narrative. But special reasons for uniformity are to be found in the nature of the contents of these narratives and in the minds and language of those who recited them. What the apostles recounted was the word or act of Jesus, who spake "as the Father said" unto him (John xii. 50), and whose words were spirit and life (John vi. 63). His acts, too, were of the highest significance; especially since in them Old Testament prophecy was fulfilled. How little, then, would the early teachers feel like making even verbal changes in the narrative. Having been all of similar education, "alike enthusiastic for their Teacher, with like attention to his words and deeds," the apostles would all have a similar conception of his life. Their language did not admit of "fine shading," and even when the tradition passed over into the far richer Greek, only a small part of the wealth furnished was employed. They had little opportunity for variety of expression, while they were not acquainted with the taste which among us requires manifold form for similar thought. The risk they ran of being contradicted by their enemies would induce yet more care and agreement. The tendency to uniformity in narration is seen in the various

accounts of Paul's conversion (Acts ix. 2-8; xxii. 5-11; xxvi. 12-18), and the visions of Cornelius and Peter (Acts x.-xi.). We may conclude, then, that repetition of such narrative, in such circumstances, by such men, and in such a language, would occasion very great agreement in the mode of narration. But since some things would be better adapted to the design of preaching than others, selections would naturally be made, and a definite cycle of incidents formed.

This oral tradition, originally in the Aramean language, passed over into Greek. Even in the early church at Jerusalem the many Hellenists must have contributed to this transition. When they began to outnumber their Aramean-speaking brothers, and the gospel was proclaimed outside of Judea, the oral tradition in Greek, formed under similar influences, largely a translation of the other, though with a new selection of the events most apt to its purpose, became prominent.

6. In this way, then, can the agreement in the synoptic Gospels be accounted for; while the differences are due to the very nature of oral tradition. The sections common to all are accounted for by the strong bond with which custom held together the selected narratives; sections are found only in two or one of the Gospels, because the bond was not indissoluble. The similarity and difference of order are explained in the same way. The oral tradition accounts also for the verbal coincidences which, as we should expect, are most frequent and marked in the words of Jesus. Rare words would be apt to be remembered and repeated. An unusual form given to an Old Testament citation would be transmitted.

In the belief that the considerations which this principle of explanation presents contain much that is indisputably true, they have been presented at such length. The question is, however, whether they alone are adequate to account for all the phenomena. That they are, only a few even of those who have carried this principle furthest have thought

best to claim. Herder, who was the originator of the hypothesis of oral tradition, — rather, however, because he excited thought in the direction of the result than because he arrived at the result himself, — mentions “a private writing in the hands of the evangelists”; Eckermann assumed in his earlier work “a written plan of the life of Jesus, as the common basis for the three evangelists”; Paulus helped out oral tradition with “fragmentary sketches”; Schleiermacher solved the problem in somewhat the same way; and in more recent times Dr. Davidson, after carrying the hypothesis quite far, confesses that the considerations it presents are “not sufficient of themselves to account for the remarkable coincidences,”¹ and supposes that “the Greek translator of Matthew used the Gospels of Mark and Luke,” — a view in which Mr. Norton coincides with him.² But it is hard to see how, if we admit the inadequacy of oral tradition to explain all the phenomena, we can stop where these writers do in assuming written helps, since objections to the hypothesis of oral tradition, generically the same, are in force with regard to the whole of each Gospel.

We inquire now what are the objections to oral tradition as an adequate explanatory principle.

1. The hypothesis which fully carries out the principle is certainly very unnatural. It is true that we are not to judge its possibilities without true impressions of the peculiarities of the age and people. But we can scarcely conceive how men who were using the same cycle of narrative year after year could be content to preserve such features of agreement as have been noticed, while to suppose that the agreement was deliberately planned in its details is simply absurd. The apostles and early evangelists were not the men to confine themselves in public proclamation and private teaching to the same words in the same order, the same tense and number, the same rare combination of clauses. “Such mechanism is opposed to the lively spirit of the

¹ *Introd. to N. T.*, Vol. i. p. 411. ² *Genuineness, etc.*, Vol. i. note D. iv.

apostolic time and activity" (Meyer). We may well ask here Dr. Gieseler's own question: "Did the lively remembrance of the life of Jesus let the apostles fear the possibility of contradiction?" The force of the foregoing objection, though increased when we consider the minuteness of the agreement of the Gospels, is not founded solely upon this harmony in details, but upon general considerations of the character of the apostolic age which are opposed to the tendencies relied upon by the hypothesis of oral tradition.

2. Even if we admit that such considerations as are urged account for the formation of a uniform tradition in Aramean among the Palestinean Jews, they would not apply with sufficient force to the oral tradition in Greek. Among the Hellenistic Jews and the heathen different habits and methods of transmitting thought prevailed. How can we suppose that the recital of incidents in Jesus's life, given in lands remote from Judea, and by men who for the most part had not this sympathy with rabbinical ways, could have preserved that precise formal and verbal agreement which would appear agreeable and necessary only to persons of different birth and culture? But the wonderful coincidence in the Greek tradition is the very thing to be accounted for. At present all are agreed that the relation between our Gospels cannot be explained by supposing that they are independent translations of Syro-Chaldaic sources, whether oral or written. For where the Gospels written in Greek differ, the various texts cannot be translated so as to form one text in any other language; nor could such coincidences in rare words and arrangement of the sentence be preserved in the transfer from another language. The so frequent agreement in the choice of the same one among the past tenses in Greek to translate the Hebrew perfect would seem of itself decisive.¹ It is hardly satisfactory, after having drawn out at length the influences which must have conspired to give great uniformity to the tradition in Palestine,

¹ Vid. Holtzmann, p. 44.

to make a tacit transfer of them in a body to other lands, where considerations, somewhat like, no doubt, but having far less force, are in place.

3. It is a great objection to the hypothesis that we find little or no trace of such a uniform tradition where we should most expect it, in the Acts and the Epistles. So far as we have the means of judging, it does not seem to have been the habit of the apostles to introduce lengthy recital of the incidents of Jesus's life into their discourse. They appealed rather in brief manner to facts well-known, and laid most stress upon proving from the Old Testament the Messiahship of their Master (Acts xiii. 16-41; x. 34-43; 1 Cor. xi. 23-26; xv. 1-8). It does not appear credible that there was prevalent a well-defined cycle of incidents, selected from the whole number possible, and fixed even to verbal uniformity, to which apostles and evangelists were wont to refer, when no sure trace of such a habit, no fragment of such a tradition, has been preserved in other New Testament books than the Gospels.¹

4. It is an objection to the hypothesis of oral tradition that there is so little close agreement in the narratives of the death and resurrection of Jesus, of the facts of which the early teachers made most frequent mention. It has been replied to this objection that these facts, having taken place at Jerusalem, were well known there, and on this account there was less reason to detail them.² But the reply is not satisfactory. For preaching at Jerusalem formed the most important part of early Christian activity only for a time, so that long before the tradition had formed itself in Greek as the Gospels have preserved it, the recital of these facts, if any, would have been everywhere outside of that city most frequently and minutely given.

5. The hypothesis of oral tradition does not satisfactorily account for the agreement of the Gospels in their general

¹ De Wette, Einl. § 87; Meyer on Matt. Einl. § 4; Davidson's Introd. Vol. i. p. 411 sq.; Holtzmann, p. 52.

² Davidson's Introd. Vol. i. p. 410.

plan and in some details of arrangement. For we cannot well suppose that the whole series of narratives was given in any fixed order or in any one discourse. The agreement in general plan might perhaps be attributed to the writers themselves on the supposition that they wrote independently, but not so readily such phenomena as were mentioned above (No. 4).¹ "Only of the Apostle Peter does the church tradition announce that he made reports to the Romans concerning the evangelic history, but even of him it is expressly said *οὐ μέντοι τάξει*."²

6. But it is a decisive objection to this principle of oral tradition as adequate, that by it we cannot account for such verbal coincidences as are long and precise, or for such as consist in minutiae too delicate to be preserved in the rough process of transmission by mere word of mouth. Let each one test the hypothesis by the facts given in concrete examples (Nos. 5, 6, p. 21). To suppose that, after years of repetition, day by day, in every variety of place and by a variety of speakers, a number of words exactly the same should maintain themselves in exactly the same order, — especially if the language in which those words are uttered admit of such variety in arrangement as the Greek, — or that a word found nowhere else, an infrequent form or combination, should be selected and retained amid such changing circumstances, seems so improbable a supposition that we may pronounce the acceptance of it impossible. The full force of this objection can be felt only by recurring to the phenomena which the hypothesis professes to explain.

Add to the foregoing objections those derived from the intimations of Luke's proem and from the structure of John's Gospel, and the counter-argument seems complete. And further, those who incline to judge the question of origin upon dogmatic grounds must find a strong objection to this hypothesis in the readiness with which destructive criticism

¹ Vid. De Wette, Einl. § 87 d. and Davidson's Introd. Vol. i. p. 414.

² Holtzmann, p. 52.

has accepted it. That the principle of oral tradition, though inadequate to solve the whole problem, must form the basis of and largely pervade any hypothesis at all satisfactory, has been already stated.

The second explanatory principle is that which attributes the phenomena to the common use, by the writers of the synoptic Gospels, of a written source or sources. Under this head also, only such hypotheses will be spoken of as conform most rigidly to the principle. These are the older and very intricate hypotheses of Eichhorn, Marsh, and Gratz, and the more recent but scarcely less intricate view of Ewald. The opinion first adopted by Eichhorn was the following: About the time of the martyrdom of Stephen a Syro-Chaldaic Gospel was composed which contained the sections common to the three synoptic Gospels in tolerably close connection. This protevangel passed through many hands and received from time to time additions from oral tradition. Thus various Aramean recensions arose, four of which, A for Matthew, B for Luke, C out of A and B for Mark, and D for Matthew and Luke, were used by the writers of our present Gospels. Matthew in composition changed the order in the first half of A and interpolated from D, Luke also interpolated from D into B, using besides a writing unknown to both the others, while Mark translated C with slight additions.¹ Marsh easily showed that agreement in Aramean protevangel would not account for agreement in our Gospels, and proposed the following hypothesis: (1) $\aleph$, Hebrew document. (2) $\bar{\aleph}$, Greek translation of the first. (3) Copies of $\aleph$ with additions. These copies were three in number, and are designated $\aleph + \alpha + A$, $\aleph + \beta + B$, and $\aleph + \gamma + \Gamma$. (4) $\beth$, Hebrew document which contained a gnomology. (5) Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew; $\aleph + \beth + \alpha + A + \gamma + \Gamma$. (6) Luke's Gospel; $\aleph + \beth + \beta + B + \gamma + \Gamma + \bar{\aleph}$. (7) Mark's Gospel; $\aleph + \alpha + A + \beta + B + \bar{\aleph}$. (8) Greek translation of the Hebrew Matthew, with appropriations from Mark, Luke and $\bar{\aleph}$.² The

¹ Bibliothek der bibl. Lib. 1794, Vol. v. p. 759 sq.

² Michaelis, Introd. Vol. v. p. 331 sq.

German was not to be surpassed by his English critic, but accepted the corrective principle, and drew up a yet more elaborate plan in which he distinguishes the twelve Gospels and parts of Gospels before alluded to in a way that need not be detailed here. Gratz simplified this later hypothesis of Eichhorn, and proposed, (1) an Aramean protevangel; (2) a Greek translation of the first, made for the Christians of Antioch, with many additions; (3) certain shorter documents; (4) Mark and Luke made from No. 2 with use of No. 3; (5) Hebrew Matthew from No. 1, and a gnomology agreeing in part with one used by Luke; (6) our present Matthew, a Greek translation of No. 5 made by using Mark; and, finally, (7) reciprocal interpolations in Matthew and Luke.¹

Some hesitation is felt about mentioning the opinion of so distinguished a scholar as Ewald in connection with views now generally abandoned; but the plan of our inquiry does not furnish a more appropriate place for stating this opinion. It includes, (1) a Greek protevangel, composed perhaps by the evangelist Philip and used by Paul, which depicted the most important occurrences of Jesus's life; (2) the Hebrew *λόγια* of Matthew; (3) the Gospel of Mark, composed with the help of Nos. 1 and 2; (4) "the book of the higher history;" (5) the present Gospel of Matthew written in Greek with the help of the four documents mentioned above, and probably also a fifth document for the first two chapters; (6, 7, and 8) three smaller sources used by Luke; and (9) the Gospel of Luke, in which all the other writings with the exception of Matthew are employed.²

The support for many hypotheses of this class is gained only by a mechanical division of the Gospels into "writings which owe their purely subjective existence to a blind groping in the darkness." Witness the process of Marsh, which consists largely in separating the sections and passages com-

¹ Neuer Versuch, 1812.

² His views are to be found stated in several of his writings, particularly, "Die drei ersten Evangelien," etc.

mon to all three from those common to two or peculiar to each, with the assumption that each division thus made gives proof of a new written source. While the arguments by which these hypotheses are supported are found only in this artificial and subtle dissection, the objections to such an application of the second principle of explanation are manifest. But these objections need not be presented in detail since the demand for them has ceased, the hypotheses being now generally abandoned. Two or three of the more manifest incompetences are the following:

1. These hypotheses show themselves unsound by the slight grounds upon which they assume such manifold and complex causes for the phenomena, while a method of composition so artificial as they attribute to the evangelists is unsuited. No one can fail to feel the force of Schleiermacher's sarcasm: "I cannot imagine our good evangelists surrounded with four, five, or six rolls and books in different languages, glancing by turn from one into another, and compiling very much after the fashion of a German book-maker of the eighteenth or nineteenth century." And even if we grant that this was the final work of compilation, the detection of each particular source and the assumption of Greek and Hebrew protevangels without stint, can never reach such a degree of certainty as will beget confidence. Nor are the discrepancies of the synoptic Gospels helped by thrusting in many intermediate unknown sources, in order to accomplish by easy transition much which the individuality of the writers accounts for at once.

2. But these hypotheses are even opposed to the phenomena which establish this individuality: they not only do not explain, but they contradict, the phenomena of verbal characteristic, than which none are better established.

3. These hypotheses do not acknowledge the force of the considerations which the hypothesis of oral tradition presents.

The above and other objections are decisive as to the more complex applications of the second principle, but do not hold against all use of it. The principle may be employed

with moderation and combined with the truths which other explanatory principles offer. It is indeed objected to all assumption of a *protevangel* that no trace of such a document, which must have been in high esteem, is anywhere found, and that the testimonies of Luke (i. 1-4) and Papias (Kirhhf. Quellens., p. 29 sq.) seem opposed to the fact of its existence.¹ But it may be said in reply that it would be nothing surprising if no trace of this *protevangel*, which was not necessarily in high esteem at a time when oral tradition was in full vigor, were found outside of the Gospels; nor is it certain that Luke does not refer to some such document, while the witness of Papias, with perhaps equal show of reason, may be interpreted in favor of the application of this principle.

The attempts to explain the phenomena by the third principle of explanation, that the evangelists made use of each other's writings, have given rise to many hypotheses, all of which account for the coincidences in the synoptic Gospels by supposing that the writers who followed were acquainted with and made use of the work of those by whom they had been preceded. Every possible order of arrangement has found advocates, as the following statement of opinion, taken for the most part from Meyer, will show.²

1. Matthew, Mark, Luke. So Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, Bengel, Townson, Seiler, Hug, Credner, Hengstenberg, Hilgenfeld, and others. 2. Matthew, Luke, Mark. So Owen, Stroth, Griesbach, Ammon, Saunier, Theile, Sieffert, Fritzsche, De Wette, Strauss, Bleek, Schwegler, Baur, Köstlin, and others. 3. Mark, Matthew, Luke. So Storr. This order of origin, though not in connection with the supplementary hypothesis, has been advocated by Ewald, Ritschl, Reuss, Weiss, Holtzmann, and others. Meyer's view will be spoken of below. 4. Mark, Luke, Matthew. So Wilke, B. Bauer, Hitzig, and Volkmar. 5. Luke, Matthew, Mark. So Busching and Evanson. 6. Luke, Mark, Matthew. So Vogel.

¹ Vid. Davidson's *Introd.* Vol. i. p. 384, and Meyer on *Matthew*, p. 27.

² For a list of the works of these writers, vid. Meyer on *Matthew*, p. 30 sq., and Davidson's *Introd.* Vol. i. p. 387.

Against this principle of explanation in all its forms one general objection is urged with more or less force, namely, that the differences in extent of narrative arising from omissions and additions, the differences in form of narration, especially where one writer seems irreconcilable with the other, and the differences in arrangement where the temporal sequence is close, remain unaccounted for. It has already been observed that the difficulty is greatly diminished when we remember that the evangelists have put the stamp of their individuality upon all their material, from whatever source derived. And the reply remains in force, though the motives for the changes appear various and are not now always easy to discover. In certain cases this class of objections must have considerable weight. It will be observed however, that an hypothesis, which, like that of Meyer, places Mark first and attributes to Luke only a partial use of the others, escapes most objections of this class. Whether we make any use of this third principle of explanation or not, order No. 3 has many arguments in its favor.

There is little need to examine all the forms of the supplementary hypothesis by bringing forward special instances of the general objection. Other classes of argument, which will occur to any one upon thought of the character of the phenomena to be explained by any hypothesis, are in most cases decisive. We shall consider especially only those views (1 and 2) which have found most able and numerous advocates, and shall consider them but briefly:

1. Did Mark make use of Matthew, and Luke make use of both? Against this view all the arguments for Mark's originality, which are drawn from those passages where he seems to present the narrative in clearer light than Matthew, are urged, though always with doubtful force. Thus the *ὁψίως δὲ γενομένης* of Mark i. 32, referring back to *τοῖς σάββασι* (v. 21) gives a clearness to the whole account, which Matthew has lost by introducing the passage in another connection, and thus rendering the designation of time pointless. If Mark had Matthew before him why has he omitted all

history of the birth of Jesus, and why has he failed to mention the Sermon on the Mount? Why further does he (iii. 20) omit the miracle recorded by Matthew, which gave rise to the conversation following.¹

Again, if Mark had Matthew before him why does he obscure the narrative of the latter by making certain changes in it? Thus (x. 2, Matt. xix. 3) by dropping out the words *κατὰ πάντων αἰτίαν*, which show the question to concern a teaching of the school of Hillel, he has omitted "the very element of the temptation" (Meyer). See also the *συνηγμένων δὲ τῶν Φαρισαίων* (Mark xii. 35; Matt. xxii. 41). The arrangement of Mark is oftentimes unfavorable to this view. How shall we account for the fact that he, having passed over the narratives of the journey to Gadara and the healing of Jairus's daughter as given in Matthew's connection, turns back to them (chap. v.), and weaves them in so skilfully that one could not suspect this was not the original connection?

If Luke had Matthew before him why did he give a different genealogy, especially if the view be correct that Matthew traces the descent through the royal line? Why give a different account of the birth of Jesus, not to speak of the difficulties which are found in reconciling Matthew and Luke in these sections (as, for instance, by interpolating chap. ii. of Matthew between vs. 38 and 39 of Luke ii.)? Why, if Luke made use of both Matthew and Mark, did he omit the series spoken of in No. 14 of the concrete examples (p. 23)?² Why, again, has he in several places so arbitrarily broken up the well-compacted structure of Matthew, and scattered the material here and there throughout his own Gospel (comp. Matt. v.-vii. with Luke vi. 20 sq., xiv. 34 sq., xi. 33 sq., xvi. 16 sq., xii. 58 sq., xi. 2 sq., xii. 22, xii. 33, xi. 9 sq., xiii. 24 sq., and see the phenomena spoken of in Nos. 15 and 17, (pp. 24, 26). Objections like the foregoing might be very greatly multiplied; but enough has been said to show the force of this class of argu-

¹ Alford, however, carries this objection altogether too far, *vid.* Vol. i. p. 327.

² These and similar difficulties have forced some into the opinion that Luke employed a shorter redaction of Matthew. De Wette, *Einl.* § 93 c.

ments against the first form of the supplementary hypothesis. This form can be shown improbable on other grounds. It contradicts that order which the entire phenomena seem to establish.

2. The celebrated hypothesis of Griesbach (form No. 2) also deserves special notice. The opinion that Mark followed and epitomized the other two synoptic Gospels, rests upon such grounds as follow: It is urged, in the first place, in support of this view, that the entire material of Mark is to be found in Matthew and Luke, and for the most part in more extended form. But this fact may be accounted for equally well by supposing that Matthew and Luke drew their material from Mark and expanded it; or that all three employed the same written source; or, if the other phenomena permitted it, that all three found their common material in the same oral tradition.

There are, however, quite remarkable exceptions to this sameness of material; among others the two miracles (vii. 32-37; viii. 22-26), related to each other, but differing somewhat from those elsewhere recorded, the peculiarity of which shows what we might expect from Mark when he departed widely from his customary sources. But whence did he derive this material? Such a reply as the following has been given by one who favors the view that Mark depended on Matthew. In the first instance (vii. 32-37) Mark, in his peculiar character of epitomizer, has compressed into one the many acts of healing recorded Matt. xv. 30 sq.; while the second instance (viii. 22-26) is intended, since the disciples might be expected by this time to have grown more intelligent, "to exhibit the gradual passage from non-seeing into seeing in the case of one physically blind."¹

But we find in the second Gospel many small additions of great value, which bear evident marks of originality. These are all easily disposed of by the advocates of this hypothesis. Verses 49 and 50, chap. ix., were added by Mark, because he had quite too long merely transcribed,

¹ Hilgenfeld, *Evangel.* p. 137.

and wished to make "a so much more energetic effort for an independent termination, but gave by this means new proof of how little he could accomplish from his own resources." To the same critic iv. 39 and v. 8, 41 are mere rhetorical adornment. The whiteness of Jesus's raiment (*οἷα γραφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, etc., ix. 3), the number four (ii. 3), the number of the demoniac swine after the analogy of the Roman legion (v. 13), the *προσκεφάλαιον* (iv. 38), the repeated cock-crowing, the names Alphaeus (ii. 14), Bartimæus (x. 46), Alexander and Rufus (xv. 21), — all these are but fancies of Mark in Baur's opinion. Who gives most proof of fancy we leave the candid to judge. In much the same way does DeWette treat the second Gospel in his endeavor to establish the hypothesis of Griesbach: i. 13, iii. 6, xv. 39, 44, etc., are "suspicious additions." (Einl. § 94 sq.) So unwilling are the advocates of this hypothesis to admit that Mark has any claim to originality, that even *τοῖς ἔξω* (iv. 11) is referred to 1 Cor. v. 12.

It is claimed, in the second place, as an argument for this view, that the relation between Matthew and Luke in entire form of narrative and detailed expression is less than between either of them and Mark; so that, while they appear more independent of each other, the text of the latter is often made up by weaving together the texts of the two former. In this manner are explained such passages as *ὁ ψίλλας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε ἔδυν ὁ ἥλιος* (i. 32); *ἄπηλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, καὶ ἐκαθαρίσθη* (i. 42), i. 44, ii. 3, iv. 41, x. 29 sq., xiii. 3 sq. But cases like some of the above are equally well referred to the verbal characteristic of Mark or of the common source, Matthew and Luke having omitted one of the equivalent clauses. As for Mark i. 32, the connection in this Gospel and Luke (iv. 40) requires mention of the setting sun; but in Matthew it does not. If Mark made up his text in the way alleged, he failed to improve other equally tempting occasions for such combination (Mark xiv. 17; comp. Matt. xxvi. 20 and Luke xxii. 14). See, however, his habit in such passages as i. 35; xvi. 2. And what shall be said

of φοβηθέντες δὲ ἐθαύμασαν, Luke viii. 25, compared with Mark iv. 41 and Matth. viii. 27? Further proofs of this dependence of the text of Mark upon the texts of Matthew and Luke are deduced from certain supposed inaccuracies of expression, due to the fact that Mark, while changing the connection, has followed his sources too closely in other respects. Such inaccuracies are ὄχλος of viii. 34, already spoken of; the ἔκφοβοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο of ix. 6, said to be inapplicable here, but drawn from Matthew and Luke; the καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα of xii. 34, inappropriate here, but appropriate Luke xx. 40. This method of explaining the text of our second Gospel is found throughout the Commentary of such a scholar as De Wette, but is very far indeed from satisfactory. For instance, in the section v. 1–20 (=Matt. viii. 28–34; Luke viii. 26–39), according to De Wette, Mark is following the text of Luke; but it must be in such manner that he can (v. 12) agree with Matthew in retaining the *oratio directa*, though in the same verse he agrees with Luke in omitting ἀγέλη. And again (viii. 28), when following Matthew, he agrees with Luke in leaving out words so remarkable as Ἰερεμίαν and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ζῶντος. Mark xvi. 9–20 was formerly a stronghold of this hypothesis; but this passage, now generally acknowledged not to be genuine,¹ and that largely on internal grounds, becomes a weighty argument against the hypothesis. For it can be shown that these verses, which are probably to a considerable extent compiled from Matthew and Luke, stand in such decided contrast with the rest of the Gospel as to form a strong proof that the Gospel itself is not thus compiled. (Zeller enumerates twenty-six expressions in these few verses, which are not to be found elsewhere in Mark; πορεύεσθαι, shunned in the whole Gospel, occurs three times; so θεᾶσθαι, vs. 11, 14.)

It is claimed, in the third place, that the whole composition of Mark, in the sequence and interweaving of its narratives, can be explained only by reference to Matthew and

¹ Vid. Tisch. ed. sep., and Meyer on Matthew for the evidence.

Luke.¹ This principle of composition occasions a most remarkable game of battledore and shuttlecock, which is recorded by an advocate of the hypothesis of Griesbach nearly as follows: Mark, it is said, through the section i. 14-20 follows Matthew (iv. 12-22), but striking against the long Sermon on the Mount, abandons him and passes over to Luke, omitting, however, Luke iv. 16-30, because it was "opposed to the prevailing tradition." Henceforward he follows Luke in arrangement, and in text sometimes both his sources, though Luke principally (i. 22 is an "echo" of Matthew vii. 28, and iii. 18 of Matt. x. 3), until iii. 20; where, striking again against the Sermon on the Mount, as given by Luke, he leaves Luke and proposes to follow Matthew. Taking up Matthew at xii. 24, he shortens his account by dropping out xii. 32-46, and continues to follow this source until iv. 35; not failing, however, to incorporate the appropriate addition from Luke viii. 16-18. From this point onward until v. 43 he follows Luke chiefly, then goes over to Matthew for vi. 1-6, and afterwards returns to Luke, whom he follows as far as vi. 45. From this point onward he follows Matthew with considerable persistency until the narrative of the transfiguration (ix. 2-13), and henceforward the sequence is in general the same in all three. But to derive the arrangement of the second Gospel from the other Gospels is as unsatisfactory as a similar treatment of the text. For the sequence of Mark is so much firmer than that of the other two that there is even more reason for the reverse process. And besides this, Mark gives the plainest indications of independence by arranging his material in such manner as can be explained only by reference to his own work (vid. iii. 20 sq.; xxxi. 35; xi. 11-14, 20 sq.). Why, further, has he (vi. 1-6) interpolated from Matt. xiii. 54-58 between two sections taken from Luke? And how shall we explain the fact that Mark, while transcribing from one source, has woven in other material taken from the same source, but given it in a different connection?

¹ Vid. De Wette, Einl. § 94 d.

This hypothesis, failing as it does to satisfy those very phenomena upon which it most relies, is disproved by them as well as by other phenomena; but especially by those of verbal characteristic. Could Mark, if he had written his Gospel in the way supposed, by any possibility have avoided all the distinctive expressions of the two sources which he is made to follow so carefully, so well nigh slavishly? We are almost persuaded to agree with the judgment of Lachmann when he decides that the hypothesis of Griesbach, as it has been carried out in detail, makes the evangelist Mark "a most unskilful vaulter, who, now through sloth, and now through passion, this time through negligence, and again through a foolish zeal, is borne between the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, always insecure of his footing."

It was remarked above, that the history of the inquiry into the origin of the first three Gospels makes evident the necessity for such an hypothesis as shall gather and unite, in due proportions, and into one system of truth, all the truths presented by the various opinions. In other words, the best hypothesis must be a combination hypothesis. It was also remarked, that most of the hypotheses have complied in some degree with this necessity, and have drawn more or less upon all three of the principles of explanation. But, at the same time, the views maintained have been, in nearly all instances, too one-sided or too intricate to be satisfactory. There are, however, two hypotheses which recommend themselves by their simplicity, while they offer comparatively unobjectionable solutions of the phenomena. We shall only state these opinions, leaving every person to test them as rigorously as possible.

One of these opinions is held by Holtzmann, and, as developed and vindicated in his elaborate work, *Die synoptischen Evangelien*, etc. (Leipzig, 1863), it must be regarded as the most happy combination of the first two principles which has yet been devised. This hypothesis is as follows:

1. One source (A) lies at the foundation of all three Gospels, and furnishes them all with their principal material.

Mark has employed this source only, and has employed it more thoroughly than the other writers, while Luke has followed the common source least exactly.

2. A second written source (the *λόγια* spoken of by Papias, designated *A*) was employed in the same Greek form by both Matthew and Luke; but more extensively by the latter. The two evangelists have woven the material taken from this source into their Gospels in the manner mentioned above (No. 17 of the concrete examples, p. 26).

3. Matthew and Luke have also drawn from several smaller written sources, the number of which cannot now be definitely determined; and have interpolated here and there into the connection of the first and main source (*A*) slight additions, dicta of Jesus, and sometimes entire narratives, taken from oral tradition. Many details of this opinion will be found scattered throughout our examination, wherever the author's name is mentioned. As principal objections to the hypothesis it may be noticed, that the reasons for making the source *A* differ at all from our second Gospel are not always sufficiently plain; that the omission of the series of incidents, recorded Matt. xiv. 22-xvi. 12 = Mark vi. 45-viii. 21, from Luke is arbitrarily accounted for (see No. 14, p. 23), and that the "establishment" of his sources in their details is oftentimes too subtle, and therefore not convincing.

The other hypothesis is that of Meyer, stated in the introduction to his Commentary on Matthew, and justified throughout his comments on the first three Gospels. Says Meyer¹: "The view, according to which one evangelist has made use of another, in which, however, the evangelic tradition, as it was active long before the written record, as well as old documents, composed before our Gospels, have an essential part, is alone adapted to a comprehension of the synoptic relation, in a manner natural and corresponding to history." This remark acknowledges fully the necessity for a combination hypothesis. In Meyer's opinion, the internal relation of the synoptic Gospels is to be explained in brief, as

¹ On Matthew, p. 30.

follows: The Gospel of Mark is certainly the oldest, and most intimate to the oral tradition, and to the earliest written sources; this is true of this Gospel even in its present form; for to assume a *protevangel* different from Mark, but closely allied to it, is not called for on historical grounds, and renders all the results of investigation uncertain. Formed under the influence of the apostle Peter with use of only one written source, the *λόγια* of Matthew, it exercised a great influence (both before the translation and at the final redaction of Matthew) upon the first Gospel, which is itself to be considered rather as a gradual development from the *λόγια* of the apostle Matthew. Luke, coming still later, also made use of Mark. Both Matthew and Luke have employed other smaller written sources, and have also drawn from oral tradition. The principal objections to this hypothesis which are derived from the internal relation of the synoptic Gospels, are such as may be urged against all forms of the supplementary hypothesis. But, as we have already observed, these objections are more harmless against this, than against any other, form of that hypothesis.

Having examined at considerable length those curious phenomena which give so much interest to an inquiry into the origin of the first three Gospels, and looked more briefly at some of the hypotheses proposed to account for these phenomena, it remains only to gather into a few words such truth as the phenomena themselves, the attempted solutions, and the whole history of the question seem to reveal. Thus shall we leave the investigation with more satisfaction. The following conclusions are won, as fruits of this inquiry, from the field over which we have been ranging:

1. Nothing better than a probable solution, at least for the minutiae of the problem, can, in these remote times, be hoped for. The principal ingredients of the compound we may be pretty sure of; but the exact proportion of each element analysis cannot now detect. Historic testimony, reaching anything like completeness, is out of the question.

Very probably, if we had full information, we should find that it bore witness to more complicated processes in the formation of the whole result reached than any hypothesis has yet ventured to assert. But to discover these recondite processes in the absence of testimony, is impossible. An hypothesis, then, and such an hypothesis as shall offer the best general explanation, while it plainly contradicts none of the phenomena, is an ultimatum. It is quite doubtful, however, whether, after all the painstaking research which the inquiry has called forth, a further sifting out of errors, and test of possible solutions, and developement in the history of the discussion, be not necessary in order to this best hypothesis.

2. The synoptic Gospels in their present form do not give evidence of single force acting suddenly and alone; they are the resultant of many forces. They are not the manufacture of a day; they are rather a growth. This growth, like any other, took place in such length of time as was needed for the thing which grew, and to this growth contributions were made from a number of sources. With their roots interlaced in the same soil of oral tradition, helping, perhaps, to shape each other by their proximity, or shaped, all of them, by leaning upon the same support, expanding in the free air of the apostolic age, and in the light which yet shone bright upon them from the recently finished life of Jesus, these goodly plants arose wonderfully alike, and yet each with a claim to individuality, with trunk and branches very similar, and yet here and there one shooting out further or showing itself stronger than the others. Doubtless, at first, and for some time, the gospel was an oral gospel. As has been shown, the habits and training of the apostles and early evangelists, their lively impression of Christ's advent, and the nature of their work, would lead them to an oral rather than a written promulgation and transmission of the "glad tidings." Just how early the present cycle of narrative began to be clearly defined, and the verbal expression fixed, so far as oral tradition could do this, it

is impossible to say. Whether the processes of preaching and teaching, without the aid of written records, operated at any time to produce these effects to a great extent, may well be doubted. The way in which the facts of Jesus's life are alluded to in the Acts and the Epistles indicates that in Palestine at the first, and for a considerable period among Greek-speaking Christians, there was no uniform shaping of the gospel narrative. But while in Jerusalem those influences appealed to in support of the hypothesis of oral tradition operated sooner and more powerfully, abroad, it is difficult to see how this unifying process could ever have made much progress by means of oral tradition alone. Without doubt, both in Palestine and abroad, this process was hastened and carried further by an early resort to writing. Not that any of these first attempts gained such high esteem in the early church as to be universally accepted, much less win a place beside Old Testament scripture, or even come into competition with the oral gospel. But, as the proem of Luke informs us, "many" had, from one motive or another, set their hands to the task, and, as this same proem implies, these attempts had derived their material from those accounts which eye-witnesses had delivered, and had reached the dignity of tolerably complete and orderly narratives. Such attempts varied, no doubt, in completeness, arrangement, and verbal expression; but the progress, on account of the careful appeal to competent witnesses only, and the anxiety to narrate precisely, would be always towards uniformity. It will not excite much surprise that no special knowledge of any one of these early attempts has reached us, when we consider how much less important they must have seemed to the early church than they now seem to us; and how soon, at the very time when written Gospels of any sort were growing in importance, our present Gospels displaced them.

3. Whatever use the first three evangelists made of these, or other written sources, however much they drew from oral tradition, or from each other's writings, they have received nothing in crude state; they have worked over all

in accordance with plans of their own. This must be regarded as one of the truths most indisputably established by a study of our problem. The day for hypotheses which undertake to discover the sources of the synoptic Gospels by a mechanical division, and thereby arrive at any number of supposed Aramean or Greek protevangels, and for hypotheses which look upon the Gospels as mere compilations, in any sense of the word, has gone by. The evangelists, though influenced in their form of expression by the form which oral tradition had taken, or by each other, or by common written sources, exhibit also the most marked verbal characteristics of their own. With what is furnished them they have blended what they, as persons, have furnished.

4. Admitting that the writers of the synoptic Gospels drew from both oral and written sources, which Gospel, in its present form, has best claim to priority? Quite clearly, it is Mark. To this view all our examination of the history of the question, and of the phenomena which the books present, has been leading us. After a long and well fought controversy, and with the fruits of this entire contest at hand, this is the opinion to which the best modern scholarship is tending. The view which DeWette, a few years since, thought scarcely worthy of a passing notice, has now gained respectability and credence, after the question has been so much more thoroughly sifted. We may be confident that the second Gospel will not again receive such treatment as it formerly had at the hands of the advocates of the hypothesis of Griesbach. The phenomena themselves, now very amply known, support strongly the same view which the history of their discussion suggests. In the present instance, little more can be done than appeal to them as they have been exhibited above. In brief, it may be said that the priority of Mark is proved by the extent of its contents, since it commences at the baptism by John, just where the older and more uniform cycle of evangelic narrative began, the cycle which was most useful and necessary to the wants of the early church, while the other Gospels furnish evidence that the tendency was

continually to widen the narrative, and carry it back further into the history of Jesus and John, and since no satisfactory reason can be assigned, if the second Gospel came later, why it should have omitted these sections. The priority of Mark is proved by the nature of its contents, since it avoids long discourses ; by the whole style and cast of composition, with its lively circumstantial narrative, being, as Ewald has expressed it, " a fresh jet from the apostolic fountain " ; by its firmer and more natural sequence, showing an arrangement of material less artful than the one adopted by the other evangelists ; by the nature of its Old Testament citations, giving no signs of Matthew's twofold method, with nothing added through reflection on the part of the author ; by the absence of " doublettes," which in Matthew and Luke point to a complexity of sources ; by the phenomena of verbal characteristic, which show that the peculiarities of Mark are, for the most part, the peculiarities of the common sections, and thus, that Mark, or some writing to which Mark was most intimate, was the common source ; and finally, by the fact that the difficulties occasioned by the divergences in the common sections can, in general, be best resolved by taking Mark for the original type, though in all such attempts great caution should be used.

5. Granting the priority of Mark, what opinion shall we hold as best suited to account for the relation of the other synoptic Gospels to each other, and to it? We are to remember that any opinion must be held only as an hypothesis. The two views of Meyer and Holtzmann, as given above, seem to suit the phenomena better than other views, and between them it is difficult to decide. What are the objections to each, has already been mentioned. If we agree with the former, we shall believe that Mark wrote first, using no written sources that can be distinguished besides the *λόγια* of the apostle Matthew, and that Matthew made use of Mark, and Luke of both, though but superficially, and with additions from oral tradition and short written sources. We shall thus avoid positing unknown gospels, very like, though differing

somewhat from, the gospels which have come down to us. Our hypothesis may then be reconciled with the witness of Papias, since his words, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, do not prove that he, throughout the entire passage, was not speaking of the present Gospel of Mark,¹ and since the Gospel which he attributes to Matthew must have differed from our first Gospel.

If we agree with the latter, we shall believe that the Gospel which was written οὐ μέντοι τάξει, was somewhat unlike the present Mark, and formed the common source for the three synoptic Gospels, and that the present Mark conformed to it, while Matthew and Luke have supplemented it by material drawn from one principal source common to them only, and from other sources both written and oral. We shall thus have an intermediate term to explain discrepancies, and shall, perhaps, have less trouble with the testimony of Papias.

ARTICLE II.

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

BY REV. INCREASE N. TARBOX, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

WHEN a great man comes upon the stage the full sense of his greatness does not ordinarily dawn upon the world till long after his removal from it. Especially is this true when the man belongs, not to the sphere of outward action, but to the realm of pure thought. This is the secret of that obscurity which rests over the early life of many of the great literary and intellectual leaders of the race. Had the generations to which they belonged seen them as we now see them, the minutest particulars of their childhood and youth would have been gathered up and faithfully preserved. When men had become fully awake to the fact that an im-

¹ Vid. Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, p. 32; Meyer on Matthew, p. 38 sq.

mortal bard had been singing to them in the person of Homer, clouds and darkness had so gathered about his origin that different and distant cities could, with some show of reason, contend for the honor of having given him birth. One of the critics of Shakespeare, after reciting the facts, that he was born at Stratford, married and had children there, went to London and lived as play-actor and play-writer, returned to Stratford and died, says: "This is all that is known with any degree of certainty about Shakespeare." And yet with another we may say: "Out of the cottage in which he was born has gone forth a voice which is the mightiest in modern literature."

We do not mean to imply that the like obscurity rests over the early life of Jonathan Edwards. The history of the child and of the man is known with a good degree of minuteness. It is true, nevertheless, that New England had no adequate sense of his greatness while he lived. Human life everywhere has its prosaic aspects, and by the men of his own generation, though they acknowledged his general power, he was seen mingled with passing conflicts and rude interests, and often laboring under depression and discomfiture. Though as far removed as any man from what might be called a contentious disposition, there were times in his life when he might with the utmost propriety have used the words of the ancient prophet: "Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth." It was not for the people of his own day to eliminate him from these untoward surroundings, to reach his true individuality, and behold him in his simple and majestic greatness. Though he has now been sleeping in his grave more than a century, the conflicts which he unwittingly set in motion in the great world of thought, are not yet ended. Still, through all these years, a juster conception of what the man really was has been silently growing upon us. In the back-ground of our New England history he moves, a figure of the stateliest proportions. But even yet we do not see this man as he has been seen by the

philosophic minds of the Old World: "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country and in his own house"; and to this day he suffers to some extent under the hinderances of our vision. We are too near him for the best view. We do not entirely disentangle him from passing strifes and from surrounding objects, so that we can behold him in his solitary pre-eminence. We are all ready to admit that he was unquestionably a great man, but it never has been the habit of writers on this side the water to speak of him as he is spoken of in England, France, and Germany. A native-born New Englander would not, self-prompted, have been likely to say with a writer in the *Westminster Review*: "From the days of Plato there has been no life of more simple and imposing grandeur than that of Jonathan Edwards."¹

It is not our purpose in the present Article to be critical. We are not about to undertake a learned review of Edwards's writings. This has often been done, and doubtless will often be done in the future. We are more concerned with the man than with his works. Whether his theories will stand the test of modern investigation we are not careful now to inquire. It will be our aim to look at him as a whole; to gain if possible an idea of his grand totality, rather than to survey him in detail. There is something in the way this

¹ These words are found in an Article entitled, *Retrospective Survey of American Literature*, published in the *Westminster Review* in the year 1852. Vol. lvii. (ori. of the new series) p. 289. They are more remarkable as coming from an organ of the peculiar style of the *Westminster*. The passage more at length is as follows. The writer is a little confused about Northampton, and would probably have said Stockbridge with a better knowledge of the outward facts of the case. "Before the commencement of this century America had but one great man in philosophy, but that one was illustrious. From the days of Plato there has been no life of more simple and imposing grandeur than that of Jonathan Edwards, who, living as a missionary at Northampton, then on the confines of civilization, set up his propositions, which have remained as if they were mountains of solid crystal in the centre of the world. We need not repeat the praises by Robert Hall, Mackintosh, Stewart, Chalmers, and the other great thinkers of Britain and of the continent, who have admitted the amazing subtilty and force of his understanding."

man rose upon the world that is peculiarly fitted to stir the imagination, and excite in us a sense of solitary strength and grandeur. The very sight of one coming up quietly in this western wilderness, to be acknowledged, in all lands, as one of the great masters in the domain of thought, is, in itself, a sublime spectacle. He came "not with observation." By all the general conditions of our New England life at that time, and by his own more immediate surroundings, men might have anticipated in him perhaps more than an average measure of goodness and greatness. But that one should arise out of these forest wilds of whom Sir James Mackintosh could say that "his power of subtile argument was perhaps unmatched, certainly unsurpassed, among men," was not, on ordinary principles of reasoning, to have been expected. And yet, from the economy of God's kingdom on earth, we ought not perhaps to be surprised at such a product from these humble beginnings. Moses came from the ark of bulrushes, and David from the sheepfolds of Bethlehem.

In order to gain the full idea of the solitary character of this man's greatness, we need to look somewhat minutely into the scenes of his early life, and his outward surroundings at that time.

In the year 1696, when Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia* gives us a catalogue of the "Christian congregations now worshipping our Lord Jesus Christ in the several colonies of New England (one hundred and twenty-nine in number), and the names of the ministers at this time employed in the service of these congregations," we find in the Connecticut department and under the head of Hartford County Ministers, "Windsor,¹ Mr. Samuel Mather, H. C.; and Farme, Mr. Timothy Edwards, H. C."

¹ This region was a favorite one with the Indians, for they, as well as the early white settlers, knew how to select the spots where nature was most prolific and the aspects of the world inviting. Trumbull, in his *History of Connecticut*, speaking of the Indians says: "Within the town of Windsor alone there were ten distinct tribes or sovereignties. About the year 1670 their bowmen were reckoned at two thousand. At that time it was the general opinion that there were in that town nineteen Indians to one Englishman. There was a great

The old town of Windsor, so memorable in the early history of Connecticut, was a large territorial district, some ten miles from north to south, and twelve from east to west, lying on both sides of the Connecticut river. In this territory are now included the towns of Windsor, Windsor Locks, East Windsor, South Windsor, and Ellington, a part of Bloomfield, and if we mistake not, fragments of other surrounding towns. It joins Hartford on the south, and helped to make a part of one of the chief centres of early population in the little State, New Haven being the other. The first church in Windsor was planted on the west side of the river.¹ Up to the year 1694 such inhabitants as had located themselves on the eastern side called "the Farms," were wont to cross the river in boats or on the ice for their Sabbath worship. This was always toilsome and sometimes dangerous. In the time of spring floods and the breaking up of the winter ice, not unfrequently it was impossible. And so, as

body of them in the centre of the town. They had a large fort a little north of the plat on which the first meeting-house was erected. On the east side of the river, on the upper branches of the Podunk, they were numerous." Stiles, in his History of Windsor, regards this as quite an exaggerated statement; and it may be so. But all familiarly acquainted with the region know that there are few places in New England where one is more likely to stumble on Indian relics, to turn up an arrow-head, when tilling the soil, or to find it on some sand-bank where the wind has sifted away the finest particles and left the little pebbles and stones unmoved.

¹ This is the oldest church in Connecticut. It was organized in Plymouth, England, in the year 1630. It was composed of members gathered from the counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. The organization took place at Plymouth, on the eve of embarkation. The church came over with its pastor and teacher, Rev. John Warham and Rev. John Maverick, and first located itself at Dorchester, Mass., and afterwards removed in a body to Windsor, Ct. In the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut, it is still an unsettled question whether this church or the one at Hartford, under Thomas Hooker, was first upon the ground. It has been the common opinion that the one at Hartford was earlier planted. But if one looks closely at the evidence, the probabilities seem rather to favor the old church at Windsor. Cotton Mather says of the pastor: "I suppose the first preacher that ever preached with notes in our New England, was the Rev. Mr. Warham; who though he were sometimes faulted for it by some judicious men who had never heard him, yet when they came to hear him they could not but admire the notable energy of his ministry."

the number of families east of the river increased, they began to agitate the question of a separate congregation. As early as 1680 petitions to this end were sent in to the General Court, but without avail. As the strength of the population was on the west side, the petitioners sought that there might be two congregations supported by one tax, laid upon the whole body of the people. In this form their petitions failed. As late as 1691 they went before the Court with a very earnest petition, framed on the same general plan of a common tax, and were again unsuccessful. Their scheme was opposed by those on the west side of the river. They did not wish to lose a portion of their existing financial strength, and then be still further drawn upon for the support of two parishes. In this last-named petition we gain a clue to the population on the east side: "God having increased the number of our families to above fifty, wherein it is reckoned there are near three hundred persons capable of hearing the word of God to profit." These families for the most part kept near the river; but were scattered up and down along the shore through quite a stretch of territory.

In 1694, in the month of May, they asked again to be formed into a congregation, they bearing their own expenses; and in this form permission was granted. In the following November, Mr. Timothy Edwards, a native of Hartford, and a graduate of Harvard College, being then twenty-five years of age, commenced his ministrations to this new congregation. In the same month he was married to Esther Stoddard of Northampton. He preached as a candidate through the winter, and in March 1695 was ordained. His father, Richard Edwards, of Hartford, built him a substantial house for those times, which was standing in the early years of the present century.¹ He also bought him a good farm

¹ This house was a mile or more south from East Windsor Hill, on the east side of the road leading to Hartford. At the time the Connecticut Theological Institute was built at East Windsor Hill, some thirty-two or thirty-three years ago, one of the door-stones that belonged to this dwelling was wrought into the foundation of this structure. The house was a good one for the times when it

which of old was deemed a natural accompaniment to a New England parsonage. Here Rev. Timothy Edwards¹ lived

was built, but was, of course, old-fashioned in all its arrangements. As you went into it you must stride over the timbered door-sill. There was one large chimney in the centre with its ample fireplaces. The principal fireplace was made to burn wood about six feet long, and yet leave wide and ample spaces on either side for accommodating a large family of children. The parishioners of Mr. Edwards used to turn out, after the old style, and haul him an immense wood-pile. He kept a negro servant by the name of Tom, and it is related that in the winter when the fire became too hot, Tom used to be sent out for a large handful of green wood to dampen the fire. A small one-story house now occupies the site of this old dwelling.

¹ In the *Life of President Edwards*, by Rev. Sereno E. Dwight D.D., it is said of Timothy Edwards, the father: "He always preached extemporaneously, and until he was upwards of seventy, without noting down the heads of his discourse. After that time, he commonly wrote the divisions on small slips of paper; which as they occasionally appeared beyond the leaves of the Bible that he held in his hand, his parishioners called 'Mr. Edwards's thumb papers.'" This may be true in general, but cannot be wholly correct. We have seen a number of the manuscript sermons of Timothy Edwards, some of them written out fully, and some in part. A few years since, several of these sermons were in the possession of John W. Stoughton Esq., of East Windsor Hill. The earliest of these manuscripts bore the date of 1701. They have been given away as most interesting relics, until we fear the stock is about gone. We have in our possession one of these manuscripts containing the outlines of two or three sermons, one of which, by the date, was preached at East Windsor in 1728, when Mr. Edwards was fifty-nine years old. This manuscript measures four inches by three, and consists of twenty leaves or forty pages. Part of the leaves are still smaller, measuring only three inches by two. The writing is in a very neat symmetrical hand, but so compact and fine that it can hardly be read without a magnifying glass. Some of the leaves are made from the outsides of old letters, and one or two from printed paper to save the white margin. This manuscript seems indeed like a set of these "thumb papers," stitched together. Sometimes the writing is continuous, and sometimes only guiding thoughts are set down. But this was preached eleven years before he was seventy years old, while in other of these manuscripts, the sermons are written on larger paper, folded like commercial note, and written in full, though very fine.

Since writing the above we have seen one of these manuscripts bearing the following memorandum: "On a Fast-day at Suffield, Oct. 29th, '95." This was the first year of Mr. Edwards's ministry as an ordained pastor. It was the same year in which the first pastor, Rev. Benjamin Ruggles, was ordained at Suffield. The town of Suffield joins Windsor on the north, and the young pastor at Windsor Farms was giving his aid to the young pastor at Suffield. The sermon on that occasion is written continuously, and the manuscript, which contains also one other sermon at least, is tolerably well preserved, at the advanced age of one hundred and seventy-three years. It is evident from this,

sixty-three years, rearing a family of eleven children, ten daughters and one son, and dying in 1758, at the age of eighty-nine. His wife lived in the same house twelve years longer, dying in 1770 at the age of ninety-nine. In this plain, old-fashioned dwelling, Jonathan Edwards was born in 1703.

The church edifice first erected by the parish, and in which Mr. Edwards preached during the infancy and early childhood of Jonathan, was a very humble affair. In Stiles's history of Windsor the building is thus described: "This house, as far as we can learn, was merely a covered frame without floor or seats, and the people sat upon the sills and sleepers." In the year 1706 three or four enterprising and ambitious young men conceived the bold idea of making better seats for themselves, and the following parish vote is recorded, "that the young men should have liberty to make a seat upon the beams." Precisely where this seat was located, or how luxurious its arrangements were, does not appear; but everything indicates that it gave the young men who were at the trouble and expense of building it a somewhat aristocratic position. But the child Jonathan when he was first led up to the house of God was probably accommodated somewhere "upon the sills and sleepers."

This however was regarded as only a temporary structure, thrown up hastily to accommodate the exigencies of the new parish. About twelve or fourteen years after Mr. Edwards's settlement, began the agitation of building a new meeting-house. It would be difficult to find a New England town that has not had at some time a stout and well-fought contest over the location of a meeting-house. In ancient times the erection of new houses of worship was apt to turn the parishes for some years into earnest and long-continued debating societies. These enterprises in that day held about the same relation to the general culture and education of

that Mr. Edwards sometimes wrote out his sermons from the very beginning of his ministry. He may have been guided in this by the example of Mr. Warham, referred to in a previous note.

the people as a modern presidential election. But there were reasons for this such as do not operate, to any great extent, in our fixed and denser population. One of these early congregations was spread over a large district of country. The roads were bad, the means of conveyance were poor. The settlers were reaching out continually to occupy new territory, so that the centre of population in the various towns was constantly changing. It was really a matter of grave importance where the meeting-house should stand. All the people were accustomed to attend worship, and they did not allow themselves to be detained at home for any slight disturbance in the weather. We may smile over these ancient strifes, but it was no slight question to those scattered dwellers in the wilderness where the house of God was to be found.

For four or five years in Mr. Edwards's parish the conflict went on fierce and high as to where the new house should be placed. The voters decided that it should be "forty feet square" long before it was definitely settled where it should be built. One of the more cultivated parishioners, who thought he could bring his poetic faculty more effectually than any other to bear upon the great question at issue, wrote a poem which was thought worthy of publication and preservation, and from which we extract two or three stanzas:

" One other reason yet there is
The which I will unfold,
How many of us suffer much
Both by the heat and cold.

" It is almost four milds
Which some of us do go,
Upon God's holy Sabbath-day
In times of frost and snow.

" Two milds we find in holy writ
Sabbath-daie's journies bee,
O, wherefore then, are we compelled
For to go more than three? "

The project of rebuilding seems to have been begun in 1710, but by the record the house does not appear to have been finished till 1714,¹ at which time the boy Jonathan was about eleven years old. In such associations and goings on of life there could be little to feed a literary, aesthetic, or philosophical instinct. All the conditions of society were as yet of the simplest and rudest kind.

We must not, however, forget the aspects of surrounding nature; for though a child does not ordinarily stop to think what effects the outward world is producing in him, it generally exerts a decided influence. Amid our New England scenery, that which prevails along the Connecticut valley is peculiar. It is gentle, pleasing, attractive, rather than wild and romantic. In that part of the valley where Edwards passed his childhood the rocky ranges of hills on the east and west are drawn back from the river, leaving the interval of alluvial and sandstone country some twenty miles wide. Close along the river are the meadows proper, the rich bottom-lands, which are overflowed to a large extent by the spring floods. Bounding these meadows are irregular but well-defined banks on both sides, which appear to have been the shores of an earlier and larger river. As you rise this bank on the east you come upon a sandy formation, sometimes softer and sometimes harder, stretching away to a considerable distance, not unfrequently three or four miles, intermingled with marshy land, till it reaches the more solid sandstone country farther back, and on a few miles farther east you come upon the primitive hills. The early inhabitants of Windsor on the east side of the river built their houses along this second bank, so that they might be lifted

¹ The house seems at last to have been placed on or near the spot where the former house had stood. It was on the west side of the road, in the north-east corner of the burying-ground, where sleep some of the early settlers of Connecticut. The burying-yard on the west side of the river was, of course, opened before this, but only by a few years. That burial-spot, probably the oldest English yard in the State, is distinctly visible as one passes in the cars from Springfield to Hartford. It lies back of the church-building, on elevated ground, and is on the left hand as one passes down the river on the railroad.

above the floods and yet have easy access to the rich bottomlands. At the time of Mr. Edwards's settlement the people who composed his congregation were stretched along this bank a distance of several miles. Their farms were composed of two distinct kinds of soil, both good, easily worked, and most happily adapted to a variety of productions. The whole region is rich in vegetable growths.¹ On this eastern bank a few rods back from the meadows, and half or three fourths of a mile from the river, about seven and a half miles above Hartford, in what was long known as East Windsor, Jonathan Edwards was born. From his father's door, and from all the region around, the eye had a grand and comprehensive sweep to the west. The sudden depression of the meadows gave the eye liberty in that direction to range at will up and down the river, and far off to the barrier of hills ten or twelve miles away. Every one who has watched the aspects of nature along this valley in winter and summer, in sunshine and in storm, will confess that, though it may seem tame compared with our mountain lands, there is much to charm and fascinate. On a clear, still afternoon of summer, when a passing shower has refreshed the earth, or in winter,

¹ We may add, that it has been rich also in men. At the time Mr. Timothy Edwards was settled over his parish, there was in his congregation a youth of sixteen, named Roger Wolcott, who afterwards held many high offices, and was made Colonial Governor of Connecticut. His son Oliver Wolcott, born and trained under Mr. Edwards's ministry, was for ten years Lieutenant Governor of the State, and at the time of his death was Governor. In this same parish was born, in the year 1743, John Fitch, whose chequered life ended in a sad death, but who was among the first, if not the first, who conceived and executed the plan of propelling boats on the water by the power of steam. But the most distinguished man, next to Jonathan Edwards, born in this old township of Windsor, was Oliver Ellsworth, one of the most prominent members of the convention of 1787, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court under Washington, and still later, Envoy extraordinary to France under the elder Adams. Few men, in the early days of the Republic, exerted a wider or more safe and healthful influence. Judge Ellsworth was born on the west side of the river. His son, Oliver Ellsworth, who died a few months since at Hartford, at an advanced age, also held many high offices, was for several years Governor of the State, and was a noble Christian statesman.

when the world is covered with snow and the sun is going down behind these distant hills, a magic beauty rests over the landscape.

Nor must we forget that, though society was in a rude and unformed state around him, yet his own home was one of learning and intellectual culture. Rev. Timothy Edwards was a minister of no mean attainments for that day. He had graduated at Harvard College in the class of 1691. At that time and long afterwards the names of the students in the several classes at Harvard were arranged on the catalogue, not alphabetically as now, but according to the social dignity of their families. What was the precise system of gradation employed we do not know, but it is a little singular that Timothy Edwards, son of a substantial merchant in Hartford, should yet have been regarded the humblest of his class in family dignity. His name is the last in the list of eight members, of which his class was composed. It is safe to say that the name of Edwards¹ was not great in this country at that time, nor until Jonathan Edwards made it so. But so well did the boy Timothy acquit himself at college, that at his graduation the special honor was shown him of giving him his second degree of A.M. along with his Baccalaureate. Esther Stoddard too of Northampton, came from no mean home. In her maiden beauty she brought

¹ It is a singular and interesting fact, as illustrating God's providence, that the families of Edwards and Brainerd, afterwards so tenderly united in their fortunes and so closely associated with the church of God, should both have sprung from boys, early resident at Hartford, who alone in this country, at that time, bore their respective names, and who were brought hither seemingly in an accidental way. The Brainerds sprung from a lad who came over with the Wyllis family, in what precise relation is not known. In due time he married, and became one of the pioneers in settling the old town of Haddam—the cradle of the Brainerds. William Edwards, the first of the name on these shores, was the son of a clergyman, who went from Wales and settled in London. In the early life of William his father died, and his mother was married to Mr. James Coles, who came to Hartford with his wife and step-son about the year 1640. The parents soon died, and the son was married about 1645 to an English girl named Agnes (her family name is not known), and had, so far as appears, but one child, Richard Edwards, the father of Rev. Timothy Edwards.

to the humble East Windsor parsonage a culture and refinement rare in those days.

The eleven children of this household were born in the space of twenty-one years, succeeding each other with a healthy and old-fashioned regularity; and of these Jonathan, the only son, was the fifth. Coming of such stock, men had a right to expect, as already intimated, that he would be a man perhaps of more than ordinary character. Still, cut off as he was from what the great transatlantic world called culture, living in the shadows of a wilderness well-nigh unbroken, no one could have anticipated for him a place in the world's regard, such as now rightfully belongs to him. But, if we may say it without irreverence, it seems as if the Lord in making him had planned to give us a glimpse at least of the primeval man before the fall. Remarkable for the beauty of his face and person, lordly in the easy sweep and grasp of his intellect, wonderful in his purity of soul and in his simple devotion to truth, the world has seldom seen in finer combination all the great qualities of a godlike manhood.

As we look back now upon his childhood and youth we can see the signs of his future greatness all revealed from the early years of his life. In 1710, when he was seven years old, and when the great strife about the new meeting-house was beginning to stir around him, the noise of which must have penetrated the parsonage continually, the boy Jonathan was studying Latin and reciting to his father or his elder sisters,¹ and in the intervals of leisure was taking his pas-

¹ The position of Edwards, in early life, with reference to the influences about him, was certainly peculiar. At the time he entered college, there were nine sisters in the family. Esther, the oldest, was twenty-one, and Martha, the eleventh child and last of the household, was born during the year of his entrance into college. There had been no death in this household circle at that time, nor was there until some twelve years later. The father was much occupied with his professional duties, and the growing boy was enveloped in an atmosphere of female influence. Hollister, in his *History of Connecticut*, in his pages on Jonathan Edwards, referring to this state of things, beautifully says: "He enjoyed the rare advantage, never understood and felt, except by those who have been fortunate enough to experience it, of all the softening and

time out in the forests and fields, watching with keen and penetrating eye the goings-on of nature, and finding out her inmost secrets. Millions of people have lived here in the country towns of New England, and have heard the songs of our birds, have watched the movements of our insect tribes, and have seen the great panorama of nature unrolling before them year after year. But not one in a thousand of the men who have lived even their three score years and ten has ever seen the outward world in its hidden and delicate processes as this boy saw it before he was twelve years old. The paper which he prepared, at the age of twelve, at the suggestion of his father, on the habits of spiders, to be sent to a learned man over the water, reveals a closeness and delicacy of observation, and a power of subtle reasoning such as would be hard to match. Every man of ordinary observation has noticed on some sunny morning of summer or early autumn, how fields, fences, and woods, in all directions, will be covered with the soft webs of the spider, revealed by the glistening bead-work of dew which rests upon them. Or passing through a forest he will find his face brought in contact with silky lines, reaching from bush to bush or suspended from the trees, too fine to be easily discoverable by the sense of sight. This common phenomenon every one who spends his days in the country is familiar with. But how many ever go further and so closely watch these busy workers at their toil that they can tell you their secret habits and laws of life, and unfold the hidden wonders of their mysterious activity? But it was just this that a young lad in the Connecticut valley, more than one hundred and fifty years ago, self-moved, set himself to accomplish.

hallowed influences which refined female society sheds, like an atmosphere of light, around the mind and soul of boyhood. Had that fond mother and those loving sisters been fully aware of the glorious gifts that were even then beginning to glow in the eyes of their darling, had they been able to see, in its full blaze, the immortal beauty, borrowed from the regions of spiritualized thought and hallowed affections, that was one day to encircle that forehead, as with a wreath from the bowers of Paradise, they could hardly have unfolded his moral and intellectual nature with more discreet care."

Think of a boy of twelve years, writing from the wilderness of this New World a paper involving such trains of thought and expression as the following :

“There are some things that I have happily seen of the wondrous way of the working of the spider. Although everything belonging to this insect is admirable, there are some phenomena relating to them more particularly wonderful. Everybody that is used to the country knows their marching from one tree to another, sometimes at the distance of five or six rods. Nor can one go out in a dewy morning at the latter end of August and the beginning of September, but he shall see multitudes of webs made visible by the dew that hangs on them, reaching from one tree, branch, and shrub to another, which webs are commonly thought to be made in the night, because they appear only in the morning ; whereas none of them are made in the night, for these spiders never come out in the night, when it is dark, as the dew is then falling. But these webs may be seen well enough in the day time by an observing eye, by their reflection in the sunbeams. Especially late in the afternoon may these webs that are between the eye and that part of the horizon that is under the sun be seen very plainly, being advantageously posited to reflect the rays. And the spiders themselves may be very often seen travelling in the air from one stage to another among the trees, in a very unaccountable manner. But I have often seen that which is much more astonishing. In very calm and serene days in the forementioned time of year, standing at some distance behind the end of an house or some other opaque body, so as just to hide the disk of the sun and keep off his dazzling rays, and looking close by the side, I have seen a vast multitude of little shining webs and glistening strings, brightly reflecting the sunbeams, and some of them of great length, and of such a height that one would think they were tacked to the vault of heaven.”

He then goes on, and points out their method of travelling through the air :

“But that which is most astonishing is, that very often appears at the end of these webs spiders sailing in the air with them, which I have often beheld with wonderment and pleasure, and showed to others. And since I have seen these things I have been very conversant with spiders, resolving if possible to find out the mysteries of these their astonishing works. And I have been so happy as very frequently to see their manner of working ; that when a spider would go from one tree to another or would fly in the air, he first lets himself down a little way from the twig he stands on by a web ; and then laying hold of it by his fore feet and bearing himself by that, puts out a web, which is drawn out of his tail, with infinite ease in the gently moving air, to what length the spider pleases ; and if

the farther end happens to catch by a shrub or the branch of a tree the spider immediately feels it, and fixes the hither end of it to the web by which he let himself down, and goes over by that web which he put out of his tail. And this my eyes have innumerable times made me sure of.

“Now, sir, it is certain that these webs when they first proceed from the spider are so rare a substance that they are lighter than the air, because they will ascend in it, as they will immediately in a calm air. . . . Wherefore if it don't happen that the end of this web catches by a tree or some other body till there is so long a web drawn out that its levity shall be so great as more than counterbalance the gravity of the spider, or so that the web and the spider, taken together, shall be lighter than such a quantity of air as takes up equal space, then according to the universally acknowledged laws of nature, the web and the spider together will ascend, and not descend, in the air; as when a man is at the bottom of the water, if he has hold of a piece of timber so great that the wood's tendency upwards is greater than the man's tendency downwards, he, together with the wood, will ascend to the surface of the water. . . . If there be not web more than enough just to counterbalance the gravity of the spider, the spider together with the web will hang in equilibrio, neither ascending or descending otherwise than as the air moves. But if there is so much web that its greater levity shall more than equal the greater density of the spider, they will ascend till the air is so thin that the spider and web together are just of an equal weight with so much air. And in this way, sir, I have multitudes of times seen spiders mount away into the air from a stick in my hands, with a vast train of this silver web before them.”

He then proceeds to draw some general conclusions :

“But yet, sir, I am assured that the chief end of this faculty that is given them is not their recreation, but their destruction; because their destruction is unavoidably the effect of it; and we shall find nothing that is the continual effect of nature but what is of the means by which it is brought to pass.¹ But it is impossible but that the greatest part of the spiders upon the land should every year be swept into the ocean. For these spiders never fly except the weather is fair and the atmosphere dry; but the atmosphere is never clear, neither on this nor any other continent, only when the wind blows from the midland parts, and consequently towards the sea. As here, in New England, the fair weather is only when the wind is westerly, the land being on that side and the ocean on the easterly. And I never have seen any of these spiders flying but when they have been hastening directly towards the sea. And the time of their flying being so long, even from about the middle of August, every sunshiny day, until about the end

¹ Notice how the spirit of the young philosopher crops out, in the form and substance of this sentence.

of October (though their chief time, as I observed before, is the latter end of August and beginning of September); and they never flying from the sea, but always towards it, must needs get there at last; for it is unreasonable to suppose that they have sense enough to stop themselves when they come near the sea; for then they would have hundreds of times as many spiders upon the seashore as anywhere else."

The communication from which these extracts are taken occupies between four and five compact pages in Dwight's life of President Edwards. Whether the facts and conclusions are absolutely correct or not, no one will deny their general accuracy; and certainly there are in this paper a closeness of observation and a power of generalization such as are altogether marvellous in a lad of his age. Nor was he led into this investigation by books or the suggestions of people about him. There was no one to make the suggestion. He rose up as a self-prompted and independent observer, and gave himself to this task, not as a task, but as a recreation. And so little had the science of natural history been developed at that time, it is claimed by his biographer, that the facts of the paper were new to the learned world of Europe. The boy by his communication had enlarged the boundaries of scientific knowledge.

But there are other lessons to be learned from this paper. The perfect modesty and self-forgetfulness of the writer are characteristics as worthy to be noticed as any other. He writes as if he had no idea that he was doing anything remarkable. The narrative goes on as if he supposed that it was the natural business of bright-minded boys everywhere to be penetrating the world about them, gathering its hidden secrets and deducing therefrom general laws. Here was a young philosopher of the Baconian stamp and spirit, who probably hardly knew as yet that such a man as Bacon ever lived.

In September 1716 young Edwards entered Yale College before he was thirteen years old. His birthday occurred in the following month. The college itself was only sixteen years old, and was, as yet, a peripatetic institution, a kind

of walking academy, wandering about like the tabernacle of old, before it was set up at Shiloh. We have spoken of old parish quarrels over the location of meeting-houses. But the quarrel in the little State of Connecticut over the question of the final location of the college casts into the shade all common parish strifes. In the very month when Edwards entered the institution, the trustees, not without a fierce division in their ranks had decided, by a major vote, to remove the college to New Haven. The vote to remove might as well have been worded "to gather up the scattered fragments." At that time, the senior class used to go to Milford to be instructed by Rev. Samuel Andrew, and the other three classes were kept at Saybrook under the instruction and guidance of two tutors. In those years the number of students in the four classes would range usually from twenty to thirty. As above stated the vote to locate the college at New Haven was passed in 1716. Professor Kingsley in his *Sketch of the History of Yale College*, says: "The removal however, was not effected without strong opposition. Forcible resistance was made at Saybrook to the removal of the library, and the governor and council thought it necessary to assemble at that place to aid the sheriff in the execution of his duty. Besides other disorders the carts provided for transporting the books were destroyed at night, the bridges between Saybrook and New Haven were broken down, and in the scramble many valuable books and papers were lost. The library was about a week on the road."

But though by vote of the trustees the college was nominally located at New Haven in the autumn of 1716, it was not really there in force until some three years afterward. During young Edwards's freshman year, of the thirty-one students connected with the institution, fourteen were at Wethersfield, thirteen at New Haven, and four at Saybrook, while Rev. Mr. Andrew, temporary president, was the acting minister of Milford. Edwards was one of the fourteen at Wethersfield. Here he remained for three years. This brought him within about ten miles of his father's house. About the

beginning of his senior year the scattered bands were at last all gathered in New Haven. The long war was at an end. The wanderings ceased, and the weary ark found a safe and permanent resting-place.

What a collegiate education achieved under such conditions would amount to, every one must judge for himself. Whatever it was, Edwards had finished it before he was seventeen years old, graduating with the highest honors of his class in 1720. Had his education been ever so peaceful and uninterrupted, we must still remember that this was the day of small things with the college. The whole four years' course of study was hardly more, in its general range, than is now required for entrance into the same institution. Higher branches were indeed taught than those embraced in the present preparatory course, but they were feebly and superficially taught in comparison with modern compass and exactness.

We have thus gone somewhat minutely over the scenes and circumstances of Edwards's childhood and youth, in order to call attention to the manifest disparity between his early surroundings and his future greatness.¹ From such a review as this we are compelled to feel that he was one whom God, and not man, made great. With so little to feed the higher literary and philosophical tastes, we are driven to the conclusion that his intellectual development proceeded by

¹ As it is not the object of this Article to follow Edwards, step by step along the pathway of his life, but rather to show the general range of his thought and influence, it is suitable that we should set down here, for easy reference, the principal facts of his subsequent history. He was settled at the age of twenty-three, in 1727, at Northampton; was married in the same year to Miss. Sarah Pierrepont of New Haven; was dismissed from Northampton in 1750; went to Stockbridge as a missionary to the Indians; was made President of the New Jersey College in February 1758, and died in the following month, of small pox. This year, 1758, was a fatal year in the Edwards family. His father, his wife, and his daughter, Mrs. Burr, died the same year. The twelve children of Jonathan Edwards, ten daughters and two sons, were all born at Northampton, the youngest Pierrepont being about two months old at the time of his dismissal from that place. Six of these children were born on the Sabbath, and five of them lived to be between seventy and eighty years old.

an inward force rather than by an outward formative power. In his college life, though he yielded himself in a reverent and docile spirit to his teachers, and took on no airs of self-conceit, he was, after all, more a law unto himself than were any of his instructors. Most men, even when they have attained maturity, find Locke on the Human Understanding sufficiently dry and hard reading. They do not generally take to it as a pastime. Edwards read this book in the second year of his college life, when he was fourteen years old, and the spirit within him was stirred to its very depths. There was a strange kindling of thought, a reaching forth of the soul toward its high destiny. Though as yet but a child, in these wonderful communings, he was withdrawn from the world about him, and wrapped in a kind of dreamy ecstacy. He has described his own sensations while employed over this book, and speaks of himself as "enjoying a far higher pleasure in the perusal of its pages, than the most greedy miser feels when gathering up handfuls of silver and gold from some newly discovered treasure." He reads with his pen in his hand, and the leanings and aspirations of his soul are shown in his efforts to embody his own ideas of the meaning of such words as "space," "being," "consciousness," "sensation," "perception," "certainty," and the like. Some of the definitions then recorded would not satisfy his maturer judgment; but it may be doubted whether the whole history of philosophy in this world can show a fuller apprehension of these abstruse terms in one so young. And the charm of all this, as already intimated is, that he does not seem conscious of his own superiority. He is not wiser than his teachers. He is not aware that other lads of his own age are not doing the same thing.

It is plain that so far as outward training is concerned, the curricula of the schools, Edwards was never what would be called a thoroughly educated man. But he had that hidden interior power, that intellectual and spiritual enginery within, by which he could turn the fewest and plainest suggestions, the smallest amount of positive instruction,

to the very highest account. He was, in his own person and history, the best possible refutation of Locke's philosophy, that the mind has "no innate ideas." Without such ideas the boyish student at Yale in 1716, fed on such broken mental food as was set before him, would have been in a poor condition, truly, to have reached those lofty heights of thought toward which he was aspiring.

As we read his works we are sensible continually that the style is not polished, but strong; that it lacks the little graces and felicities, but keeps its iron tramp straight on, and does not fail to reach its end. It is a fair question whether his intellect would not have been cramped and impeded by a vigorous and long-continued system of outward culture, whether a mind of such originality and native power as his did not achieve more in the enjoyment of a large measure of freedom, than it would have done under a more confined and exacting discipline.

By all these yearnings and aspirations of his youth we can see how Edwards in his riper years, was impelled by a kind of irresistible force to grapple with the great themes which occupied his thoughts. Possessed of this strong philosophical tendency, and with a mind early brought under the dominion of religion, it was not merely a thing of duty for him to seek to comprehend and unfold the plan of God's moral government over this world; it was the very mission and end of his life on earth; it was easy and natural for him to think the highest and most far-reaching thoughts on this subject which man ever thinks. Such themes as the "Last End of God in the Creation," "The Nature of Virtue," "The History of Redemption," belonged of right to him, by the very bent and capacity of his mind. He did not approach them ambitiously or officiously, but because the star of his destiny pointed him in that direction. The wonder of Europe when these great and comprehensive thoughts went from this western wilderness across the water can hardly be described; but it still lives as a grand tradition among her philosophers and men of sacred science. It was

seen that a mind had been at work here in these forest wilds, more profoundly new, fresh, original, on these themes than any which the Old World could boast ; that however far we might be behind in refinement, general culture, and all the dainty delicacies of learning, here was a man whose wide and mighty grasp upon the great and remoter things of the universe was truly wonderful.

Many strong thinkers in the department of theology have risen up on these shores since the days of Edwards, and have grappled with the same great themes which occupied his life. But they would all be ready, probably, to own that they were moved in some degree by the impelling force of his genius, or at least by that general train of influences which he set in motion. It is the glory of Edwards that he had no such earthly, impelling force behind him. Nothing that had gone before in our history, nothing that was stirring in the Old World, gave note that such a prophet was suddenly to arise among us. And yet, as we look back from our present point of view, we can see that the presence of such a man was imperatively needed to stir the slumbering sea of theological thought, and give a new direction to our religious history. And we cannot but regard him as a man prepared of God expressly for this purpose. When we look at the present state of Calvinistic theology in this country, and compare what is known as New England doctrine with that condition of theological thought prevalent in those parts of the land which have industriously kept themselves aloof and outside the range of this Edwardean movement, clinging tenaciously to the traditions of the remote past, we are more than ever impressed with the nature of this man's influence, and the greatness of the blessing which he was commissioned to bring to the churches of America.

If we seek for the central idea — the interior thought of Edwards's system, we shall find that it looks to a fuller recognition of man in the theological scheme — his inherent powers and capacities as a being made in the image of God. It cannot be denied that the older Calvinistic theology rode

in rather a rough-shod way over man, denying him the powers and prerogatives which of right belonged to him; that the tendency of the system was to drive many men to take refuge in a loose and inadequate Arminianism. The Calvinistic theology had an adamant strength on the heavenward side, but failed to unfold the whole truth on the earthward and human side. It was concerned to keep the conditions such that God's empire over the universe should be absolute and fixed, and did not trouble itself to look after the inborn rights and endowments of man. Many superficial thinkers here in New England, outside of the Congregational churches, always speak and write as if the tendencies which we have ascribed to Calvin and his system, were the special characteristics and aims of the Edwardean theology, as if he came only to bind faster about us the chains of sovereignty, and limit still more the range of our liberty. But every careful student of theology must see that the leanings of Edwards's philosophy and theology were in the other direction. At the same time he was as much concerned as Calvin himself, to see to it that in his system God's dominion over man and all finite intelligences should not in one jot or tittle be broken. This is the key by which we approach the secrets of what is called New England theology. It is to keep God's sovereignty secure, and at the same time to carve out a larger and freer place for man, to work out harmoniously the problem of his liberties and powers. With this key in our hand we may thread the curious and winding way of New England thought, now for a hundred years, and understand all the while the peculiarities of the path we are travelling. The mission of Edwards, as it proved, was to start the sublime problem, to give us some of the chief elements of its solution, to point the direction but not to reach the finished result.

We remember an interesting scene which occurred some twenty-five years ago in the theological lecture-room at New Haven. Dr. Lyman Beecher had just come on from the West, and from his labors at Lane Seminary, and was the

guest of Dr. Taylor. His great conflicts with the principalities and powers of the Presbytsrian church were then in fresh remembrance. The two came in together to the daily lecture, Dr. Beecher occupying an extra chair in the desk by the side of Dr. Taylor. The lecture was cut short that day, not reaching to more than half its ordinary length, in order to give the distinguished visitor an opportunity to speak, and the theological students an opportunity to hear him. The lecture had been occupied with some prominent point connected with God's moral government over the world.

Dr. Beecher rose with a peculiar and half-comic play upon his face, and began in substance as follows: "There are a great many people who are very much afraid, lest God in making a race of free-agents should not be able to take care of them, — lest they should slip out of his hands. They fear lest he may not be able to keep such a hold upon them as to regulate and manage them. They seem to suppose that to create free-agents and set them loose upon the earth is just like emptying a swarm of bees out of a hive, to fly this way and that, and to be entirely uncontrollable in their movements. They are very anxious lest God should have a heavier responsibility on his hands than he can possibly attend to; and so they have kindly come in with their theories to fix things up in a manageable shape, and help him out of the difficulty."

In this little speech we have a clue to the history of theology in this country for more than a century past. When Edwards began his work the theories were beautifully adjusted, as it was thought, to give God the absolute control, to enable him to keep the reins of dominion fixedly in his hands; but the free-agency part of the subject was laboring under a heavy obscurity. The kingdom was strong and mighty, but its glory was impaired, in that the beings over whom it was extended were more like things than self-moving and responsible agents. Edwards had no idea of weakening the force or obscuring the grandeur of this divine

sovereignty. By his high reverence for God, and by the conservative habit of his mind, he was thoroughly Calvinistic on that side of the subject. He was as far as possible from any idea of a divine government, founded merely on foreknowledge or a hap-hazard contingency. He sought rather to add to the reach and true glory of this divine kingdom by keeping it fixed and sure God-ward, while yet it should be a dominion over free minds, and not one of physical force.

Now, as already intimated, we do not think that Edwards in his treatise on the Freedom of the Will attained the full result which he was reaching after. That was more than could reasonably be expected of one man, or one generation. All the conditions under which his thinking was done, the binding power of the past, the conservative force of tradition, common opinion, and habit, were such that he could not break forth at once into full liberty. It was enough for him to make the transition, to turn the currents of theologic thought into new channels and in the right direction.

After Edwards there arose in New England in the next generation, a set of vigorous thinkers (his own son, the younger Edwards, as he is called, among the number), some of them founders of schools. They took up the great problem where their master and guide had left it, and lent their aid to its solution. But their systems, ingenious and able as some of them were, can hardly be regarded now as anything more than tentative efforts, not always consistent and symmetrical, but still feeling their way onward toward the end. Whether that end is yet reached, we shall not undertake to say; but that the great movement we are now describing originated with Edwards there can be no reasonable doubt. In closing this Article we can with slight modifications adopt the language of Dwight in the opening sentences of his *Life of President Edwards*.

“The number of those men who have produced great and permanent changes in the character and condition of mankind, and stamped their own image on the minds of succeeding generations, is comparatively small; and even of this

small number the great body have been indebted for their superior efficiency, at least in part, to extraneous circumstances, while very few can ascribe it to the simple strength of their own intellect. Yet here and there an individual can be found who by his mere mental energy has changed the course of human thought and feeling, and led mankind onward in that new and better path which he had opened to their view.

“Such an individual was Jonathan Edwards. Born in an obscure colony in the midst of a wilderness, and educated at a seminary just commencing its existence, passing the better part of his life as the pastor of a frontier village, and the residue as an Indian missionary in a still humbler hamlet, he discovered and unfolded a system of the divine moral government so new, so clear, so full, that while at its first disclosure it needed no aid from its friends, and feared no opposition from its enemies, it has at length constrained a reluctant world to bow in homage to its truth.”

ARTICLE III

THE AUTHORITY OF FAITH.

BY REV. GEORGE F. HERRICK, MISSIONARY AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

IN nature law is supreme. This supremacy is absolute: it knows no will; it leaves room for no choice. Obedience to law in nature is necessary, and the existing harmony is perfect of its kind. The law of gravity, which holds the universe together, is central, unifying, absolute. Its authority is supreme. But the individual force (if we may so call it) inherent in each separate planet, is a force working counter to this. Let the centralizing force be sole as well as absolute, and the result is the unity of motionless and indivisible matter. Let the individual or centrifugal force be supreme and a chaos of repellant, scattered, and fleeing

worlds is the result. Join these forces in actual and orderly working, and the result is the perfect and beautiful harmony of the universe.

In the life of nature, whether in animal or vegetable life, we find a uniform conformity to generic type which enables the naturalist to trace species, with but the clue of a bone or a leaf, through all the infinite range of living existence. The law of adaptation to an end in the species or the peculiarities of the individual modify, but never obliterate or contravene, the more absolute law of conformity to type, whose most general expression is found in the harmony of all created life in relation to the unity of the whole. Natural science is but the unfolding, in a methodical and impressive manner, of the beautiful and perfect harmony, the order, the variety in unity, and the unity in endless variety, which results from the co-working of counteracting forces, obedient to law, observable in all the infinite phenomena of nature.

Enter now the domain of human action. Here law means authority. The centralizing, unifying power of authority, and also the assertion of personality, the freedom of the individual, are both conspicuous. But the actual harmony observed in nature becomes here actual disharmony, often extreme. Political convulsions, desolating wars, the extermination of peoples, religious persecutions, the decay of morals and religious cultus, attendant upon advance in wealth, science, and civilization, show a result diametrically opposite to the harmony and order produced by the countercheck of diverse forces obedient to law in nature. And not only in the great movements of society and governments, but also in all the observable phases of human life and action, we see the influence of authority, true or false, and the assertion of the will of the individual operating, not as counteracting forces, but as hostile and warring forces. Faith and worship in the original promulgation, whether of a human or divine religion, are simple, and their authority is absolute. But in process of time the original simplicity and the absolute authority are dissipated by the claims of

rising and rival teachers, who become the revered heads of principal sects. These again are divided and subdivided and confounded till all authority is lost in the confusion and antagonism and uncertainty resulting from the extreme assertion of the individual or centrifugal force. Witness the grotesque and unsightly excrescences which the misgrowth of the religious element in humanity has developed. In philosophy and literature also we find the same blind reverence for authority coupled with the most exuberant and diverse and contradictory activity of individual minds; suspiciousness of innovation and craving after what is new, jarring and jostling each other. In business the innovations and devices of trade and speculation indicate a ceaseless and restless activity of individuals, but all alike recognize the supremacy of the reigning authority; all alike join in the worship of the mammon god. A miser is all aglow with interest over every new invention of fire-proof safes and burglar-proof locks, but he has his false authority as uniform in its sway over his soul as the action of the law of gravity. Custom and fashion in society rule with remorseless tyranny; and yet fashion itself is as fluctuating as the wind or an April sky, and the absurd caprices and grotesque novelities which appear, whether in conformity to fashion or as a protest against the fashion, are evidence of the insufferable slavery.

The pleasure-seeker, too, in his itching, hankering search after enjoyment, after new and rare morsels of pleasure, still follows the supreme authority of sense. A rich epicure may ransack air and earth and sea for the rarest and costliest viands to make a dinner, in preparation for which he has fasted and physicked and whetted his appetite, but he too recognizes one supreme authority: "His god is his belly." In all these illustrations we see evidence of the disharmony in human action, the eccentricity, the lawlessness, and the resulting degradation.

But we are told that nature is all, that man is included in nature, that there is neither freedom of man above nature,

nor the interposition of a sovereign will in and over nature. Is man, then, and all human action, a grand *lusus naturae*? Is man the weakest and most self-contradictory phenomenon in the universe? Is he the only thing or being existent whose natural action is self-destroying? If there is nothing above nature, above the steady and calculable law of cause and effect, then man is to himself an enigma, a contradiction, an absurdity, a dire calamity. There is no escape from this if the assumptions of materialism are true, and if, at the same time, we are not ready to deny what we find revealed in our consciousness of disorder, of weakness, and of want.

We shall endeavor to establish, by an appeal to consciousness, i.e. by a method which no philosophy is competent to invalidate, some things which both materialism and rationalism that underlie the infidelity of the day, persist in presuming to deny.

I. THE SUPERNATURAL A FACT OF CONSCIOUSNESS.

The first duty of the mental philosopher is to ascertain all the facts of consciousness; and psychology builds upon what is contained in the consciousness as its foundation. But the contents of consciousness are not all on the surface, are not given up, as a matter of course, to a cursory glance. While the attempt to argue or speculate anything into, or deduce anything from, the consciousness which is not already there, is mere chicanery; it is equally certain that men possess and act upon knowledge which is latent, and which requires an act, possibly a prolonged act of introspection and reflection, to bring it to the foreground of consciousness, or, in popular language, to become conscious of it. The only successful, because the only rational, method in mental as in natural philosophy is the inductive, that which sets out by collecting, examining, contemplating facts, by looking into the consciousness. But what is consciousness, and what do we mean by nature, and what by the supernatural? Consciousness is, etymologically, knowing with or by one's self, or the knowing of one's own mental states and acts, or the

perceptions and sensations of one's own mind. In brief, consciousness is the immediate, personal cognizance of one's own knowledge. It is something therefore which no logic is competent to invalidate. An appeal to it is ultimate. What it attests as fact is undeniable. Its testimony is unimpeachable. By "nature" we mean that system of existences and phenomena in which the relation of cause and effect is according to a calculable and necessary law. By the "supernatural" we mean that system in which cause is the power of intelligent being to choose, to originate, to act from its own motion, uncompelled by anything external whatsoever. Effects here are volitions or acts not necessitated and not calculable by given formulae, something not evolved, but produced as the result of original power.

There is a sanctioned and popular use of the term "nature" in the sense of character or moral constitution, as the nature of God to be holy, or the nature of man to do wrong. And further, there are necessary or strictly natural laws or conditions of thought, of feeling, and of action, from which no power of will can emancipate a finite, and perhaps we may reverently say, not even an infinite, being. But neither spiritual intuition nor will, whether in the Infinite or in a finite being, are under the necessary law of cause and effect. They cannot be formalized by logic. And when we say that it is the nature of man to do wrong, we do not mean that his constitution or habits, or circumstances are a cause on his will, or that the choices and acts of his will are the effects of constitution, habit, or circumstances in the same sense as we mean when we say that the earth's motion in its orbit is caused by the united action of the centripetal and centrifugal forces. If we do mean the same in both cases in our philosophy, then our philosophy is contradicted by our consciousness, i.e. such philosophy is proved false by its own proper tests.

And the difference in meaning here is one not of degree but of kind. If to be in nature means to be under a law of necessity, and to be a man means not to be under a law

of necessity, then man is not in or of nature. Where, then, it will be asked, does man belong? Are we unable to classify him at all? or does he belong to a system out of or above nature? We reply, he belongs to a supernatural system, i.e. in all which distinguishes him from the other created beings of our planet, namely, in respect of the power of directly knowing spiritual truth, and in respect of the power of will (which together constitute the image of God in man); he is not under or within nature, but without, above, and intrinsically superior to natural laws or necessity. Closely related to nature on every hand he certainly is. His body is a natural body. Sensation, perception, and very largely, association and memory also, are under natural laws, and we might go even further in this line of concession. But none of these things are distinguishing to man, separate him from other created beings. And if it be urged that, even in respect of his distinguishing attributes, namely his will and his power of immediately apprehending the spiritual, man does actually fall under the chain of natural forces, that he does not assert and execute any original power against the current of natural desire, that he does not show himself possessed of a sovereignty over motives, that in the dimness and uncertainty of his spiritual vision he fails to see better than "men as trees walking"; still all this does not invalidate the position we have taken. For this degradation of superior powers is a self-degradation, is a direct consequence and fruit of human sin. Moreover, the sense of freedom, accompanied by a sense of personal responsibility, remains a fact which is never lost out of, and cannot be ejected from, the consciousness. The power to originate, to "make a beginning," to act from and by himself uncompelled, and the knowledge that he does so act, is still a conscious possession of every man. And to whatever degree also the spiritual intuition in man is blinded and degraded, it is not and cannot be wholly lost. Therefore man has, in his own consciousness, the fact of something above nature, something different in kind, something belonging to another

system. He has the consciousness of the supernatural. The human soul has, as a fact of consciousness, call it "innate idea," "first truth," or what you will, the conviction of the existence of a personal God. Witness the anxious and extreme effort, the very throes of travail, of men — they call themselves philosophers and men of science — to eject the idea of a personal God from their consciousness, and that "because they do not like to retain God in their knowledge;" because the sublime and luminous idea, coupled with a sense of personal responsibility and guilt, is too searching and awful.

II. FAITH A FACT OF CONSCIOUSNESS.

By faith here we mean the spiritual discernment in its highest form, or direct and intuitional apprehension of spiritual truth under the illumination of the divine Spirit. It is the eye of the soul by which it sees those truths which transcend sense and material things. It is itself a spiritual sense or organ of knowledge, as the apostle explains in 1 Cor. ii; and Heb. xi. 1 contains almost an inspired definition of what faith is in its relation to the intellect and to knowledge: "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," i.e. it is or brings to the believer the assured evidences of those spiritual verities on which his hopes are grounded, but which the eye of sense and the eye of the logical understanding sees not. We do not here include in faith — although we shall have occasion to speak of that also further on — the element of affectionate trust with the heart, in which the Christian faith largely consists, and which is distinguishable, although inseparable, from faith considered as direct knowledge of spiritual truth. Even a pantheist has spiritual intuition; but this spiritual intuition under the especial illumination of the divine Spirit which faith implies, the pantheist has not.

It will be manifest in the outset that we do not claim faith as a fact of universal consciousness. Many "philosophers," therefore, seize upon the *non-sequitur* that it is not

a fact at all, and so claim that it may be ignored by science. But in order that anything shall be admitted as fact, is it necessary that every man should be cognizant of it? Apply this to the facts of natural science, and see what will be the result. Suppose an astronomer to have discovered a new planet, and his discovery to be properly verified by the authority of competent men. What theory, what promulgated law of astronomy even, is competent to say the existence of that planet is not a fact? The planet has been seen, that is a fact, though it be but a month old, which the science of astronomy must recognize, and by which, if need be, it must be modified. There are men of sane minds, men of intelligence, and multitudes of them, and in different countries, to whose personal consciousness faith, together with that radical change of heart and will called conversion or regeneration, which faith implies, is a fact — a simple, clear, intelligible fact. Now philosophy and science can no more obliterate this fact, and they have no more right to deny or ignore it, than they can prove that two and two make five, or demonstrate that no such man as Julius Caesar ever lived.

We are obliged to confess that Christian faith has suffered more at the hands of its "apologists" than at the hands of its enemies. We refer to the tendency to regard it as a sort of after-thought, to meet a necessity which clear knowledge does not provide for, as an imperfect substitute for valid and satisfactory proof which we are forced to receive, not because we would, but because we must; as a kind of evidence which makes more probable than not the class of truths which come within its range, which range and which class of truths, however, are not properly its own, but given over to faith, because the logical faculty cannot now reach so far with its demonstrations. Before the philosophy of Locke became influential in England, and literature had become saturated and diluted and poisoned with foreign admixtures, heathenish and infidel, Christian faith never meekly appeared before the bar of science and sued for a low seat of privilege, but boldly presented those credentials which

unquestionably entitle her by right to a seat of honor. We claim that faith is no substitute or temporary make-shift for some more worthy, but at present impracticable, sort of evidence of spiritual truth, but it brings as a fact of consciousness its own independent, immediate, and reliable evidence. It is not meant that the evidence of faith is independent and immediate in the sense that it has no antecedents and relations. It has antecedents in the rational and reverent reception of that divine revelation which contains the truths which are the objects of faith. What is meant is, that when the eye of the soul has been opened to a clear and just perception of the truth, for example of a divine-human Redeemer, the doctrine of the person of Christ and his atoning work becomes evidenced to that soul in a light and with a power superior to and quite independent of the processes of the understanding. We are speaking of the direct beholding of truth, not of the experience of the transforming power of the truth in the heart. For, although these two things cannot exist separate in experience, they can be distinguished to our thought. They are not one and the same thing any more than the beholding of a picture is identical with the feeling of admiration or dissatisfaction which accompanies the beholding. Spiritual intuition or faith does not depend for its validity upon any previous mental process. It is direct, and brings its own evidence like any other intuition. Can you prove that a rainbow is beautiful, or demonstrate the sweetness of the music of an Aeolian harp, or convince a man that he ought to believe in the sublime grandeur of the Falls of Niagara? So with the independent and immediate assurance of faith. The "natural man" has no such fact in his consciousness; but he that is spiritual sees, by the clear, quick action of that inner eye which the Spirit of God has opened and directed, those spiritual truths which are the proper objects of faith.

We have said that the evidence of faith is reliable. This is denied. The doctrine is intangible and mysterious, it is said. But that which is mysterious is not necessarily unre-

liable. The objection here is really an objection against all intuitions. The necessity of judging of spiritual truth by a spiritual method and with a spiritually discerning eye is either ignored or denied altogether. But a denial of facts cannot help any man to arrive at truth. There are those — not a few and of doubtful credibility, but great numbers, in many ages, in perfect accord — in whose consciousness it stands as a fact that there is in the renewed soul a spiritual sense for the discernment of spiritual truth, a faith, not credence, but a rational believing which we do not scruple to call knowledge. The things we know by faith are the grandest of realities; and though this knowledge is as yet incomplete, yet the knowledge, the evidence itself, is a real and reliable thing, as much so as any knowledge whatsoever. The apostle Paul appeared as a prisoner to make his defence before king Agrippa. He knew these two facts: he was bound with material bonds; his soul was free through Christ. Was his evidence of the latter truth less real or reliable than that of the former? No, indeed! His knowledge of the truth that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners was more real, had more substance, more body to it, than his knowledge of any truth perceived by sense. Faith is not credence, not probability, but knowledge, real and reliable. It is a fact of Christian consciousness. The evidence and assurance of faith in its own proper sphere is independent, immediate, and reliable. It is the substance and evidence of the things we hope for, but see not as yet. The Christian believer can challenge the whole world of scientific unbelievers and sceptical philosophers with the calm and confident words of Paul: "I know whom I have believed."

III. PROVINCE OF LOGIC AND PROVINCE OF INTUITION AND FAITH.

If our previous positions are established, then it follows that some of the most important facts, some of the grandest truths, are known directly by beholding, and not indirectly by inference; immediately, and not mediately; by intuition, and not by logic. First principles of all knowledge are

recognized and laid down as fundamental. Even the rigidly logical sciences of the mathematics, pure and applied, and the natural sciences also have their axioms and primal truths, to deny or even to question which, is the suicide of science, and puts an end to all intelligent investigation in any sphere of knowledge.

Upon these fundamental truths the human mind is competent to work; and had sin brought upon man, together with its moral depravity, no intellectual derangement, the results at which men would arrive in their investigations, i.e. in all the deductions of the logical process in the realm of what we have termed nature, would be veritable science without a flaw. Now pass with the same logical formulae, the same philosophical method, to investigations concerning God and human action, and you are guilty of the fallacy known as *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος*. Kant's Critique of the Pure Reason has logically demonstrated what the consciousness of every reflecting man affirms, namely, that God and human freedom are subjects which logic cannot compass; that in the spiritual or supernatural sphere logic is incompetent, and its results contradiction, confusion, and in the end utter scepticism. One of the most valuable results of Kant's labors in philosophy has been to show what philosophy alone can and what it cannot do. Many positions and inferences in schools of theological science against which an unsophisticated mind revolts are the direct result of a method which is essentially false because guilty of the fallacy above mentioned. Faultless logic in the reasoning process cannot save from inconsequence the most inevitable deductions when the method of investigation adopted in the outset is radically faulty. Let a man rest his belief on the data of consciousness, and then follow the light of scripture and what Kant terms the "practical reason," and you may demonstrate what you like by a false and incompetent method, e.g. concerning the "natural ability" or "natural inability" of man's will; or concerning God's "ability" to sin; it will signify nothing in that man's anthropology

and theology, for he rejects alike and *in toto* the correctness of your starting-point, the road you have taken, and the goal you have reached. Suppose you undertake to demonstrate by geometry that your neighbor is a knave, and fancy you have succeeded. What have you accomplished? You have proved yourself *quoad hoc* a fool; and of course your neighbor laughs at you. The adage, "It is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous," has a fine illustration in the attempt to apply certain formulæ of the Calculus relating to the infinite, to the infinite in thought and moral action. The problem proposed in the question of our Lord: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul, or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" as a figure, is most graphic, impressive, and instructive; but what would be said of the grossness of that man's mind who should construe it as a veritable problem in book-keeping? Analysis is good, but there is an analysis which is dissection rather, as for example, the attempt to investigate the divine essence apart from the divine attributes, or to consider the attributes divorced from each other. You might as well attempt to ascertain what life is with the anatomist's scalpel. Your analysis is but begun when the subtle object of your search is lost and gone forever, sacrificed to your method of inquiry.

It may be that the precise form of the distinction Coleridge has drawn between the reason and understanding will never be generally accepted among philosophers; and the "practical reason" and "constructive logic" of Kant may never become terms in common and intelligible use. But the distinction itself, the idea elucidated will remain, and will be more and more generally accepted and adopted by thinking men. 'Understanding is the faculty by which we reflect and generalize. Its materials are the perceptions. The order of its action is, first, attention, then abstraction, and then generalization. Its result is fixed in a judgment. Its results are reached, therefore, by a process. Its method is empirical. In all its judgments it refers to some other fac-

ulty as its ultimate authority. Its province is nature ; logic is its law. Reason, or spiritual intuition, is the organ of universal and necessary convictions, a power for the apprehension of truth above sense and out of the domain of nature. It is itself a sense, but an inner and spiritual sense, peculiar to man and distinguishing him in kind from all the animal creation. In its decisions itself is its own evidence. It is a direct aspect of truth, an inward beholding, having a similar relation to the spiritual and permanent as the sense and understanding have to the material and phenomenal.' ¹ Now let us apply what has been already defined and established directly to that most important of all subjects, the question concerning revelation and the authority which belongs to it. It admits of no question that the whole inquiry into the genuineness and authenticity of the scriptures is properly within the province of the understanding. And the whole logical argument by which these have been impreguably established is now almost universally admitted. The error of those who reject the divine and supreme authority of revelation comes in here. The assumption, the arrogant presumption, as we have seen it to be, is here made that whatever is meant by inspiration or divine authority must be put under the fetters of the "natural." Having done good service in certifying the Bible as true, logic, ministering to intellectual pride, now insists on doing the very bad, the utterly false service of making the Bible useless to man by ignoring his deepest wants and vacating it of all which gives it any special value. What we claim is, that into the scale of evidence for the divine inspiration and supreme authority of the Bible must come the conscious want of the human soul, of superior light and guidance, and still more, that spiritual intuition of truth or faith, which, when present and active in the soul, sees, in focal light, the divine truth and power, the absolute authority of the whole attested word. Into the question of granting or refusing

¹ See Coleridge's Works (Shedd's edition), Vol. i. p. 236 and foll. and Vol. ii. p. 143 and foll.

the sanction of a divine authority to this or that portion of a scripture already proved genuine and authentic, logic is not competent to enter. The word itself is now its own evidence, and in this sphere faith asserts her prerogative. The attested word is the word of God. Henceforth here is the test of all doctrine, the guide to all duty. What the word teaches is eternal truth. The great central truths contained in the word of God are not attested or apprehended by the understanding. They are above the mere understanding altogether, i.e. there is no vitality and fruitfulness in any apprehension of them possible to the mere understanding. Its office is a service of the porch. To see and to appropriate the truths themselves is the proper office and work of faith.

The objects of pure and simple faith in a divine revelation are: The divine Trinity in unity; the reality of the Godhead and humanity in the person of Christ; the fact of a real harmony between God and the believing soul, effected by the atonement on terms of satisfied justice and pacified conscience; the divine purpose to save a portion of our race by his own sovereign will; and the resurrection and glorification of all the saints with their risen and glorified Lord. These, and such like sublime and spiritual truths, are discerned and received by faith. They are not reasoned out, and they cannot be reasoned away. The eye is opened upon the bow that arches the eastern sky, and we instantly and simply say: "Behold, this is beautiful!" The eye of faith is opened and directed by the power of the divine Spirit upon the fact of a guilty, sinning soul, reconciled to a just and holy God through the expiatory sacrifice of a person who is at once God and man; and in profoundest conviction, humility, and gratitude we exclaim: "Behold, it is true!" These things not seen, these truths long the object of a lost world's hope, are that grand portion of the contents of scripture which, lying beyond the range and grasp of the logical understanding, are within the compass and power of faith's

discerning eye. In the words of an eccentric but powerful writer still living,¹ "What is reasoned is a conception; what is believed is a fact, not the thought of God but the very God; not the image of Christ, but the very God-man formed in us, the hope of glory. Are we convinced by reasoning that there is a God? We say how great, how wonderful, how amazing is the thought! We are impressed with awe and fear. Do we believe? We say, 'Bless the Lord O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name.' We argue and admire; we believe and 'rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.' An argument extorts from us acknowledgment. Faith stretches out our arms. We are convinced, and in a soothing reverie shut our book. We believe and spread our wings. The convinced man extinguishes his light and composes himself to sleep and pleasant dreams. The believer trims his lamp and calls in his friends and neighbors to rejoice with him. The philosopher turns his mind in upon his own conclusions, complacently dignifies his powers and spreads himself round for influence, victory, and glory. The Christian annihilates himself and delights to lose himself in God. The philosopher dies, submitting, because he cannot help it, to a universal law. The Christian dies and shouts, 'O death, where is thy sting! O grave, where is thy victory!' The philosopher attempts the swelling Jordan on his raft of logic or his bubbles of conceit, and is swept along. The Christian's head is lifted by the angels, and they bear him on their wings to heaven."

IV. AN AUTHORITATIVE FAITH DEMANDED BY LOGIC AND PHILOSOPHY.

This point may be considered as virtually established in what has already been elucidated, but it admits of somewhat of amplification. We mean now, of course, that the authority of faith is consonant with and demanded by true logic and a true philosophy, because of the recognized inadequacy of logic and philosophy in the sphere of spiritual truth. If

¹ Ex-President Lord, of Dartmouth College.

man is not a self-contradiction, if he has not conscious appetences and powers which have no correlative object ; if he has not wants, and those the deepest and most urgent, which are to cry evermore, and cry in vain, then logic and philosophy demand something they cannot supply, just as the feeble flutterings, the vain attempts to fly, the repeated falls of the birdling are unmistakable evidence of its need, a mute demand for wings ; or as the feeling of loneliness and sense of incompleteness and unrest of a man in solitude, is a demand for companionship. Philosophy alone ever raises more doubts than it solves, excites more wants than it supplies. It inevitably issues, therefore, in utter scepticism, or else goes on and up into Christian faith. If, then, we are willing to "cast down imaginations, and every high thing which exalts itself against the knowledge of God", to recognize a personal God at all who has any rightful and authoritative claims over the creatures he has made, it is evident as an axiom that any direct revelation he may make of his will must take precedence of any power or authority found in man, in his state of blindness, of depravity, and of want ; precedence even of the conscience and spiritual intuition, until this spiritual intuition becomes clarified and transformed by the divine influence of a vital and indwelling faith. *A fortiori*, the authority of revelation and the authority of faith, when faith and the intuitive knowing of spiritual truth become identical, must be superior to that of the understanding and its judgments. And that philosophy only can be called a true philosophy, resulting in true wisdom, which is reverent, humble, and content with the service, not of dictation, but of ministry. A Christian philosophy is the only philosophy which is built upon stable and permanent truth. Witness the fact that Christian philosophy is essentially the same in all the best periods of the life of the church. The philosophy of the Reformers, and of the divines of the "golden age" in the intellectual activity of England, and the philosophy of the living and most active portions of the Christian church at the present day is a philosophy in

thorough agreement, in fact really identical in its main elements, method, and spirit, with that which lay at the basis of the vigorous thinking of the earliest and purest ages of the church. The precise form, the terminology, and the attitude of Christian philosophy now with reference to existing forms of error may differ from its phases in the past, but wherever, whether in ancient or modern times, it has made any successful stand against existing forms of anti-Christian philosophy, the basis of such success has been in a scrutinizing search after, and full recognition of, all the facts of consciousness, including the facts of human weakness and human want, and a recognition and acceptance of the spiritual intuition of faith as the organ for the apprehension of the spiritual truths of a divine revelation. Now we assert that all philosophy which is not a counterfeit and a sham, the offspring of human conceit and arrogance, or of rebellion against the felt but disregarded claims of God, logically demands and leads to an authoritative faith, that genuine philosophy is not bold and independent, but humble and reverent. Look at the history of philosophy. Is it the history of a process at all? Is the anti-Christian philosophy of the present day any real advance upon the systems of Plato and Aristotle? On the contrary, are not those older systems, all things considered, more complete, more self-consistent, and more practically valuable than any or all modern systems which reject faith and revelation? Those older philosophers kept in the proper plane of philosophizing. They did not dogmatize; they were not arrogant and denunciatory. But now philosophy is no more a loving search for wisdom, as the word ought to mean, but a war of systems mutually overthrowing each other. A reflecting man finds superabundant and most affecting evidence, in a review of the philosophical systems which have risen, boasted, and perished within the last two thousand years, of the want of something stable, some permanent truths to which to anchor, some authoritative guidance in the realm of spiritual truth, and free moral action. No philosophy,

no logic, has ever successfully denied, none is competent to deny, that this want is met in revelation and in faith. On the other hand all sound philosophy, all right logic, demand, in the sphere of the spiritual, some more certain light than they supply, an eagle eye suited to those higher flights, to see and apprehend the highest truths, in fact, lead on to and are perfected in religion and the Christian faith, in a divine and authoritative revelation of spiritual truth, and in that faith or highest spiritual intuition which is its organ, humbly acknowledging the authority of a personal God, and trustingly accepting the love of a divine Redeemer.

V. DIGNITY AND PRACTICAL VALUE OF AN AUTHORITATIVE FAITH.

If what has been thus far presented be considered as established, then faith at once rises to a position of importance and real dignity, not subservient to science, not merely parallel with science, but to a position of dignity superior to science, because having to do with subject-matter worthier, weightier, and having closer and more important relation to the deepest human wants. The human soul needs faith as much more urgently than it needs science, by as much as the soul itself is of more value than the body, eternity longer than time, and the spiritual wants and capabilities of the being created in the divine image are more significant than questions about rocks and reptiles, fishes and fossils. Natural science has as much power and right to dictate to faith as the mole has to direct the eagle's flight, or the water lily to bear the fruit of the olive tree. The place and range of faith is other than that of science. Its dignity is transcendent; its importance is supreme. Let faith assume her right in and over men, all men, and that both as the highest spiritual intuition, and as affectionate trust in God and in Christ, and the extreme disorder and disharmony in human life and action, to which allusion was made in the outset, would give place to the same perfect concord as is witnessed in nature,—divine power and will working with and in coun-

ter-check to human freedom and responsibility, and producing that beautiful harmony which was the ideal, if we may so use and accommodate the term without irreverence, in the mind of God in his creation of a moral system.

No perfect theology, no sound philosophy, no ideal "republic," Platonic or other, no faultless social order, no perfection of humanity, in short, individually or as a whole, is possible except that which rests on the practical principle of recognizing the supreme authority of faith, the transcendent value of the spiritual intuition; in other words, the sovereign authority of a personal God over the thinking and the acting of a being he has chosen to create in his own image. The wandering stars, the erratic planets, the jarring and jostling elements of the moral universe, can only thus be brought back into their proper orbits, again to move freely and in full circle around the eternal sun and centre of the spiritual universe.

It is a fact, philosophy may ignore it, natural science may deny it, but it is a fact, that men are alien from the favor of God, and that the great want of all men is of a power which can, and that by right, restore the lost harmony. Now the faith of which we have been speaking, namely faith as the direct knowing of spiritual truth, never subsists apart from the faith of affectionate trust. Distinguished they may be, but not separated; he who has the one has the other. And the value of a faith which as a beholding of spiritual truth is authoritative, a divinely appointed and reliable guide, has a deeper worth in its power to still the soul's unrest and supply for the aching heart, a satisfying and infinitely worthy object of its supreme love.

The greatest value of faith is eminently practical not speculative. It is just what is needed for the actual duties and burdens, especially for the struggles and crucial trials, the crises, of human life.

Specifically, faith strengthens the soul it dwells in for life and duty. Its very essence is an appropriation of the divine strength promised to believing souls. The duties, the trials,

the conflicts, the perils of human souls in this probationary life are so many, so complicated, so intense, so agonizing often, that failure and defeat are certain without some timely and powerful re-enforcement granted to the struggling and overburdened soul. That faith by which a man sees at once his own state and wants, and sees also the divine aid offered, and then apprehends and appropriates that aid to himself by an affectionate trust of the heart, puts the soul in direct and blessed communication with the divine fulness.

Faith steadies, instability and inconsistency characterize, the life of unrenewed man; and the calmness of the inner experience and the devoted life of the Christian is in proportion to the clearness, the constancy, and the vitality of his faith. The world's strife and disorder, and even the movements of God's providence, often throw the man of weak faith off from his spiritual equilibrium, becloud his mind and hamper or scatter his activity. But the centre on which the eye of faith is fixed is eternal and unchangeable. It is supported by omnipotence. Neither false philosophy, nor arrogant and pretentious science, nor the glittering baits of worldly fame and fashion can frighten the true believer from his confidence, unsettle his spiritual foundations, or deprive him of his secure repose. His faith is knowledge, direct and certain, of that which transcends all philosophy and all natural science. His foundation is eternal rock. He can be unmoved though nature were to dissolve into chaos. Faith fosters both humility and courage.

Apparently so unlike, true humility and true courage are very nearly allied, and both have their root in faith. A man is humble because in conscious weakness and guilt he must depend, and does depend, on almighty strength and grace. He is courageous amid the duties, the trials, and the conflicts of life, because the power enlisted in his behalf is sure of victory in the end, because he is conscious, in all humility, that he is an object of the personal care of God. "I am poor and needy, yet the Lord thinketh upon me." In the service he performs for his divine master he labors in har-

mony with all who serve him; for "he that planteth and he that watereth are one." He labors in humility, for "neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." He works with confidence and courage also, for "we are laborers together with God." Deeply conscious of utter personal weakness and unworthiness, he is yet assured that the Lord "hath need" even of him. But the assurance, the confidence and boldness of his faith rests and rests solely on the fact that, laboring together with him are God and Christ and the Holy Spirit; that he is working under the guidance of an all-discerning and unerring providence, and through an omnipotent word; that the hand of God leads him, the real presence of Jesus is with him from the very moment of his consecration, amid all the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows, the labor and suffering of life, till he drops his armor and leaves the field of battle to put on the white robe, and, wearing the laurel crown of victory, enters the mansion of his rest. The believer knows that every season of darkness, every ray of light, every apparent reverse, every signal success, not only in his own life and work, but in the whole advancing kingdom and work of Christ — the *Civitas Dei* on the earth — is comprehended within the originally prepared plan for the service of the church militant. Humble and courageous, then, will the believer be, through all the course of his earthly life. By faith he is vitally united to God through Christ, and though "it doth not yet appear what we shall be, we know that when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is."

Faith is the source of tranquility and consolation. A true and vital faith which can see and feel the truth of a real presence of Christ with us, which is conscious of the safeguard of a sleepless, paternal providence, is the one only source of sufficient and abiding peace and consolation amid the doubt, the fear, and the struggles of our earthly life. The "Fear not for I am with thee" of our Father, the "Lo I am with you always" of our blessed Redeemer, are a

perennial spring in the desert, which no cares and sorrows can exhaust, no mists of false logic hide, no baleful sandstorms of doubtful science fill. He who passes through life as a traveller or a pilgrim, guided by a presence as real as pillar of cloud or pillar of fire, pitching his tent each night a day's march nearer "the city that hath foundations," where is his registry of citizenship; nearer his Father's house, his home, — how can he fail to find abiding solace, fail to go "singing all the way to heaven," even though he may sometimes walk in weariness and painfulness, foot-sore and heart-sore, and discerning the gates of the celestial city but "through a glass darkly?"

Finally, it is only a life vitalized and characterized by faith, that successfully realizes the great problem of the Christian experience; namely hearty, regular, and unswerving fidelity to all duty, as in the sight of God. Interest does not work out acceptable obedience; interest and duty often clash. the bare imperative of duty, obligation, law, appealing to the conscience, fails to secure the spirit of obedience, which is the spirit of love. "Without faith it is impossible to please God." But the life of faith is a victory in the end. It is the one success and victory worthy to be so called, which is achieved in this world, a victory through the power and grace of Christ over self and over sin and temptation; a success in the discharge of a divinely-appointed mission for Christ among sinful men. All other life, every life but this life of faith, is a grand failure and defeat. Viewed in the light of eternity, in the light of spiritual truth, in the light of the capabilities and infinite value of a human soul, every other life than that which is vitalized by faith, a faith which is at once knowledge and love is disaster and utter ruin. Faith considered with reference to the intellect is knowledge of the highest spiritual verities; to the heart it brings repose and a satisfying object of love. Considered in its practical value in the life, it strengthens and steadies the soul it dwells in, fosters humility and courage, is an exhaustless fountain

of consolation, and successfully realizes the great problem of human life in this world.

Christian brethren, how is it that we know so little of the power and blessedness of faith in our own souls? How is it that we show so little of its power and blessedness in our lives? The great want of the times is the want of a clear, vital, confident faith. May God hasten the time when it shall be the truthful utterance of our individual experience as Christian men, confirmed by our lives as others know them: "The life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God."

ARTICLE IV.

THEODORE PARKER AND ADONIRAM JUDSON.

BY REV. N. M. WILLIAMS, METHUEN, MASS.

THE current of events is giving weighty significance to the question: What kind of a ministry do the wants of men require? In attempting to make some little contribution to the answer, it may be advantageous to adopt the concrete method instead of the abstract. We propose, therefore, to compare Theodore Parker and Adoniram Judson *as representatives of opposite types of ministers*. Whichever of these types the world needs, churches, colleges, and theological seminaries should endeavor to aid in supplying.

In the selection of Judson as the representative of the one type, it is assumed that there is no substantial difference between a missionary and a minister at home. Both are preachers to men, and both are more or less engaged in the work of the pastor. The selection of the recent preacher of the Music Hall as the representative of the other type, is determined by the consideration that the style of ministers to which Mr. Parker belongs is that to which the "advanced" thought of England and the United States is

strongly tending. If there is any such thing as a "Termination Rock" in the new course of thought, that would seem to be the spot from which in part to form our judgment relative to the desirableness of working the ministry out to it. That body of ministers with which Mr. Parker may be regarded as forming, with others, the extreme left, has its extreme right in the evangelical church itself. It is proper therefore that the comparison should have reference to him, rather than to one who has not been thoroughly ripened off. Let us look at the two men with candor. Let us have no prejudice concerning either. Let us be controlled by fidelity to truth, by liberality toward persons. If we shall indulge in what the friends of either must regard as severity, let it be only the severity of facts. We shall doubtless find something in each that is adapted to our wants in training men for the ministry. In neither shall we find perfection. It is worthy of consideration that they were born in the same community, their native towns almost adjoining, and grouped with the neighboring cities, constituting one of the most thoroughly Christian communities in the world. What these men taught, and with what spirit they taught, are the two points which the general aim of the Article will require us to consider.

What did these men teach? What did they teach concerning the character of MEN?

"Sin," says Mr. Parker, "is one of the incidents of our attempt to get command over all our faculties. In learning to read, to write, how children mistake the letters, miscall the sounds, miswrite the words. Sin is a corresponding incident. We learn self-command by experiments which fail." "Sin, with its consequent pain, is transient as errors and mistakes." "If the first step is a fall, the step is still a progress, the fall is forward." "As blunders of the spirit are outgrown and half forgot, so it is with sin,—the world's sin, your sin and mine." "The pain of sin is the condition of growth." "Liability to sin is the indispensable condition of human freedom." "Men often exaggerate the amount

of sin. Murderers and thieves have a better nature which shall one day be awakened." "Suppose I am the blackest of sinners and should die such, still I am a child of God, of the infinite God; he foresaw the consequences of my faculties, of the freedom he gave me, of the circumstances which girt me round, and do you think he knows not how to bring me back, that he has not other circumstances in store to waken other faculties and lead me home, compensating my variable hate with his own constant love?" "Wise men begin to see that the majority of criminals are the victims of society more than its foes. There are licentious girls whom the errors of society force unconscious into degradation, into crime." "Each man has a right to perfect creation — creation from perfect motives of perfect material, as perfect means for a perfect purpose." "I have a natural, inalienable right to the providence of the infinite God; this providence is the duty of God." "If half the people are left uncared for by the powerful class, and turn out badly, steal, rob, and murder, knowing no better, have the men who have been careless a right to complain at the result?" In a letter, written from Rome in his last sickness, to Rev. J. Freeman Clark, Mr. Parker affirms that the thing which ministers mean by sin has no more existence than phlogiston, which was adopted to explain combustion. Sins are defined as conscious violations of natural right. "I seldom use the word sin, it is damaged phraseology, tainted with infamous notions of man and God. O James, I think the Christian doctrine of sin is the devil's own, and I hate it, hate it utterly." He thanks God that in the heathen classics we find no consciousness of sin. "In my body," he says "even now when it is really not worth much, there dwelleth many a good thing, spite of consumption and St. Paul." He attends the funeral of a child five or six years old. The father has no belief in the soul's immortality, and so Mr. Parker goes home and records that the man seemed a worthy man, humane, but with an unlucky method of philosophy.

The Life and Correspondence yields no proof that he was

accustomed to confess sin to the Supreme Being. According to the representations of the compiler, the nearest he comes to confession is in the following words taken from the prayer which he offered in the Music Hall the day after the unveiling of Beethoven's statue: "May we chastise ourselves for every mean and wicked thing." In a letter to Dr. Francis he says: "I have done wrong things no doubt; but the more I think of it, the more the general tendency of my path seems to me the true one." He appears never to have had a vivid consciousness of ill-desert, and what little sense of ill-desert he had seems to have become less as he advanced in years. Such were the teachings of Theodore Parker relative to sin. What were those of Adoniram Judson?

With Judson sin is not a mere attempt to get command of our faculties, but it is an awful, voluntary perversion of our free powers to evil. It is more than a violation of natural laws; it is a deliberate rebellion of the soul against the righteous will of a personal God. Judson taught, not that men have a better nature which works itself up through the superincumbent evil, and crowds the evil down and out, but that by nature love to the Creator is totally wanting in the human spirit. Instead of teaching that men are prone to exaggerate the amount of sin, he held that no man is conscious of all the sin within him, and that most men have but an extremely superficial knowledge of the evil of their own hearts or of the hearts of others. Apology for sin or the sinner never escaped his lips or his pen. He aimed to make Burmans, Karens, his own children, himself, feel that sin is the greatest conceivable wrong, admitting no apology, no extenuation, having in itself no possible limit of duration, but in its very nature self-perpetuating, eternal. He taught that each man comes into life, not with a "perfect creation," of "perfect material," but with inherited bias to evil.

Deeper consciousness of sin no man, it would seem, can have had. "In myself," he says, "I am absolute nothingness; and when by grace I get a glimpse of divine things, I tremble lest the next moment will snatch it away." "Grief

for the dear departed," he says in a letter, "combines with sorrow for present sin, and my tears flow at the same time over the forsaken grave of my love and over the loathsome sepulchre of my own heart." Writing to one of his missionary sisters he says: "I hope you will pray for me, for you have not such inveterate habits to struggle with as I have contracted through a long course of religious [?] sinning. Oh my past years in Rangoon are spectres to haunt my soul, and they seem to laugh at me as they shake the chains they have riveted on me. I can now do little more than beg my younger brethren and sisters not to live as I have done, until the Ethiopian becomes so black that his sin cannot be changed." He kneels before God with the last leaf of the Burman Bible in his hand, imploring forgiveness for all the sins which have polluted his labors in translating. "I have never done," he writes to one¹ who is still lingering among us in daily expectation of meeting him before the Redeemer's throne, "I have never done a single action which can claim the least merit or praise." He is again in his native country. His name has long been sounded throughout the world. In the judgment of others he stands first on the roll of suffering, self-denying, spiritual, successful missionaries. The press, announcing his arrival, extols his character and labors. The largest church edifices in the land cannot contain the multitudes that long to see his face and catch some whisper from his lips. But with what self-abasement he shrinks from the public eye! What unconsciousness of deserving such tributes! A great welcome-meeting is held in one of the most cultivated communities of New England. He returns to the dwelling of his host, his subsequent biographer. He conducts the evening family worship. "His prayer on that occasion," says Dr. Wayland, "can never be forgotten by those who heard it. So lowly abasement in the presence of unspotted holiness, such earnest pleadings for pardon for the imperfection of those services for which man praised him, so utter renunciation of all merit for anything

¹ Hon. Heman Lincoln,

that he had ever done, and so entire reliance for acceptance with God only on the merits and atonement of the Gospel sacrifice for sin, I think it was never my happiness to hear on any other occasion. Such I believe was the habitual temper of his mind that the more his brethren were disposed to exalt him, the more deeply did he seem to feel his own deficiencies, and the more humble was his prostration at the foot of the cross." His address in Washington was in the same spirit. "It has been said," he remarked, "that human praise to human ears is always sweet; but to me, as a missionary of the cross, it is only so when offered through me to my Lord." A miserable sinner in the sight of God; this is the sentiment which Adoniram Judson ever cherished, and not unfrequently expressed. Such were the sentiments of these men concerning sin.

Their respective views were radically and eternally contradictory. Whichever should be preached must be preached exclusively of the other. Which view is in the Bible? Put the sentiments of each of these men successively upon the lips of David, and which will accord with the spirit of the fifty-first Psalm? Put them on the lips of Paul, and which will blend with the representations found in the seventh chapter of Romans? Weave them separately into the sayings of Jesus Christ, and putting the two patterns side by side, in which shall we see incongruity? Let the pulpits of Christendom preach that each man, having a right to perfect creation, comes into the world perfectly created; that sin is an incident needful to one's development; that Edward W. Green when he shot young Converse fell forward; that when the little Joyce children, weaving their pretty wreaths in the fragrant woods of Roxbury were assaulted and abused and murdered, the fiend fell forward; let men preach in the prisons of the world: Take heart! for the deeds which brought you hither were but incidents of your attempt to get command of your faculties; let them go to the hells of great cities and cry: Courage! you are getting command of your faculties; let them gather together on some moun-

tain side all the defaulters and burglars and incendiaries and brothel keepers and thieves and liars that infest society, and preach to them this: that their several doings are but incidents needful to their development; let them preach in the *zayats* of the East that the universal falsehood, theft, and licentiousness of Burmah are proof that the people are universally falling forward; let this be the prevalent style of preaching relative to sin; let this be the doctrine which our institutions of learning shall teach to students for the ministry, and how soon will the people of the earth be made spiritual and devout? A poor old woman is sitting at her apple-stand with her knitting work, in the shade of a tree at the gate of a city park, to get means with which to buy her bread. As I tell her that the bill which she has shown me is counterfeit, she says with trembling lips and many tears that she just took it from a very well-dressed gentleman to whom she had sold more fruit than she had sold all the morning besides, and to whom she had given nearly every cent of her change. How great the comfort I can give her! "True, mother, it was a base, very base, most contemptible act; but did you never hear what the great Theodore Parker says? He says that sin is an incident needful to one's development. The man has done a wicked, mean thing; but dry up your tears, good mother, and go cheerfully to work again, for the man is developing into goodness! He fell, but he fell forward!"

Beyond all question there are needed as deep consciousness of sin in the teachers of religion, as skilful and courageous dissection of the character of men, as in the age of Augustine or Paul. Not less in the most refined communities of New England than in the debased villages of Africa, are needed pulpit views of sin which shall not be a whit less thorough than those which were preached by Adoniram Judson. Depravity inherited; sin, voluntary rebellion against the will of a personal God, losing none of its power or desert by the progress of human thought; eternal condemnation threatened to every man that commits it, — these comprise

that doctrine of sin which every minister must preach without fear, without apology, and which, therefore, churches, education societies, and ordaining councils must demand of those who ask to be helped into the ministry. If such views of sin are becoming, under the rationalizing tendencies of English and American thinking, more repulsive, not only to much of the educated mind of our country, but to the mass of the people, that is precisely the reason why our young men should be trained to preach them with unsparing plainness.

What did Theodore Parker and Adoniram Judson teach concerning Jesus Christ? At twenty-four years of age Mr. Parker believed that Jesus Christ was miraculously conceived. At twenty-six he wrote a poetic description of Jesus:

“ Jesus, there is no dearer name than thine
Which time has blazoned on his mighty scroll;
No wreaths nor garland ever did entwine
So fair a temple of so vast a soul.
There every virtue set his triumph seal,—
Wisdom, conjoined with strength and radiant grace,—
In a sweet copy heaven to reveal,
And stamp perfection on a mortal face;
Once on the earth went thou before men’s eyes,
That did not half thy beauteous brightness see;
E’en as the emmet does not read the skies,
Nor our weak orbs look through immensity.”

At the age of thirty-one years he wrote: “ Whether such a being [a man ‘wiser, better, holier’ than Jesus] ever will be created, no one can tell but he who possesses the riddle of the world ”; at thirty-four: “ I do not know that he [Jesus] did not teach some errors also. That God has greater men in store I doubt not ”; at thirty-six he wrote: “ I can’t say there never will be a greater man in morality and religion, though I can conceive of none now. Who knows what is possible for man? If Jesus had lived now, I think he would have been greater; yes, if he had lived to be forty, fifty, sixty, or seventy years old; why not? How much of the excellence of Jesus came from organization I don’t know. May we not one day have a man with the

philanthropic genius of a Socrates, the poetic of a Homer, the practical of a Napoleon, and the religion of a Christ?" At thirty-eight he said: "He [Jesus] was in some things fettered by the follies of his nation"; at forty-two: "When he [Jesus] reached the age of thirty he must have made mistakes in his intellectual processes, and in his moral and religious processes. We always stumble in new things; the greatest men must do so." At forty-nine he affirms that the black washer-woman on Negro Hill, as, with a frowsy broom and mop and a tub or two, she keeps the wolf away from her unfathered babies, all fugitives from slavery, and thence looks up to that dear God whom she so feels within her heart a present help in her hour of need,—which is her every hour,—to him seems not less glorious than Jesus of Nazareth on his mountain uttering his beatitudes. The common forms of idolatry 'among the pious' Mr. Parker declares to be 1. The Bible; 2. Jesus Christ. He would not say that Jesus had a complete comprehension of all the meaning of his own words. "I make a distinction," he says, "between his theology and his religion. His theology seems to have had many Jewish notions in it, wholly untenable in our day." "His theology contained a considerable mixture of error."

The progress of his mind may be stated more briefly thus:

At twenty-four years of age he believes in the miraculous conception of Jesus; at twenty-six he believes Jesus to be perfect; at thirty-one he has no opinion whether a better man will ever be created; at thirty-four he has no doubt that God has greater men in store; at thirty-eight he believes that Jesus was fettered by the follies of his age; at forty-two he believes that Jesus made mistakes in his moral and religious processes; at forty-nine he considers Jesus as not more glorious than a black washer-woman on Negro Hill working to save her babes from starvation.

As to salvation by Christ, that is quite out of the record. Men not being lost, there can be no need of effort to save them. "The minister of the future, we are told, will not

aim to add the imputed righteousness of a good man to help us to an unreal heaven. Think of the eight and twenty thousand Protestant churches of America, with their eight and twenty-thousand Protestant ministers, with a free press and a free pulpit, and think of their influence if every man of them believed in the infinite God, and taught that the service of God was by natural piety within and natural morality without ; that there was no such thing as imputed righteousness or salvation by Christ ; but that real righteousness was honored before God, and salvation by character, by effort, by prayer, and by toil, was the work. Then what a nation should we have ; aye, what a world ! ”

“ All the great historic forms of religion,” says Mr. Parker, “ the Brahminic, the Hebrew, Classic, Buddhistic, Christian, Mohammedan, profess to have come miraculously from God, not normally from man ; and spite of the excellence which they contain, and the vast service the humblest of them has done, yet each must ere long prove a hinderance to human welfare. I wonder ministers don’t see that Christianity is one leaf in this immense tree [religion], and must fall when its work is done. Christianity is one form of religion among many.” We see, then, what sort of a Christ we must educate our young men to preach if they ought to take Theodore Parker as the model.

The Christ which Adoniram Judson preached is as different as were the sentiments of the two concerning sin. The apostle of Burmah held that Jesus Christ is not merely one of the few great men whom the revolution of time throws off from our common humanity, but he held that no other being of similar origin and character has ever appeared among men or ever will. He taught that in the beginning he was with God and was God, that he came into the world with a nature secured against even the least conceivable tendency to sin, and that he continued to the last unsoiled by the pollution with which he was daily in contact. Holding that men are lost, he taught that Jesus Christ is the Saviour ; holding that men are dead, he taught that none

but God can make them alive ; holding that God's law had been dishonored, he taught that Jesus Christ had restored it to its glory by his sufferings and death ; holding that the law denounces a penalty against sin, he taught that the sufferings of Christ are substitutional ; holding that the law requires perfect righteousness, he taught that the righteousness of Christ is imputed to him that believes ; holding that the reason cannot be satisfied with one's claim to a supernatural mission unless supported by well-attested supernatural works, he taught the duty of cheerfully accepting the record of the Saviour's miracles ; holding the evidence to be conclusive that Jesus was sent by God, he taught that all the processes of his mind were secured against the possibility of error. He taught all this, not as dogmas of the schools, but as the life of his once enthralled but afterward liberated spirit. With Judson the authority of Jesus Christ was decisive ; with Parker Jesus was not permitted even an equal share of weight with " the intuitions of reason." Judson's intellect, keener than Parker's, better balanced, not so intensely realistic, with greater power of concentration and a much wider sweep of generalization, bowed to Jesus Christ in everything ; the intellect of the Music Hall preacher bowed only to Theodore Parker. According to both, Jesus believed in an actual, personal devil. Parker knew better ; Judson made no pretence to knowing anything at all concerning the subject except what Jesus taught him. Parker never took Jesus Christ as the sovereign of his soul ; Judson knew no other sovereign. Parker did not love Jesus as his personal Saviour ; for, according to " the intuitions of reason," Jesus had no more to do with his salvation than Alexander the coppersmith ; Judson mourned that he loved him so little. Judson died for Christ a hundred times over in the prisons of Ava and Oungpenla ; Parker, sooner than he would have died for Jesus Christ as his Saviour, would have died to prove to the world that Jesus was not more glorious than some trustful " washer-woman on Negro Hill." Judson spent life in preaching Christ up against the idolatry

of Oriental empires. Parker spent life in preaching Christ down as already one of the great "idols" of men. "Oh let me travel through this country," exclaims the missionary, "and bear testimony to the truth all the way from Rangoon to Ava, and show the path to that glory which I am anticipating. Oh, if Christ will only sanctify me and strengthen me, I feel that I can do all things."

" In these deserts let me labor,
On these mountains let me tell,
How he died — the blessed Saviour, —
To redeem a world from hell."

So it is Christ as the Almighty Saviour whom Judson preaches, whether speaking to the king, the prince, the pundit, the British military commander, the sailor, or the uncultivated Karen. While the Boston preacher, as we have seen, thought more disparagingly of Christ even to the last year of his life, the missionary declared, as he drew near to the end of his great work, that he had never in all his life before had such delightful views of the unfathomable love and infinite condescension of the Saviour as were daily opening before him. "Oh, the love of Christ," he would suddenly exclaim, while his eye kindled and the tears chased each other down his cheek.

Now if the Christ of the recent aspirant to the leadership of American thought is the Christ of God and of history, the churches should have the courage to demand that every applicant for a license shall preach such a Christ. We should strike immediately and boldly for a change. If the Jesus that Mr. Parker preached is the Jesus that he ought to have preached, the Jesus whom evangelical ministers preach is one that they should preach no more. We should revolutionize the churches, should buckle on the armor and fight for the overthrow of the people's faith, should withhold sympathy from our theological seminaries, should insist that the trustees and faculties shall dethrone the Christ of the churches and put this other Christ in his place. Not another student should be permitted to depart bearing on his spirit

the likeness of any other than an anti-supernatural, error-teaching, non-atoning, unrisen Christ. Nor should we cease till our religious periodicals shall have begun to bring the likeness of such a Christ weekly before the eyes of our children; not till every man in the country shall refuse to sing,

“ Oh, could we speak the matchless worth,
Oh, could we sound the glories forth,
Which in our Saviour shine.”

not till our hills and valleys shall re-echo concerning the Christ of the present :

“ Ashamed of Jesus ! yes, I may,
For I've no guilt to wash away;
No tear to wipe, no good to crave,
No fears to quell, no soul to save ! ”

If Judson's Christ is the Christ of the New Testament, it is a serious account that ministers will be called to give if they shall preach any other. They may shrink from putting to the lips of their people the poisoned chalice of Parker or Renan, but unconsciously infected by the death-bearing miasma of rationalism, may deceive themselves with the hope that salvation by Christ can be so explained as to be readily accepted by the culture of the world. Let them beware, however, of attempting to make a vicarious sacrifice acceptable to the unrenewed heart. The attempt will prove them to have taken up the line of march on which, at the front, though perhaps far in advance, are the boldest deniers of the truth. It is the first shrinking of the spirit from the duty of meeting the natural heart with the unwelcome truth that we can be saved only through the substituted sufferings of Christ, that must be watched and resisted. Are there not members of evangelical churches in England and our own country who are teaching sentiments concerning the death of Christ, which, if those men shall not blink their own logic, will lead them to deny Christ and the Bible as supernatural ? In his review of Dr. Channing's works, Renan rallies the prince of American Unitarians for inconsistency : “ A singular rationalist to reason away the deity of Christ, and yet

receive the miracles." Channing is floored. Renan is the more logical of the two. So the new school Unitarians are more consistant than the old school. "The whole or nothing" is the inexorable demand of logic. We should beware, then, of the first step in the rationalistic method of interpreting the scriptures. Ministers may preach Christ, but not salvation by Christ. They may preach salvation by Christ, but not salvation by the death of Christ. They may preach salvation by the death of Christ, but not salvation by a vicarious sacrifice, propitiation. They may preach a vicarious sacrifice, justification by faith, imputed righteousness, but not preach the way of life as revealed in the gospel.

The amplest justification of these assertions will be found in one of the recent books of Dr. Horace Bushnell. Dr. Bushnell believes in salvation by Christ, but not in substitution. He believes in salvation by the death of Christ, but not in substitution. He believes in propitiation, imputed righteousness, justification by faith, but not in substitution. He believes in a vicarious sacrifice, but not in substitution. How can he accept those while he rejects this? Only by rationalizing away the commonly received meaning of these old theological terms; but substitution seems to have some — we know not what — peculiar property which has hitherto saved it from the touch of the destructive criticism. It is a hard word for them. Rationalism may yet give us a volume on "substitution," in which, after the word shall have been emptied of its long-cherished meaning, the doctrine shall seem to be held; but for the present the term is left us, and is nearly the only term pertaining to the way of salvation which the book on vicarious sacrifice has not attempted to misappropriate. With consummate skill in marshalling arguments, with beauty of style scarcely paralleled, so far as we know, in the whole range of English theological literature, the book cannot but captivate some imaginative and inaccurate minds; but analyze it, sublimate the analysis, and the residuum is merely this: "Vicarious sacrifice is something which Christ did by the moral power of his char-

acter, to invest us with personal righteousness." We have seen what Theodore Parker and Adoniram Judson taught concerning the character of man and concerning Jesus Christ.

With what spirit did they teach? In the first place it should be remarked that, notwithstanding his general cheerfulness and the frequent outbursts of wit and fun, Mr. Parker's Life and Correspondence discloses a deep under-current of sadness. "I know not why," he writes in the earlier part of his life,

"I know not why, but heavy is my heart;
The sun all day may shine, the birds may sing,
And men and women blithely play their part;
Yet still my heart is sad, I cannot smile
As I could smile all day in long past youth;
There is no art my sorrows to beguile.
Daily from utmost heaven descendeth truth;
I look upon her with an unmoved face,
And feel no leaping heart when fixed in her embrace."

"It is plain," says Mr. Weiss, his rationalistic biographer, "that these accesses of sadness may be credited to a jaded spirit." "I feel," he writes at the age of eighteen, "like a broken-hearted and ruined man, and think sometimes it was a mercy if Providence would take me back; not less a mercy to others than to me." At twenty-six he writes: "Indeed I have felt blue, terribly blue, all the week. I never speculate on the causes of such chilling damps that come over the soul." Two years later he exclaims: "I have lost many things; the greatest was hope. Days there have been when I saw naught else to freshen my eye, weary with looking over the dull waste of my early life." "Never knew till now," he says in 1842, "the sadness of that perpetual disappointment of hoping, hoping, and finding nothing come of that hope. . . . Oh, how our life is streaked with sadness! I shall begin to believe, with some weeper, that all the birds sing in the key of grief, for the stars look melancholy now to me." He declares that he cannot account for his sadness; he is well in body and temperate in meats and

drinks. The missionary's heart sometimes overflowed with sorrow on account of sin, accompanied, however, with joy under the forgiving love of God ; but he was a stranger to such ground-swells of unaccountable sadness. Mr. Weiss gives us no reason to suppose that this trait of Mr. Parker's was constitutional. Nature seems to have dealt not less kindly with him in this respect than with Judson. We have reason to believe that his sadness would have burst out oftener and rushed on with destructive violence, had he not held it in check by plunging with terrible energy into work. Which, in this respect, is the better model, it is not difficult to decide.

Mr. Parker was a man of unbounded self-confidence. He has studied this matter "of the divine origin of the Bible and the divine nature of Jesus of Nazareth" all his life ; and if he understands anything he understands this. All the men in the world cannot make him believe that he does not know a good deal more concerning the other world than Jesus Christ. He contends against the Universalists, that Christ taught the doctrine of endless punishment, and contends against Christ, that the doctrine has no foundation in fact. It must be affirmed also that Mr. Parker was a very ambitious man. Even his sympathizing biographer, with fatal blindness to the incongruity of the representation, says that he was filled with piety and pure feelings, yet was very self-reliant and ambitious. Judson was not a whit less ambitious by nature than Parker, but nothing can exceed the thoroughness with which the vice seems to have been extirpated long before he died. Parker's egotism — vanity — is in marked contrast with Judson's humility. Scholarship, in his judgment, is narrow, if not employed in such destructive habits of criticism as he delights to revel in, and in such acquisitions as can be found only in the countless tomes of German infidelity. Dr. Channing is no scholar ; there is a most woful neglect of sound study of all kinds among Unitarian clergymen ; he knows of only four scholars in the entire Unitarian sect. This is an utterance sufficiently

sweeping for a man of whom it has been justly said¹ that the amount of his accurate and reliable knowledge was by no means remarkable. "We do not," says the writer, "recall a single important topic which he has treated in a manner indicative of thorough scholarship. Haste, incorrectness, confusion, misconception, and misrepresentation, are well-nigh omnipresent. . . . The only important translation from his hand, made from the language with which among all foreign tongues he may fairly be presumed to have been most familiar, was so faulty, that its author was pronounced by a prominent British quarterly to be 'grossly ignorant of German,' and was held up to ridicule as 'a conceited and ignorant translator.'"

One of the most painful features of Mr. Parker's character remains to be told; and it is one concerning which people are strangely ignorant. Men have been taught that Mr. Parker's heart was the home of all manner of excellence; that it was distinguished for kindness, amiability, charity. Now his own biographer — and let us depend on him alone in attempting to make good what is affirmed — presents his character, without any apparent intention to do so, in quite another light. On the basis of the *Life and Correspondence*, we affirm that the subject of the biography was either a grossly self-ignorant man, or was guilty of intentional misrepresentation of himself.

One of his own friends had addressed him upon the duty of refraining from sarcasm and abuse in his allusions to those whose religious opinions differed from his own. Instead of acknowledging the error, instead of confessing that he might possibly be chargeable with the fault, and thanking his friend for the hint, he returns an answer as follows: "I am by no means conscious of giving utterance to 'an unchristian-like sneer or an unkind accusation' in any of my writings, preachings, or prayings. I do not admit the justice of your remarks about sneering tones. I never spoke of such as have faith in the gospel record in terms of sarcasm

¹ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. xviii. p 48

and abuse, say Mr. — what he will. I never mocked at anything. I am not aware of uttering contumely and reproach." Again he writes : " I have not sat in the seat of the scornful." Such are his assertions ; what are the facts ?

Even his biographer speaks of " the blunt and distasteful way in which he sometimes uttered his criticisms." Thus speaks Mr. Parker of the Lord's supper : " On what terms shall persons be admitted to the communion ; i.e. on what terms shall a person be allowed once a month in a meeting-house, on Sunday, to eat a crumb of baker's bread and drink a sip of grocer's wine which the deacon has bought at a shop the day before ? The Lord's supper I don't like, as it is now administered. It is a heathenish rite and means very little, I think." He recommends coming together in a parlor and eating, if one likes, curds and cream and baked apples. When Mr. Parker was a divinity student in Cambridge, Dr. Ware suggested that it was not quite courteous to say " old Paul." The " gentleman from Tarsus " was the style in which the apostle was thenceforth referred to. Whatever may be the shock to the reader's sensibilities, it seems necessary to put the last touch upon this terrible portrait by the following quotation : " To me the name of Christianity is most exceeding dear." Can self-ignorance or misrepresentation go further ? How many parallels with such a mental phenomenon can be found in the history of the world ? No doubt Mr. Parker's sympathies were warm except toward great multitudes of his fellow-men ; his love of justice intense, except in many very important directions ; his spirit genial and amiable, save toward all from whom he differed, which, unfortunately for himself, were the greater part of mankind. Not the least of the many blots upon his character is his fierce impeachment of men's motives ; as those of Horace Mann : " I like not his having prayers three times a day at his table. It was an official, not a personal act, and savors of hypocrisy. It was done for example, but it was an instance of falseness to his convictions."

Against no people did Mr. Parker hurl such bolts as against

the Unitarians. Of Judson and Moses Stuart he spoke with much kindness. With few exceptions he spoke of Unitarian clergymen as Unitarian clergymen then were, with great bitterness. It is but just to remark that on the whole the Unitarians kept their temper as well as could be expected; and the remarkably catholic spirit which they are now showing toward him is certainly a beautiful illustration of the spirit of forgiveness. That no undeserved credit is given them will appear from the words of one of the most distinguished Unitarian clergymen in our country, Rev. Dr. Bellows. "There is no place of safety," says Dr. Bellows, "in the Unitarian body, for any Christian who is afraid of fellowship with such men as Theodore Parker. We have a hundred men, I presume, in our pulpits, who look up to him as one of the best Christians, and one of the greatest spiritual forces that Divine Providence has vouchsafed to our denomination or our generation."¹

Should we make a formal attempt to prove that such traits as we have just seen inhering in Mr. Parker were no part of the character of Judson, it would seem like admitting that the world's verdict had fallen into doubt. The chief fault of the missionary was born of his intense self-condemnation, so that it partook scarcely less of a virtue than of a fault. It was the error of one, who, though he had already attained uncommon lustre, was striving to get rid of the last speck of sin. Such blotches as we have been compelled to see in another, were it possible to transfer them to him, would be as incongruous to his character as the quills of a porcupine to a bird of paradise. Near the close of his life, however, Mr. Parker requested his friends to erase from his letters everything personal which would be likely to wound the feelings of those concerning whom it had been written: "In the flush and fun of letter writing I may have said what would one day give needless pain, should some prying eye see it and some busy tongue prattle thereof." Oh that Mr. Parker had embraced in the request all that he had written

¹ *Christian Examiner*, November, 1866.

in derogation of Jesus Christ! But it gives us sincere pleasure to mention even this. The request is honorable to his memory, and the non-compliance with it is disreputable to his friend, follower, and biographer, John Weiss. Such was the general spirit of Mr. Parker and Mr. Judson as they prosecuted their life-work. Which is the better model?

Mr. Parker made no effort to extend his opinions concerning religion to that vast multitude of his fellow-men that most needed them, if true. Why should not the sentiments which he taught with such fiery zeal at home have been sent to the heathen? Is there anything in their nature which palsies effort for the universal good? If Christianity is not a universal religion what can justify the non-organization of effort to send the true religion to men? Is that the benevolence of the universal religion? Let that religion answer for itself. Says M. Renan in his religious history and criticism: "As to the savage races, those sad survivors of an infant world, before making Christians of them, we should have to make them men; and it is doubtful if we should succeed in doing that. The poor Otaheitan is trained to attend mass or sermon, but the incurable softness of his brain is not remedied, he is only made to die of melancholy or ennui. Oh, leave these lost children of nature to fade away on their mother's bosom; let us not with our stern dogmas, disturb their childish play, their dances by moonlight, their hour of sweet intoxication. The great mistake of the Jesuits, the idea that man gets his education from without, by means of artificial processes and picus machinery, is at the bottom of all missions."

In the zeal with which he winged his sentiments through his own country, concerning both Christianity and slavery, Mr. Parker is a model for evangelical ministers. His determination, deliberately adopted, to destroy the Christianity of the people, was followed with consuming energy: "No man shall shut my lips; if I cannot get an audience in one place I will find one in another; the attention of men I will have; so help me God." This was his purpose; he did as

he purposed. "I took great pains," he says "with the composition of my sermons; they were never out of my mind; I had an intense delight in writing and preaching." The clearness, vivacity, fire, of his style, though his style has faults, are in mortifying contrast with the soporific style of many preachers of the truth. What he said was said with the force of a thunderbolt, and that because his soul was a magazine of thunderbolts. Thunder cannot be made outside to order. The capacious Music Hall was not enough for him. Working in his study like a Cyclops, he bursts from the bounds of the city and travels from Maine to Missouri, ostensibly to lecture upon literature and politics, but really to inoculate the public with his sentiments upon religion. The long night-ride, with no supper before his lecture and none after, the cold room and cold bed, the tough steak and sour biscuit, the coldness of former friends, the bitterness of political foes, the necessity of contending with inherited disease, baffles him not. He seldom murmurs, never parades his trials as some ministers of the true faith parade theirs, never stops to tell the world through the papers what presents his people have made him, but thanks his people privately; never talks discouragingly of "the cause," but marches on with a lion's heart to battle the popular religion, and sow down the battle-field with seed which he had imported from granaries in Germany. Such was his zeal at home; but his religion had no wings to bear itself to pagan lands.

See Judson cutting himself adrift from the higher forms of civilization, abjuring the pleasures of literature, taking up his abode in the centre of the earth's population, not daunted by exposure to brutal imprisonment, with almost no one near to speak a word of cheer, working one, two three, four, five years, without seeming to have drawn one human spirit to his Master, yet saying, "I would not leave my present situation to be made a king," working almost through the sixth year before he can say, I have won a soul; see him giving away all his earthly possessions to help secure

the object of his heart ; declining three successive invitations to suspend his labors, and seek temporary rest in the land of his birth ; and when at length compelled to do so, hastening back to his work with an eagerness that seems almost allied to impatience ; see him through all his career, casting away every impediment from without and from within, that he may the more certainly attain the object of his life — the renewal of an empire of souls — which he regards as but one scene in the great drama, the ultimate regeneration of the race. See Judson thus at work as a preacher, as a pastor, as a translator, with this world-wide comprehensiveness, without permitting himself to be diverted from his purpose for thirty-seven years, and it will appear that he, rather than Theodore Parker, is a representative of the ministry which the world needs.

It is time to sum up the characteristics of the two men. We may say, then, that according to his published life, Mr. Parker was a man of uncommon ability and learning, of vast industry, of illogical cast of mind, great sensibility, obstinacy of will, sadness kept down by hard work, and extreme severity. We are under the necessity of saying that he was irreverent, illiberal, sarcastic, and sometimes positively slanderous ; that he was guilty of impugning the motives of men and charging them with hypocrisy, without the least foundation for it ; that his views of sin were radically false ; that he regarded Jesus as having made mistakes in his moral and religious processes ; that he had no belief in the necessity of salvation by Christ ; that in some things he was very conscientious, in others not at all so ; in some things had a sharp sense of justice, in others had none at all ; toward certain classes had, as he ought to be ever honored for having, great benevolence, but was wanting in active sympathy with hundreds of millions of the race ; that, while he was among the foremost in self-denying labors for the good of the colored population, he was more active in effort to subvert the authority of the Bible, and to make men believe that reason is authority enough. In a word, we must say in

estimating his intellect, that Mr. Parker was a man of little originality, except in the use of words, having borrowed from others what theology and philosophy he had; and in estimating his heart we must say that according to the common law of England and the United States he was often well-nigh indictable for the crime of blasphemy.

Of Mr. Judson it may be said that, though a man of learning, he was not equal in this respect to Mr. Parker; that he was endowed, however, with a better balanced, more discriminating, more logical, more accurate mind; that, though he was naturally very ambitious, his ambition early gave way to an impulse infinitely safer and purer; that he had great strength of will without obstinacy, and perfect singleness of aim directed toward the loftiest possible object; that he was a man "of singularly happy temperament"; that illiberality, sarcasm, impeachment of men's motives, are spots that never defiled his character, but that on the contrary he was eminently kind and charitable; that he was profoundly conscious of sin, yet a firm believer in the certainty of forgiveness through the substituted sufferings of the Son of God; that he was intensely interested in the welfare of all his fellow-men, and consecrated his eminent abilities with unsurpassed self-denial and energy to its promotion, giving to one entire nation a translation of that book, the authority of which Mr. Parker did all in his power to destroy.

The two men are before us in their teachings and spirit. They are before us as the representatives of opposite types of ministers. The comparison that has been made may seem to some to have been a waste of words; but if making Theodore Parker our model in training men for the ministry seems improbable, it should be considered that it is not impossible. Impossible it can be made by guarding against the possibility. Not gloomily should we look upon the present state of Christianity; for not one sign of decrepitude can be seen. God is vindicating his truth. His spirit is seeking the lost; revivals abound; evangelical Christians, though still retaining distinct denominational outlines, are

learning to hold them in love, and to feel that in effort to obey the great commission they are one. Never before have the treasures of wealth been so freely opened to aid the Christian cause. Pagans are believing; northern and central Europe are convalescent; victory blazes on the banners. We are, therefore, no alarmists in respect to the world as a whole; yet how can we shut our eyes to the fact that the old enemy has marshalled his forces for a new conflict? Was it not affirmed a few years ago that the seeds of rationalism which some were sowing would bring forth a fearful harvest? But mark how deceitful the process. There is one thing in the old-fashioned Voltaire infidelity that one cannot but like; it was honest; it never stole the livery of heaven to serve the devil in; it was not ashamed to flaunt its own name; it preferred to be known as a downright hater of all that bore even the name of Christian. That was fair. We cannot help respecting it for that one good quality. If we go back many hundred years before Voltaire till we get to Hierocles in the fourth century, Porphyry in the third, Celsus in the second, then, too, we shall find an infidelity that never was ashamed of the name. It stood up manfully to its chosen work, not trying to shelter itself under the name of Christianity. That was fair. The current, most popular form of infidelity, in addition to the ancient characteristics, has also this: a pretty thorough shame of its own signature. It rejects the Old Testament, yet it is Christian; it rejects the Epistles, yet it is Christian; it rejects the Gospels, yet it is Christian; it denies that Jesus was miraculously conceived, yet it is Christian; it denies that he raised Lazarus from the dead, yet it is Christian; it denies him as a mediator between God and man, yet it is Christian; it denies him the title of Lord, yet it is Christian; it affirms that the Bible contains errors in doctrine and fact, still it is Christian. That is not fair; it is undertaking to act Hamlet not only without Hamlet, but without the king, and without Horatio and without Polonius and without the queen, without the ghost, and without Ophelia. It must be admitted

that the old style of infidelity was low, coarse, vulgar; but as already said, we knew where to find it. The current rationalism must therefore be put a little below the infidelity of Voltaire himself, as Satan must be put considerably lower by all good judges of character for coming to Eve as serpent instead of devil. That way of coming was mean as well as wicked.

Let us hope, however, that the mask will yet be thrown off. On the thirty-first of May, 1837, a convention was held in the city of Boston to consider "the condition, wants, and prospects of free religion in America." Youth and middle life and old age, all degrees of culture and both sexes, were represented. It must be admitted that the most active spirits of the meeting seemed to have at last attained such a degree of virtue as to manifest no desire to be considered as fighting under the banner of Christianity. "Religion," said one of the speakers, "is one thing, and Christianity is another." "Whether the Bible teaches future punishment or not," said another, "our own spirits, the light that shines within us, teaches us there is none. The men of science, God's prophets, say that we must bow down not to Jesus Christ, but to the Infinite Spirit." "The great Messiah, as he is called," said a well-known Quakeress, "and there have been some great ones since." A letter was read by the president of the convention, which was written, we were told, by a liberal Jew who was unable to be present. "Truth," said the writer, "is the only redeemer I acknowledge"; and this brought applause from the convention. "We profess," said a clergyman from New Hampshire, "no discipleship to Jesus." "Religion," said another, a writer for the *Atlantic Monthly*, "is the affirmation of spirit made in the soul of man, the report which the spirit makes of itself. So we can say, I know." He denied that logic has anything to do with the matter. He wanted no premises, for spirit is self-affirmation. Said another gentleman, also a well-known writer for the *Atlantic Monthly*: "The moment we call ourselves by the name of Christ we lose the real expression of truth.

We take Christ as a leader so far as we take any man as a leader." It is enough to add that whenever the name of Theodore Parker was mentioned, and whenever anything was said against Jesus Christ, the convention greeted it with rapturous applause. We may presume, then, that by-and-by rationalism will everywhere have the honesty to discard the name of Christian, and be known, as it seemed almost willing to be known in this convention, by its appropriate name. There is no safe position between that taken by Theodore Parker and that held by Adoniram Judson. He who begins to rationalize away the word of God, even at a single point, is in danger of dashing through the entire course till he is precipitated upon the rocks of infidelity. We have no hesitation, therefore, in concluding that the type of ministers which the world still needs is substantially that which is represented in Adoniram Judson.

ARTICLE V.

THE DOCTRINE OF GOD'S PROVIDENCE.

BY DR. BENJAMIN W. DWIGHT, CLINTON, N. Y.

PART II.¹—ITS SUBJECTIVE ASPECTS; OR, THE DEVELOPING POWER UPON THE HEART AND LIFE OF TRUE VIEWS OF ITS NATURE AND WORKINGS.

EVERY truth has its value in its uses. It becomes in itself, as such, as soon as it is discovered, a law of action in higher or lower relations, in the physical, intellectual, or moral direction in which it manifests its existence. He who is continually discovering new truths is in the same measure discovering new responsibilities.

We shall the more easily comprehend the true practical bearings of the doctrine of God's providence if we gather about our minds, more closely, ere we proceed to their consid-

¹ For Part I. see Vol. xxi p. 584.

eration, some of the leading truths most intimately connected with its scope and management. Wonderful are the analogies in the divine ordinances of nature and of human experience. The unity of design in the creation of all things, apparent alike to the hasty observer, and to the most scientific explorer, is paralleled by an equally remarkable unity of management by the great Administrator of the world and its affairs. So many and great are the evident correspondences in the physical world with things moral and spiritual, that nature seems to a discerning eye to be a vast mass of moral symbolism.¹

The aims of God's providential government are as grand as his heart can fashion them, the aims of perfect righteousness, wisdom, truth, and love, mingled in infinite fulness in his will. The Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian economies were but different stages of the successively unfolded display of his infinite interest in man, and of his eternal purpose to bless him to the extent of his moral capabilities, both individually and in the mass, to receive the bestowals of his love. So also whatever can be done throughout the cycles of the immeasurable future, for the good of those who here sought to know God and to do his will, will be surely done, as the fuller form of that unceasingly cherishing and educating love that has been shown to mankind from the first.

As previously adequate views of divine justice form the necessary basis for a right appreciation of the divine mercy,

¹ Good things require everywhere in nature, as in human experience, constantly watchful care and culture; while evil things grow readily without our wish or consent, and at times against much painstaking on our part for their overthrow. Life is in the outer world, as in the world of conscious thought, a perpetual struggle; and in both spheres of development the alternative rules in full force of constant activity and progression on the one hand, or of sure and rapid decay on the other. Everywhere the law is revealed of universal harmony, and only on the basis of universal individual utility. In both spheres of manifestation, the law of stability is a balance of advantages and disadvantages. In both, life and death are strangely commingled, each being continually transformed into the other; and within each sphere equally "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain until now."

the great judicial doctrine of "eye for eye and tooth for tooth" stood out everywhere, flaming, in the front of God's first system of formal lessons concerning himself, as the moral Governor of mankind, in full parallelism with the threatened penalty of his broken law: "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." But with what sublime majesty did the Lamb of God who "came to take away the sins of the world," destroy at a touch "the hand-writing of ordinances" against all who put their trust in him. Nature and experience abound alike in mingled voices of wrath and mercy; and so human fate and fortune are full of changes, and "time and chance happen unto all."

The delays of God's providence are a conspicuous part of his own chosen form of self-manifestation to the human race in all ages and countries, even where to human eyes no elements of hope for any improvement of them appear. "Since the fathers fell asleep," say infidels, "all things continue as they were." Christianity, they declare accordingly, to be but an effete institution belonging to the dead past. With reckless hardihood they speak of Christ and his cause as the mere fossil curiosities of an immature and now superseded period of human development.

The methods of his providence deserve also remembrance here. He delights in reaching desired results by gradually developing processes, rather than by direct means. How vast and intermixed, and yet how harmonious, the complications of agency and influence which he has everywhere established! The end aimed at is often remote. Ever new opportunities of skilful combination and of effective management are perpetually recurring in all those forms of unceasing divine activity to which Christ referred, when he said: "My Father worketh hitherto." He delights in arranging, by checks and compensations and balancings of one thing with another, the distribution of good and evil to the children of men, so as neither to give nor to refuse all the good things of his hand to any one age or nation or man. He delights especially in the use of moral forces and appliances, in commanding and

inviting thought, in plying motives, in beckoning the whole nature of each one, in whatever form of demonstration, onwards and upwards to himself. He delights in conditioning the most cherished objects of desire to his heart, here on earth, on the active, wise, hearty, and continual co-operation of his creatures. He delights in condescension, patience, and continual manifestations of infinite loving-kindness and self-forgetfulness, while engaged in promoting the ends of his manifold providence. So much is said by some at times about God's seeking his own glory in all his acts of creation, providence, and moral government, that many have come, insensibly to themselves, to entertain quite false views of his character. But what perpetual drafts upon his inexhaustible, compassionate good-will does he allow, and even deliberately plan to allow! His infinite condescension is infinite joy to his own heart. He is himself our great practical exemplar of the precept: "He that would be the greatest of all must be the servant of all." The universe is in its intellectual and moral structure a grand harmonious system of mutually connected beings, agencies, and influences, whose summit and crown is God, regnant over all by the very supremacy of his nature in its unlimited fulness of strength and beauty, and for all, by the swift and exulting choice of his own great heart. Every creature beneath him was made for the express purpose of being tributary to his directive, moulding will which is unceasingly active in behalf of the greatest good of all, and is, when performing its proper functional activities, directly ministrant to it.

The lessons of God's providence are as grand as they are simple. They are such as these: "Man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Each man is the direct arbiter of his own character and destiny; the elements of personal efficiency and development are subject in all things to direct positive law, that law being in reference to every action, the written word, wherever it exists, and where it does not, the handwriting of God in the human heart; mankind can be rightly

developed only as one vast harmonious brotherhood, to which focal point all the manifest tendencies of providence and history converge ; human society at large is, however slowly, yet in truth grandly, progressive towards a more and more perfect state.

Two leading characteristics of God's providence must never be forgotten : the one, that it is educational in all its plans and processes ; the other, that it is managed so as to necessitate and evoke in the best manner possible man's full free-agency in combination with God's. All its ends are moral ; their true intent and influence being to draw each heart to God, to make it like him, and to prepare it for his eternal companionship. The processes adopted to secure these high results are thus significantly stated by Christ : " Every branch that beareth not fruit he taketh away ; and every branch that beareth fruit he purgeth, that it may bring forth more fruit."

What, now, is the question, will be the legitimate influence of such true views of God, in his personal and governmental relations to mankind, upon one who habitually cherishes them in his heart as his normal principles of thought and action, whose whole soul is at one with him, and who desires to please him in every way, and to live for him and with him in all things here and forever.

Our subject demands that we consider,

I. The kinds of influence exerted by true views of God's providence on the heart and life of their possessor.

II. The specific results for good obtained by such an one in the end.

I. Among the kinds of influence exerted by true views of divine providence, stands first in value, as in fact, that

1. They are stimulative to true thought and feeling.

What could be more inspiring to noble purposes and endeavors than a right and deep impression habitually of God's perpetual, practical interest in the whole human race, and in each of its individual members, in their history, condition, and destiny ? From the very constitution of human nature

and the facts of our earthly condition, adequate outward occasions of action for each of the many faculties and susceptibilities of the mind, with a full array of corresponding excitants to aspiration and effort, might be and must be presupposed. Not only so, but the actual universe, just as it is, is also a necessary presupposition in theory, as the appropriate counterpart and supplement of the existence of the human race. The outer world, likewise, of nature, with its wide apparatus of facts, relations, agencies, and influences, and with all its voluminous moral symbolism, — as the image in physical forms and aspects of man's inward experiences, and of God's universal administration of mingled law and mercy, — all unite in postulating, as a foregone necessity, the existence of human beings, such as we are, as the counterpart and only possible explanation of the physical universe surrounding us.

The disclosure which God makes of himself in nature is powerfully stimulative to tender religious thoughtfulness. Not in vain does he there seek to display the object-lessons of his wisdom, power, and love, but designs, in even so partial a form of revelation, to touch and draw every sensibility of our natures into sweet accord with his will, and into lively emotions of pleasure towards himself. But in his active providence, or the wide-spread, ever-busy, practical unfoldings of his infinite humanity, he passes before each one in all but open sight and hearing, with the direct purpose — next after that of delighting his own heart with the fatherly care of his needy, dependent creatures, who must perish at once if he forgets them — of lifting up their thoughts by his goodness to himself: from the bountifulness of his gifts to their munificent giver. Constant, earnest, happy thinking of God and his will is our true, normal, intellectual condition, as designed of him in the very construction of our being. How continual are the appeals that he makes in his providence to our thoughtful consideration, on the dark side and on the bright, in great forms and degrees and in small, and as well in the accordant successions of our ordinary experience, as in any of the sudden surprises of good or evil.

God's agency is never repressive, and much less suppressive, of man's in any right moral direction. It is restrictive only and always of evil, in one form or another, but stimulative in its influence, and nourishing to everything "beautiful, true, and of good report." Nor is his agency substitutive for our own, but only supplemental to it. It is never adjusted at all to the idea of releasing any individual or community from the felt necessity of thorough labor, skill, patience, faith, and heroism, each in their highest elemental form, and all in the fullest and grandest combinations that human ingenuity can invent, or human energy sustain. The narrow and yet decisive discriminations made by our Maker between attainment and disappointment, success and failure, sickness and health, life and death, salvation and perdition, make the necessity of wakeful care and effort on the part of every one an ever-constant quantity in the problem of life.

2. True views of God's providence give to their possessor, in connection with his practical conformity to them in his conduct, the sense of being divinely directed in his inward and outward life.

Natures of a high intellectual organism, and of much momentum in the sphere of moral feeling, are quite addicted to describing themselves as moved, in proportion to the amount of their thoughtfulness and conscientiousness combined, by an inward divine impulse or an outward divine hand to the work of life. The sense of their own destiny, or of their appointed mission in life, or of God's manifest will concerning them, rules all their aspirations, energies, enterprises, plans, and experiences. God too, they feel, is with them, and they are mighty. According to their faith is it unto them.

(1) God guides all who seek aright for such wisdom, and with deep conscious satisfaction to themselves, to the best form, place, and style of earthly occupation, and to the best ways and means of daily duty in all things.

Earnest, persistent, believing prayer, full of self-renouncement and of joy in God, is the appointed and sure pathway

to such divine benefits. As he had a specific end harmonious with all others and subservient to them, in making every human being, and "we are" each of us now "his offspring," as absolutely as was Adam; and as he desires with infinite strength of feeling that that end should be exactly and completely met, he will surely, if we also desire its accomplishment, answer with a glorious fulness of good-will our earnest supplications for finding the way to secure it, provided that in our prayers as well as in the whole spirit of our lives, in thought and word and deed, we aim at his glory; without which high and all-prevailing purpose we can do nothing to his praise or our own. A mind which is in the habit of always looking thus simply and confidently up to God, will have an all-supporting and ever deeply quickening sense of guidance from him. Its own divinely authorized and divinely animated convictions will be a tower of strength to it. Its will will be set by them to all right action, its courage will become high and steady, its ardor flaming, and its joy deep and pervading.

(2) God delivers those who look to him for guidance and blessing from injury by outward dangers and difficulties. Life is to every one a conflict in some form; to all at more points or less with temptations, disappointments, and bafflings of strong desires and cherished hopes; while to some the trials of poor health, to others the loss of property or of social position and power, and to others the unkindness of friends and relatives and neighbors, and to others still many and great personal evils, and hidden perchance carefully in their own hearts, make the stream of daily consciousness one of dark and bitter waters. Perpetual rebuffs occur to our pride, and perpetual reminders of our inexperience, ignorance, and folly; in our most intimate social and even family connections constant compromises are necessary, as well as ever new calculations of wisdom, and new combinations of skill.

God would train us, by both unceasing activity on our part against outward difficulties and temptations, and by the con-

tinual up-looking of our hearts to him for guidance and for help, to a high manly and godly bearing of ourselves. While some are greatly favored and others greatly hindered in their outward circumstances, all can become, against whatever obstacles, magnanimous and heroic and Christian in their life and spirit. All the virtues, as faith, hope, courage, perseverance, earnestness, gentleness, and meekness, are obvious re-actions against difficulties and temptations. Strength, enterprise, conquest, progress, success, are all matters of active effort and accumulation. The path appointed of God for his chosen people to the promised land has ever been a path through the wilderness. What a succession of tremendous hazards and of hair-breadth escapes have the lovers of liberty and of the people had to encounter in all ages. "The tree of liberty has been always watered with blood," and "God has been always 'glorified' by his people 'in the fires.'"

Two cardinal principles pertaining to the true Christian philosophy of life should never be, and by a heart of the right mould will never be, forgotten: one, that there is in all cases of seeming or real evil "a way of escape," an appointed way; and the other, that in every form of earthly experience, however adverse or distasteful in itself, there is a positive element of spiritual advantage, which it needs only patient, prayerful, trustful energy of will to eliminate in copious abundance; so that "all things work together for good to those that love God."

The point of view which men generally assume for surveying the bearings of God's providence upon themselves is grossly materialistic. All desire to be rich in the things of this world, and consider themselves "blessed" when their goods are increased; but in God's eye none of our possessions are riches or ornaments but those which are spiritual. "The kingdom of God is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." "A meek and quiet spirit is in his sight an ornament of great price." "The meek are" one day "to inherit the earth." A gentle, tender, loving, self-forgetful spirit

will be, we are thus taught, not only the highest form and fact, but be everywhere honored and cherished as such by all beholders, of the world's final, most complete type of social exaltation. "Learn of me," saith our great Master, "for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

God, therefore, often shows us the most love when he crosses most our previous habits, impulses, and desires; and so Christ bids us, for our good, wrestle sternly and prevailingly with ourselves, saying: "He that would come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me." In ancient days, in the intellectual and moral immaturity of the race, God, as in Hezekiah's case, relieved more frequently than now-a-days his children from the outward evils that oppressed them, in answer to prayer. In these latter days of larger moral growth and strength, he, ordinarily, as in the case of Paul, and always, when it is best for the good of the sufferer, lets the evil, which the patient would fain escape, continue, and it may be augment in force, but gives inward strength to rise above it, and grace to convert the seeming outward ill into a real inward blessing. "Thrice," saith Paul, who was inspired from above, and had the special seal of apostleship in his power to work miracles in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, "thrice I besought the Lord that it ('the thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet him, lest he should be exalted above measure') might depart from me." And what was his answer from the Lord? "My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness." "Most gladly therefore," said the great apostle, with equal logic and devotion, "will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me."

Contentment is heart-wealth; he is rich that feels rich. God knows that it is but little that we can bear at the best of either trial or prosperity; for "though the spirit is willing the flesh is weak," and therefore he tempers both judgment and mercy to the moral stature and strength of each of

his children; and "he remembers our frame, that it is but dust."

He foreknew, indeed, when he endowed human nature with its sensibilities, impulses, and passions, how many would greatly pervert them and their own consequent destiny, forever; but just as it was benevolence in him to add the elements of fire and water to the composition of the world, although he well knew how many would be from first to last the victims of both, so, in bestowing upon each human being the full powers of free, moral agency with the complete though unwelcome foresight of the general and wide-spread abuse of them by the race hitherto, he was only and greatly kind in all his moral intentions towards us and for us. Everything in the earth and of it is so constructed, and in such a harmony of relations and uses to man, that, if each one conforms to the laws appointed alike for all, the world will seem to him to be everywhere full of brightness, and beauty, and of every good and joy. These laws are few, simple, and necessary, and are always carefully kept by God himself in his relations to men. If only each man also will obey them in his sphere of personal activity, his life will be outwardly a continual poem of praise to God, and inwardly to his own consciousness a perpetual summer stream of gladness. God will abide in such a heart as a self-invited and so a doubly welcomed guest, and he will make his presence here, as above, an unending illumination to the happy soul that will seem to itself to be ever basking in it, and render our brief life, like the illimitable one beyond, a constant festival of bliss.

As a true sense of the origin and conditions of all personal excellence is expressed in the words of the apostle: "By the grace of God I am what I am," so a true comprehension of the source and security of all natural and social advantages points the mind directly and delightfully to him, as "the author of every good and perfect gift."

Many conceive, without careful deliberation, that the providential evils visited upon those who break the laws of health,

or virtue, or success, pertaining to this world and our brief life in it, constitute in themselves a portion at least of the formal penalty of God's broken law. They are, on the contrary, but the sanctions of laws necessary for the regulation of our mortal life here, and are educational in their influence and design, and not penal. God's moral law will receive its formal and unending vindication in the life beyond. The only system of moral retribution upon earth is that which the mind visits upon itself, in the felt pain of conscious guilt as an inward subjective confirmation of the law of right, in correspondence beforehand with that which is to be made in a full awe-inspiring form hereafter by the Divine Mind.

In every form of moral conflict or of moral endurance, we need, for the invigoration of our virtue, to know that God is ever near, and ready to help us. The sense of our governmentally and personally restored connection with him by grace is the vital bond of all real religiousness of spirit. The conception of a God that, however great in himself, is yet not present at all times in the world, with conscious energy of desire and purpose concerning everything earthly, is too destitute of all elements of quickening influence to project itself with any impressiveness, even as the shadow of a great truth, upon the human heart. Without the foil of an earnest faith in the actual, complete, and loving providence of God, it is impossible to escape the seductions of sceptical philosophy. With the charmed words repeated ever with trustful affection to his ear: "Thou God seest me!" seest me to know my need of thee, my desire for thee, and my humble but calm and happy confidence in thee! we can enter if we must the darkest places of temptation with holy boldness, and go unscathed through the fires of any earthly trial in which fools who say in their hearts "No God," must fall and perish in the heat. With the strong thought and the happy feeling, thou God, my God, art with me and for me, as I am humbly for thee and with thee, only with infinitely purer and stronger love, what cannot the human mind do, what not bear? How often is it well said that "man's extremity is

God's opportunity?" He makes extremities for us on purpose to lead us to look to him for the escape or the supply that we need. No less true is that other maxim so often repeated: "He who will watch providences will have providences to watch."

(3) God leads those continually who co-operate with him in their own improvement, away "from the power of Satan unto God," by successive steps of advancement towards the fulness of perfect manhood in Christ at last in heaven.

This is the salvation spoken of in the gospel, towards which the whole power of his providence, as the outward machinery of his great system of redemption, converges, in its designed and practical action in reference to each one of the race. As his providence has throughout an educating aim and force, 'if we are without chastisement, then are we (treated as) bastards and not sons.' The problem of his providence is evermore how to lead in each individual case a selfish, sinful heart to the fullest possession and manifestation possible of each and every moral virtue, and how to lead society in the aggregate to the most exalted style of moral culture and of social excellence. The steps by which he leads each one to the desired consummation are often quite diverse from the line of their previous conceptions and desires, and at times directly opposed to them. As the ends of his providence are always spiritual, they qualify and determine the style and amount of his material gifts. While 'not afflicting us willingly,' he does yet "chastise us," when we go astray, "for our profit." But while we should when suffering trials be critical in judging ourselves, so as to reap the profit intended by them, we should be equally careful to be gentle and liberal in interpreting the faults and afflictions of others. Judgments, both personal and national, furrow out the needful channels for the outflow and overflow of God's selectest mercies to the world. "It is God's manner," says Edwards, truly, "when he hath very great mercies to bestow on a visible people, first to fit them for such mercies, and then to confer them." Who does not thank God on the

review of his life for all his disappointments, difficulties, and trials? Who would dare to withdraw one of them from the moral agencies and influences employed in the divine culture of his character hitherto?

3. Right views of God's providence encourage the highest and best style of human effort.

(1) They diffuse through the soul sweet satisfaction with that providence, and with the work of life. Rest of soul in God is one of the strongest of all foundations on which any man can stand to do the duties and meet the endurances of each one of his brief days of mortality. The sense of right, of duty, and of felt dependence upon God — each of which is among the higher senses of our immortal natures — will be all met in one, and combined in full, strong union, in the heart of him who is rightly affected, both actively and passively, towards God's providence.

(2) They strengthen the heart with the sense of the constant presence and help of God. How have some sceptical critics put contempt, by their mechanical philosophy concerning the facts of universal experience and the action of social laws and forces, upon the scriptural representations of divine agency in human affairs! It is especially against the idea of God's perpetual, complete, providential administration of human affairs that infidelity lifts up its crest of opposition. But the Bible teaches us, as does the testimony of good men, that we may draw at our own will the deep and mighty tide of God's providences, which is ever heaving for or against the children of men according to their characters, into all the water-courses of our earthly and immortal welfare. Whole-heartedness in one's spirit of consecration to him, of trust in him, and of service towards him is essential to any high sense of the outward or inward riches of his kingdom. With one of such divine temper he co-operates when desired in all right efforts, and richly rewards the sympathetic leaning of his heart upon him with the joy of his manifested presence. He delights to bestow personal favors, and is infinitely responsive to every appeal to his

personal friendship. But more than this, he invites our co-operation with himself, and demands it, and waits for it; and he conditions upon it results of the greatest importance to his own plans for the world's good. The whole problem of the continued existence and growth of his church is seemingly made to rest by him on the rendition of full measures of earnest, skilful, human effort in right relations and degrees.

4. Right views of God's providence are consolatory in all experiences of trial and sorrow. How is the human will, when illuminated and electrified by a just sense of God's providence, quickened to assert its divinely endowed sovereignty over the waywardness of caprice, the rage of passion, the power of pride, the fires of lust, and all the depressing and degrading influences of care and doubt, anxiety and fear! While we cannot directly excite our feelings by an act of volition, we can always in such a way, especially when fortified by added aid from above, subdue them.

Next to the deadening effect upon every grace and virtue of the heart, of habitually materialistic ideas and of selfish aims and hopes in life, there is no one hinderance to the right sense and right use of the great facts of God's providence like the so general and inordinate fear of death, which is in the hearts of any of God's children but a wickedly, or at least weakly, perverted form of the strong and needful instinct of self-preservation. How many are kept by it, all their life-time, subject to bondage! But death is among the Christian's greatest treasures, and holds a prominent place in the divine inventory of them; as is declared in 1 Cor. iii. 22: "All things are yours, whether life or death, things present or things to come: all are yours," etc. "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." Death is the porter of heaven's gate—a friend, a servitor to the righteous, and his usher into the presence of the King of kings. Nor is that special fear of sudden death from which so many suffer, either godly or manly in its origin or influence. How greatly preferable is a sudden, easy exit

from earth to the skies, to one thitherward through much tribulation of the flesh !

So, too, the strong tendencies to subjective habits of theological thinking and of continual religious self-measurement, which Edwards did so much by his great intellect and his style of high and holy living to establish in the American mind, are quite unfavorable, in some of their relations, to a simple, practical appreciation and appropriation to one's own heart and life of the facts of God's providence. There is happily now a strong manifest reaction, in the religious community generally, towards objective searches after truth, duty, and happiness. Grand, indeed, will be the result of every such search to each individual mind that sets wholly and delightedly before itself, as the object of every thought, feeling, action, and aspiration, the almighty, all-wise, and all-loving God of heaven and earth.

The rule for obtaining guidance or grace or good in any form from God, at any and all times, as his adopted child, and fondly favored by him, is this : " Acknowledge him in all thy ways, and he will direct thy steps." We must fully and forever " commit the keeping of our souls to him in well-doing." If in everything we " make known our requests by prayer and supplication, the peace of God that passeth all understanding shall rule our hearts in Christ Jesus." Thus, if we lack wisdom, and ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, it shall be given to us, provided we ask in faith, without wavering. How simple and sufficient, therefore, are the means afforded us of appropriating to ourselves the benefits of God's providence in all its fulness of bounty and beauty ! Our smallest interests and affairs we should carry with filial freedom into his presence. The very act will enrich our hearts with holy gladness ; and he will fill our hands with blessings beyond his promises. Abandon of heart to him, eagerness of devotion to his will, and serene, prayerful trustfulness in him are the conditions of the highest moral greatness and moral happiness. We must not cling at heart to any form or

degree of wickedness; "for, if I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me." "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," in this world, as truly in this world as in the next; they shall see him, feel him, possess him, everywhere, here and forever.

II. The specific results or forms of benefit realized from right views of God's providence and right action in accordance with them.

1. They promote true, continual, earnest faith in God.

Our faith is our glory. It is the highest exercise possible of reason, imagination, desire, will, and hope combined, towards the highest of all objects of thought, feeling, and action. Assent to mathematical evidence, in which so many glory as an exalted act of the intellect, far higher, as they vauntingly pretend, because resting on "positive science," than assent to "moral or probable evidence," — which yet demands for its full, hearty reception the united action of all our higher faculties in one: the heart as well as the understanding, and wide, comprehensive, well-balanced, harmonious, mental and moral processes of mind in combination — is yet in itself a mere mental necessity, as in matters of intuition themselves. But faith is not compulsory in any mind, even at the hands of its great Maker; but is only and always voluntary. It possesses in its higher forms not only the elements of moral rectitude, but also those of moral magnanimity. But where does faith find its full, appropriate field of exercise, but in the sphere of God's all-abounding providence of mingled justice and mercy.

If God is not thought of in his absolute, complex personality, as he really is, but is only dimly shadowed to the mind as a mere mighty Principle or Force, however widely diffused or blindly potential in the universe, he is entirely misapprehended. The idea of his personality is the basis of all other just conceptions of him. Hence came, in the earlier forms of his ever-expanding revelation of his character and kingdom to mankind, the carefully reiterated announcement of himself: "I am, that I am," or the ever-

living God, in opposition to all the dead, unreal gods of heathendom. Next came the disclosure of himself as the Creator of all things, and mighty beyond human thought; and then of his glorious governance of the world and of all its affairs; and so of point after point, in ever glowing and growing succession, to the fulness of the revelation made in Christ of his tender, fatherly feelings and of his wondrous plans of love in behalf of the whole human race.

Any justifiable existence of pantheism was thus effectually foreclosed at the outset, in the very form of the revelation made of himself by God. But is theoretic orthodoxy with regard to God's existence and agency of any higher moral value than pantheism, when mixed, and deadened by the mixture, with practical atheism, or the disposition to see God nowhere, instead of allowing or alleging, with the pantheist, that he is very indistinctly and unimpressively everywhere visible — not as “the All *in* all” of power, riches, goodness, grace, and glory, but as the dumb, impassible, and infinitely inefficient All *of* all!

How much is there within the very church of God itself of ill-concealed unbelief in the actuality, scope, and force of God's providence! Good men believe, to a strange degree, often, in the desirableness and necessity of management and address and policy, and very little sometimes in the value of simple and earnest straightforwardness, and in the steady sequences of cause and effect, as appointed of God. The doors of divine providence do not, indeed, open to any man at a mere talismanic touch. We must ourselves often try to open them, and push, if need be, and push hard, and pray and watch and work and strive, and then look to God for all the good that we hope to obtain, and thank him for it when procured as his gift.

How often is the alleged remark of Napoleon quoted with a telling smile of approval by even Christ's own supposed people, “that he had always observed that God was on the side of the strongest battalions.” If that great soldier and civilian alike ever deliberately expressed such a judgment

as a finality, he declared untrue what the Bible asserts in the most explicit terms to be true, that "the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." It is true, indeed, that God has many other laws co-operative with the law of prayer, to which it is itself subsidiary and complementary. They are not in any sense opposed to it, but promotive in all their legitimate tendencies of its exercise and power. God rewards energy, diligence, skill, patience, foresight, watchfulness, and different degrees of constructive and administrative talent as truly as prayerfulness. The forms and issues of life's experiences are much more compound in their elementary origin than those of partial, narrow habits of thinking imagine. Said Napoleon himself of his defeat in Russia, in the calmness of his solitary meditations at St. Helena: "I defeated armies; but I could not conquer the flames and the frost, stupefaction and death"; and so said he of Waterloo: "I ought to have gained the victory. Never have any of my battles presented less doubt to my mind; nor can I now account for what happened. Such is the power of fatality. I saw three times in the course of three days the destiny of France and of Europe escape from my hands."

What right-minded observer of the courses and issues of his own history will not say: "Thy gentleness hath made me great," great in all the privileges and possibilities of the present hour, and great in the prospect and promise of future good, if true now to God and ourselves. What power of thought, feeling, and purpose has he who realizes at all times deeply the fact of God's providence! One who is thus in a state habitually of conscious nearness to God possesses positive convictions about his own highest duties and interests, and the most quickening conceptions of the spiritual facts, relations, and results of life. His sense of God's personal reality, authority, presence, power, and affection fills, as with a flood-tide of holy feeling, every avenue and recess of his inmost being. Without a complete, trustful, all-influential sense of the universality, minuteness, and spirituality of

God's providence, it is impossible that there should be any just responsiveness to the facts of one's own intellectual and moral structure, or to those of his divinely-fashioned circumstances. In proportion as such a legitimate accordance in one's inward state and outward activity with his all-ordering providence is wanting, is his mental vision untrue and his moral action unworthy and self-destructive.

From Christ's own lips we have a clear, definite statement of the greatest faith that he found on earth; so that 'he marvelled at it, and said, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel' (Matt. viii. 10); and what was it but this — that, just as the centurion's soldiers obeyed him promptly, coming or going, acting or waiting, according to his orders, so he thought that diseases would stay or depart at Christ's bidding. Him he regarded manifestly as the Master of all life's occasions, and of the elements and forces of nature. This conviction was accompanied, on the one hand, with a most humbling view of his own moral character, as expressed in the words: "I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof"; and with a full, practical persuasion, on the other, of Christ's abounding humanity and readiness to bless him. To the possession of such true, all-inspiring, and all-conquering faith, it is necessary that we renounce self-seeking in every form and degree, and with it, by implication, all narrow, sensual, and sensuous aims and wishes. Our faith must make God, in actual fact, the Alpha and Omega of every desire and effort, as the first stepping-stone to all its heights of power and privilege. "*Delight* thyself in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart."

God's greatest glory to each individual moral being is that of an infinite, personal friend. The true and proper faith in him here described is that practical, active, delightful sense of his personal readiness and desire to gladden every human heart with his goodness, which is denoted at various times in the scriptures as "walking with God," being "the friend of God," "abiding with God"; and of which Enoch, Elijah, Samuel, David, Isaiah, and Daniel,

were various notable types, according to their differing circumstances and various mental constitutions, under the old covenant dispensation ; and Peter, Paul, and John, under the new. Pleasant would it be to sketch with some fulness of presentation some of the illustrious examples witnessed in more modern times of the power and beauty of habitually simple, hearty, childlike faith in God, in such as Madame Guyon, President Edwards, and Sarah Pierrepont, his wife, so remarkable for her perpetual joy in God ; of whose exalted style of spiritual experience it is a pity that some adequate pen has not found material enough to have made it known long ere this to the world. In the Christian type of religious experience, as appointed of God, no place is left for fear or discouragement or forebodings about anything. Duty is life's watchword — simple duty ! while Hope bears on the standard of conquest over all foes within and without — Hope ever radiant with the smile of God streaming down upon her face, as a sunbeam from above, and with eyes upraised, full herself of soaring confidence in her God. The standard that she bears has on it, “ the Lion of the tribe of Judah.” “ In this conquer ” are the magic words with which she announces its approach. That standard is victory. Angel wings are gathered like a cloud of doves about it. Victory in God and for God is the hero's wish and the martyr's consolation ; and shouts of joy for “ the goodness of God unto the children of men,” “ hosannah in the highest ! ” are the notes of triumph that swell up perpetually from the hearts and the voices of those that rightly bear the banners of the Lord on earth or in heaven.

God often makes appeal to our faith in his providence, in respect alike to individual and national interests, on purpose to deepen in our hearts the conviction that he is not only the true supply of all our wants, but also that he is at heart infinitely ready to supply them — “ a present help in every time of need.”

Faith has thus great power with God, not only in respect to the forms and results of our outward activity and devel-

opment, or the inward culture of each and every grace and virtue; but especially also to the regulation and subdual of false or morbid tendencies of mind—a phase of personal and often carefully concealed consciousness quite common among those of a high nervous organization. There is no preventive of insanity, in connection with proper sanitary agencies and influences, like religion, especially in the one all-absorbing form of complete trustfulness in Christ. The thorough committal of one's self to him—as the reigning Head of nature, providence, and destiny, and of everything in heaven and on earth, over all and for all—and unwavering confidence in his unceasing watchfulness and love, will brace the soul to any endurance, and nerve it to any effort which may be necessary to a true life, in either one's interior experience, or in the external demonstrations that he makes of his desires and purposes.

2. Just and adequate views of God's providence promote habitual prayerfulness, or open, full, continual companionship with God. Prayer is the language of want and aspiration, of confession, affection, thanksgiving, and devotion, and in its higher forms expresses, in one full, mingled tide of holy, happy feeling, the desire to know more of God, to be more like him, and to do more for him. Right views of God are a perpetual incitement to prayerfulness. To those that are animated and swayed by them prayer has an object, a meaning, and a profit, as well as a pleasure, unknown to others. God seems continually near and dear to them, with his heart full of kindness and his hands full of precious gifts of love. The reactionary benefits of prayer they regard as valuable as can any others, who from false views deem these to be its only real profit; while, to their gladdened apprehension of him, it is one of God's highest characteristics that he actually and abundantly answers human prayer. The two styles of theological thinking and of personal religiousness determined by these two widely different theories of prayer are very separate one from the other.

The Bible analysis of the causes of moral barrenness of life may be seen, in a form as terse as it is simple, by arranging a few scattered passages of the living word together, in their mutual correlations. "Ye have not," it declares, "because ye ask not; ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts." "If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him; but let him ask in faith, nothing wavering, for he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea, driven of the wind and tossed; let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord." "According to your faith be it done unto you." Place side by side with this a similar scriptural analysis of the elements of earthly prosperity: "Trust in the Lord and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed"; "having food and raiment let us be therewith content"; "godliness with contentment is great gain." So also it is declared of food and clothing: "Your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things; seek first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you." God is, therefore, not only theoretically, but practically, the source of every good; and earnest, believing prayer to him will certainly draw his ear and his heart towards the real wants of any of his earthly children.

In order that prayer should carry with it its true outward rewards or inward pleasures in any high and permanent degree, it must possess several specific elements in combination. They are such as these: minuteness of detail, where power in prayer exerts itself, as in character, art, scholarship, genius, administrative talent, and executive ability; comprehensiveness of interest, so as to harmonize not only in inward essence with the feelings and wishes of the munificent Hearer of prayer, but also in outward breadth with his plans and works in promotion of them; filial familiarity of feeling, so as to suggest and demand the free and full outpouring of the heart into his ear; earnestness of desire and aim, without which nothing great or worthy can be secured in any direc-

tion ; cheerful, inspiring confidence in God's personal affection, and so, in the profit of praying, since he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of those that diligently seek him ; and a spirit of untiring diligence and of labor in prayer. They whose prayers possess in them increasingly such true, effective elements of positive influence with God, will find prayerfulness to be the direct means, not only of cultivating and adorning their own characters, but also of securing perpetual good to others, for whom they shall thus supplicate God.

The very object of conditioning all the spiritual benefits of life, as well as many other specific benefactions from God, on the offering up of prayer, is, that the real source may be perpetually brought into view of every good and perfect gift ; so that when bestowed it shall be both received and used as a fresh link of love between the heart and God. He would fain hold us bound for our own sakes, and so for his, with ever new strength of affection to himself, and therefore uses all the material appliances that can in any way move and touch our hearts in order thereby to draw us upwards into the pure sphere of his ever-consciously manifested presence to the soul. Therefore is it that " he will be inquired of to do these things unto them."

The prayer of faith, while having no dictation in it, is yet full of sure expectation founded on a thorough and perchance all-mastering conviction of the truth of the divine declaration, that " every one who asketh receiveth,"—if not exactly what he asks, yet its full equivalent, and even more at some point in his character or condition where there was greater need of divine succor. Paul prayed thrice that the thorn might be removed from his flesh, and had an answer better in his view than the one which he sought ; so that afterwards he " gloried in his infirmities, that the power of Christ might rest upon him." All our baffled hopes of earthly bliss, and all our yearnings after good yet unattained, point us unvaryingly to God as the one all-sufficient end and crown of every noble thought and impulse, who never disappoints human

confidence, or denies expectations that he himself has awakened in the heart, or turns any one who seeks him empty away.

The prayer of faith is as greatly efficacious now as it ever was, except in its one extraordinary use, as a miraculous attest of a divine commission to speak for God to men. The invariableness of God's responsiveness of feeling to men in all times and places is strangely forgotten even by the good. Wondrous strength of courage and of consolation is derivable from this high fact, especially as magnified by the farther one, so seldom realized, that, as God is progressively unfolding himself in his greatness and goodness to the world in ever larger measures of manifestation, he is all the more ready to bless mankind now than ever before in every possible form of merciful approach to them. The prayer of faith not only uplifts the soul itself in the very exercise of so sublime an act, and exalts one's own consciousness in the felt presence of God within, according to his promise, but it is its predominant excellence that it is the determinate way in which to obtain the actual blessing itself desired.

Thus, restoration to health is to be believingly sought by prayer, as in all other needful ways; not indeed with any spirit of clamorous positiveness, or of unsubmissive assurance of feeling, but persistently, trustfully, hopefully, all for God's glory and the good of men. If the special benefit desired is not obtained, it will be because God can and does confer a better one. If it is bestowed, it comes perchance in a form just indirect enough and sufficiently "without observation," to demand and reward watchful, grateful recognition. He will direct us, it may be, to the use of the right means, or give inward efficacy to the means actually employed, while the very state of mind that earnest, believing prayer generates — peaceful, hopeful, exalted — is one of the highest results of his inworking grace, and actually contains in itself the greatest possible hygienic influence for good, both to make one well when sick, and to confirm good health if already enjoyed.

So, also, if any true, devoted friend of God on earth should, at any time, while exercising needful diligence and skill, become destitute of daily bread or necessary clothing, he could serenely rest, in the interval between effort and attainment, however trying in any case for a brief period to the flesh, in "the full assurance" that he who feeds the ravens would not forget him, and that he who gives its vesture to the lily would much more clothe him and his suffering household.

The intercessory prayer of faith for the sick has likewise power with God. It is one of the highest remedial agencies that can be employed in his universal providence by one man upon another. But since results very simple in their seeming often come from many sources in combination, and in greatly complicated ways, the deficiency of some needful element in the composition of forces requisite, or the undue action of some one element in the united whole, may prevent the accomplishment of the end desired, even though earnest, believing prayer be one of the agencies faithfully employed to obtain it.

It must never also be forgotten that death, with its preliminary processes of disease and distress, is the necessary means of access for each believer to his Father's house on high; and that, however sad we may be at the departure of a dear friend from earth, his arrival in the streets of the New Jerusalem above is hailed with shouts of welcome there. What special services, of sudden occurrence at times, the great Manager of all things may desire one and another of his trained host of loving ones in his church below to render in other worlds, who can dare conjecture?

The classes of objects in the pursuit of which his blessing may be sought with special confidence are such as these: the direct promotion of his kingdom on earth; the advancement of the higher interests and benefits of family life, since, as he himself instituted the family as the germinant form of all social existence and welfare, he has always made it his favorite medium for conferring benefits on mankind at large; the vigorous religious education of the young for him; the

conversion of particular individuals, especially under covenant relations; the enlargement of one's own sphere of usefulness in life, and the greater possession of the necessary means for its procurement. For these and similar objects already dear to his heart, we should pray perseveringly and with "the full assurance" of success, both from true views of his character, and also from specific promises of his co-operative aid in our efforts to procure them.

3. Right practical views of God's providence are greatly promotive of true self-culture and of rich religious experience. Those facts which men call experience and which they coin into golden proverbs, are the direct teachings of God's providence. And how positive is his mode of enforcing the great moral lessons of life, so transitory in itself, and yet made so grand by its connections with the life beyond. How uniform and inexorable are the decisions which he renders upon all questions of inexperience and carelessness, and even innocent ignorance, in our modes of contact, whether deliberate or hasty, with the elements of nature or the conditions of social progress or the demands of his ever dear and ever advancing kingdom of grace, including in itself all other interests in heaven and on earth.

The centralization of the legitimate tendencies of all facts, events, agencies, and influences, upon earth, in man, in his moral education, elevation, and enjoyment, is the most noticeable fact in the divine order of things. As our moral nature is the highest part of our constitution as beings, so the moral adaptation of all surrounding objects to it is the highest fact of the physical universe. The grand use of God's providence, as of creation and of the total universe, whether viewed as a whole or in respect to any single part of it, is twofold: to draw or to drive each finite spirit home to its God for service and society. This was his supreme design in making the framework of the heavens and the earth; and this is his present design in maintaining and managing all things. All our wants are, rightly interpreted, but wants of him, or of his gifts only as they are fitted to

unite the heart the more closely to him, and to fill it with the sense of his indwelling life and love. Defeats of purpose, plan, or hope, never occur in any Godward direction, but only in the pursuit of earthly objects, and are all designed as direct and powerful modes, in their proper influence, of leading their wearied victim directly to God himself for all good.

The immediate effects of his providential treatment vary in different individuals according to their own diversified habits of moral feeling and action. While of one general educational tendency in themselves towards all, they are yet with strange exactness of adaptation modified to the special necessities of each one of the race. All have a cross to bear, all find a crook in their lot, all discover that though "the heart of man deviseth his way, yet the Lord directeth his steps."

His special mode of managing his providence in reference to those who love him, brings with it special benefits to them. The covenant of grace in Christ that he has made with them overarches them perpetually with its rainbow brightness. These are its magnanimous terms: "I will be a God to thee, and to thy seed after thee." The wicked stand, though so unconsciously now, yet with the certainty of a horrified sense of the bitter reality hereafter, "without," "in the outer darkness" of uncovenanted mercy, only to be overtaken ere long by a doom, the height and depth and length of whose darkness no finite imagination can measure.

The fact and degree of the personal benefits which he bestows on each of his spiritual children, are denoted in such simple, sweet, and satisfying declarations of scripture as these: "The Lord knoweth those that are his"; "He will not suffer them to be tempted above that which they are able to bear"; "There is no want to those that fear the Lord"; "Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come"; "If any man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him; and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." The

indirect helps of his providence to the cultivation of a noble character, are altogether beyond the reach of our appreciation ; while the ready responsiveness of the good man's heart to their influence, and his purposed improvement of them to his own highest welfare, will furnish results, for containing the aggregate of which eternity itself will not afford too wide scope. Since we were made on purpose to possess God, to reflect his image unto others, and to abound, like him, in acts of useful service unto all men as we have opportunity ; and since his providences are carefully framed throughout to work in the direction of these ends, we may be sure, whenever we are moving earnestly of our own accord towards them, of obtaining his guidance and favor, in proportion as we ourselves are zealous in our own behalf. And yet the total sum of good realized in any one's life, from a hearty improvement of the higher benefits of God's providence, will be greatly incomplete here on earth, and both suggest and demand the better state hereafter as the needful complement of its many deficiencies.

Checks and counter-checks occur everywhere in each individual history to irregular growth in any direction, variant from a complete, harmonious type of character, and the blending of all its elements into one beautiful, symmetrical whole. So in nature, the various orders of vegetable and animal life are set in their places as they are, not only to fulfil each their own destiny, but also to react against all undue departures, on the part of any one of them, from their proper sphere of activity or increase.

Every human character has its noticeable points of individual defect and decay, as every fleshly organism has always its peculiar places of weakness, where dissolution most easily begins, or works with the greatest force. The older we grow the more instinctively, if we grow aright, do we account for differences of character among men, as of their personal development, by the influence of constitutional causes. As the physical skeleton of a nation's peculiar type of manifestation is to be found in the geological

structure of the soil, which it inhabits, so lies the mould of each distinct human personality, upon earth, in the aggregate of its separate external furnishings for its inward growth and outward activity. Endless variety has been ordained in the conditions and relations of human development — as in the framework of the outer world, so strangely adapted to man, both as he is and as his Maker would have him to be. Man, the genus, is not presented to view in his true ideal in any single specimen of the race, or in any one time, place, or form of social manifestation. The conceptional model of his powers and position as a being must be formed out of the aggregation of the capabilities, attainments, and excellences of any and all individuals of the race who have shown force, wit, or worth in any direction.

How much higher in beauty, even to an ordinary beholder, is that steadfast, serene, joyous style of personal character which has been acquired by a long life of effort to be good and to do good, with the diligent improvement of every trial to its highest use, and the habit at all times of prayerful trust in God, than any gladness of spirit or manner that comes from mere exuberance of physical health or vivacity of natural temperament.

4. Right views of God's providence will greatly promote habitual ardor of moral feeling and purpose. ..

Earnestness is an unfailing mark of all natures with high aspirations and of every human spirit that possesses much inward light from above. It indicates not only superior thoughtfulness, but more also than ordinary impressibility by the facts of nature and of life. One of such a mould has a vision of the wonders of the real universe, that other minds in their unreflecting and unobserving torpidity of feeling behold not. But the highest and most abiding earnestness of feeling is moral in its elements, — flowing ever, as from deep water-springs, from a just appreciation of the divine nature, sovereignty, and goodness; of the grandeur of man as an immortal being; of the glory of life under God and for him; and of the coming splendors

of that unending future whose inexhaustible riches of joy and wonder no human computation can fathom. He who feels within him the stir of a strong spiritual life, invigorated continually by fresh experiences of God's presence and grace, will find in the atmosphere of his own thoughts perpetual stimulation to high, sustained moral aims and efforts. With his sense of God as he is, all-glorious in himself, and as the Ruler of his own conscience and destiny, he will not need, like the victim of worldly ideas and habits, to feel the spur of some outward necessity in order to arouse himself to a course of vigorous endeavor. He will dash by any glittering chances of personal promotion or applause, towards the great moral ends of his being, as would a true soldier in the hour of battle, by any mere tinsel cast upon his pathway.

5. Just conceptions of God's providence promote thorough industriousness of life. Nothing can be more manifest than that God's providence is adjusted to the idea of every man's acting as well as thinking, and working as well as praying. "Faith without works is dead"; "it works by love," while at the same time "it purifies the heart." "The good ground" of a true heart "brings forth fruit." The fruit-bearing qualities of our lives are their highest, and, in fact, their only, recommendation to God. 'Herein is our heavenly Father glorified, that we bear much fruit.'

God's providence is evangelistic in its spirit, aims, and issues, as truly as the system of grace of which it is itself but the outward machinery. Under just views of it, deism, fatalism, universalism, and all moral indifferentism speedily wither up and die in the heart. How does he everywhere here show himself to be a God of law! And how is each law — whatever its place or strength may be in the web of intertwined agencies and influences by which all things are bound together — maintained in its appointed scope and functions, with the same unvarying truthfulness of feeling on his part, and with equal firmness of will! The greatest things often depend upon the smallest; and the most un-

observed conditions of vitality, efficiency, and productiveness often control the ultimate results of the largest plans and means of action.

The careful observer of the divine ordinances of human life will see in every direction that labor is the means of attainment; that the more valuable anything is in itself or its relations, the harder is it of procurement, on the one hand, and the more easy, on the other, to be lost or injured; that our characters and fortunes are put into our own keeping; and that, however different and definite may be the ways of obtaining the various treasures offered to our grasp, there is in each and all of them the same manifest arrangement—to demand the higher exercises of our intellects and hearts in full combination. Aspiration for any new form of real good, the labor needful for its acquisition, and the very functions of its use when obtained, are each designed by their demands, in separate or combined forms, of toil, skill, self-government, economy, forethought, faith, patience, perseverance, and self-denial, to exert a strong, disciplinary influence upon our characters. Even our worldly business, as such, however mechanical in its forms or urgent in its claims, is intended by God to be, like his own law itself, “our schoolmaster to lead us to Christ.” The educational influences of nature and of human experience, as each a glorious system of divinely appointed facts for our benefit, are inappreciable by us, like the melodies of an untouched musical instrument, until we ourselves awake to adequate reflection upon them.

Since the scope of God's providence is continually expanding, in itself and in its range of applications, by the progress of the race, each man's life becomes potentially of more and more value, from one generation to another, by its larger relations and resources for action, but numerically of increasingly less value—as is manifested in the ever-diminishing narrowness and brevity of human fame. Not for praise, but for duty, not for ostentation, but for usefulness, is each man bidden of God and his own conscience to live.

Utility is everywhere alike the story and the moral of divine providence. "Moth and rust corrupt" soon whatever is unused, and there is no longer any blessing in it. All human experience is full, both without and within, of monitions against habits of hoarding, or of selfish appropriation, or of thoughtless indifference to the moral privileges and resources of our mortal life.

6. Right practical views of God's providence promote joyousness.

Men of worldly tastes and experiences speak with wanton carelessness, and even at times positiveness of feeling, of the religion of Christ as "the religion of sorrow." It is, indeed, in its requirements from first to last, the religion of self-renouncement; but what joy is there like that of renouncing all self-worship and self-dependence, for the entertainment of God, otherwise absent from the soul, as its chosen and permanent guest. It is true, also, that every one has so much remaining sinfulness that he never long ceases to need the purifying power of trials, and the reactionary benefits of resistance to their depressing and destroying energy, in order to be made "perfect (or complete) through suffering," like "the Captain of our salvation," for the reception of any special trusts of service at his hands. But the outward experiences of a Christian upon earth are not to be thought of as any part of the substance of his religious life as such. That inward life in the soul is in itself a succession of noble aims and attainments, and of holy ideas, feelings, affections, and graces—an ever-living, ever-spreading, efflorescent growth in the heart of divine desires, purposes, and efforts, continually full of fresh balm and bloom.

The sorrows of any spirit upon earth are most of them self-caused. So far as they are permitted by God to be brought upon us by the malice or folly of others, it is not because of any satisfaction in his heart with them, but only because, for universal reasons, he sees that it is not best to interfere in the case with the full outworking of the free-

agency of his creatures. So far as they come directly from his hand upon any one, it is but as a part of his own effective treatment of him for his highest moral education. In heaven there is unceasingly redundant joy. Often, indeed, here on earth, we find that 'when we would do good, evil is present with us.' From the action of this "law in our members" drops of bitterness may often be distilled into our cup of earthly happiness; but "the kingdom of God," here and in heaven, "is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." In any distance of heart from God, the infinite source of every treasure and pleasure, there well may be proportionate sadness, but not in the spirit of free and full approach to him who is full of beauty and bounty and gladness forever.

Most of the felt evils of life are, to those of right aims and efforts, but imaginary. The so common bondage of men to doubts, anxieties, and fears is, in reference to those that love God, self-imposed, however unconsciously to themselves. He has so framed the constitution of man and of nature that our lives, if rightly ordered by ourselves, shall move on to their very end through a constant round of divine delights. While there is a sufficient mingling of trial in every one's lot to produce in one of perverted ideas melancholy, or, in one of truer habits of thought, sobriety of mind; a heart that is ruled of its own choice by God will be ever predominantly conscious of its blest relationship to him.

Is there any grace so quickening in itself to every element of pleasure in the soul, and of such high developing power upon every other noble aspiration and impulse of the heart as gratitude to God? What a zest does it add to life! what moral poetry to its commonest experiences of good — to feel habitually that every blessing, of whatever kind, is a gift fresh from his heart and hand — to find in every earthly enjoyment, besides its own conscious sweetness, the added flavor of the association with it, that it is a token of the unceasing interest of our heavenly Father in our personal welfare.

So also in the realization of his constant watchfulness over us and near living presence at all times, what a serene, satisfying sense of protection will the soul enjoy! Habitual, elevated self-possession, great peacefulness of spirit, sweet contentment in one's earthly lot, calm hopefulness in it, the glad sense of our complete relationship in being, act, and destiny to God and his cause, and the inspiring expectation of unbounded good forever at his right hand on high — these are some of the legitimate results of the proper reception into the heart and life of the facts of God's providence.

Have, then, the processions of living beings — each made in God's image for a life like his own and with himself — come and gone in such long and startling succession just that they might jostle for a few short days furiously one against the other, in their mad strife for worldly gain? Or is not, rather, earth's history altogether incomplete as yet — foretokening in its very unfinished condition hitherto a future of the most grand proportions, and of the most glorious harvests of all good things? “The Lord reigneth: let the earth rejoice!”

ARTICLE VI.

REVELATION AND INSPIRATION.

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NO. IV.

INTEGRITY OF THE GOSPEL NARRATIVES.

THE genuineness of the Gospel narratives being admitted, the further question of their integrity, that is, of their uncorrupt preservation, at once arises. If it be granted that the histories of our Lord's life current under the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, are rightly ascribed to those men as their authors, how do we know that they have come down to us without corruption or mutilation?

What is meant by the Integrity of the Gospel Narratives?

It is necessary to define, first of all, what is meant in the present inquiry by the uncorrupt preservation of the Gospel narratives. We have to do, not with the so-called "various readings," but with the question of essential alterations and mutilations. When the *textual critic*, whose business it is to examine and compare manuscripts or editions of a work, and to judge respecting the variations of text found in them, speaks of a given text as "corrupt," he means one thing; but in a question concerning the truthfulness of the Christian system as exhibited in a given text, corruption of the record means something very different. The textual critic understands by a corrupt text one that has been marred by the carelessness or bad judgment of transcribers, whence have arisen so many various readings, though these do not change or essentially obscure the facts and doctrines of Christianity. But in an inquiry whether we have in our four canonical Gospels the account of our Lord's life and teachings as it was originally written by the evangelists, we have to do, not with the question of various readings, such as are incident to all copies, but of *essential variations*; of alterations and mutilations, for example, like those which Marcion and Tatian attempted, by which the facts and doctrines themselves are changed or obscured.

Now the existence of various readings in the manuscripts of the Gospels (as of the other books of the New Testament), and of the printed editions executed from these manuscripts, is a fact patent to all, which cannot be denied, and which there is no necessity for denying. This phenomenon is in harmony with the general analogy of divine providence. God does not rain down from heaven food and raiment, as he could do with infinite ease, but he gives men in the arrangements of nature, the means of procuring food and raiment, and they must work to obtain them. Nor has it pleased God to preserve, in either a miraculous or a providential way, the original languages of scripture as vernacular

to even a single nation. The ancient Hebrew and Greek are dead languages, to be learned, as we learn any other dead language, by years of patient study. When the missionary goes to Syria or India or China, God does not communicate to him in a supernatural way a knowledge of the tongues spoken by those nations. He must learn them by the diligent use of the means at his disposal. It is hardly necessary to add that the translators of the Bible are not preserved by inspiration from all mistakes and misapprehensions. They must find out and correct their errors just as translators in a secular sphere are under the necessity of doing. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," is the stern rule for everything valuable in the spiritual, not less than in the physical, sphere of human life. To this great law the department of sacred criticism is subjected. It is the will of God that we should have a pure text — pure in a critical sense — not without hard labor, but by years of patient toil in the study and collation of the abundant materials which his good providence has preserved for us.

Various readings have arisen in the manuscripts of the New Testament books, as in other manuscripts, from the mistakes of the copyists, and sometimes from the unskilful corrections of these copyists, or of those subsequently employed to compare and correct the copies. These various readings may be conveniently divided, as is done by Tregelles,¹ into *substitutions*, *insertions*, and *omissions*. Were we writing on the subject of textual criticism it would be easy to show in what a natural way most of the various readings belonging to these three classes have arisen, without any intention of wilful falsification on the part of the copyists. At present we content ourselves with a few general remarks.

First, by far the greatest number of various readings had their origin in simple inadvertence. It should be remembered that in the ancient manuscripts the *scriptio continua* prevailed; that is, the text was written continuously, in uncial (capital) letters, without any division between the

¹ In Horne's Introduction, Vol. iv. chapter 6.

words, and, as a general rule, without any accents, breathings, or marks of interpunction. This made it far more difficult for the copyist to follow the manuscript before him, and for the collator to discover the errors in transcription. A particularly fruitful source of omissions was in this mode of writing. When two adjacent words, lines, or sentences had a similar termination, the eye of the copyist often overlooked the word, line, or sentence intervening between them. So, also, through inadvertence the order of words might be altered, synonymous words put one for another, contracted words confounded with each other, etc. Again, when the copyist wrote from dictation, he was liable to confound one vowel, or even word, with another.

Secondly, some various readings are due to unskilful criticism, as when the copyist, or the corrector to whose revision the copy was submitted, substituted a plainer or more grammatical reading for that which he found in the text, sought to bring a passage in one writer into more exact agreement with the corresponding passage in another, supplied supposed deficiencies, etc. Insertions are a frequent mode of variation, the copyist filling out the text of his author from a parallel passage, or inserting marginal notations in the text. Of amplification from a parallel passage we have an undoubted example in Acts ix. 5, where the words: "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks," have been added from Acts xxvi. 14.

Thirdly, the more abundantly an ancient work was multiplied by transcription, the greater the number of various readings thus arising. And as the books of the New Testament, more especially the Gospel narratives, were transcribed far more frequently than any other writings, the number of various readings connected with their text is proportionably great. Yet these make the true reading not less, but more certain, since, by a diligent comparison of these variations, in connection with the age and character of the manuscripts to which they belong, we are enabled to restore, proximately at least, the primitive text.

Finally, for the purposes of textual criticism, all manuscripts are not of equal authority. Other things being equal, the most ancient are entitled to the most weight. The same is true of those readings which are obtained by means of versions. The older the versions, the older the Greek copies from which they were executed. But in estimating the authority of manuscripts there are various other considerations, particularly their characteristic readings, as indicating the class or family of manuscripts to which they belong. Much labor has been expended by textual critics in the attempt to classify the vast mass of manuscripts collected from different and distant regions, and dating from the fourth century and onward, part of them executed in the original Greek, part in ancient versions, others of them bilingual, that is, containing the original and a version of it side by side. To give even the history of the controversies that have arisen respecting the proper classification of these manuscripts, and the authority due to the several classes would require a volume. But this is unnecessary in the present inquiry, which has respect to the question of essential alterations, insertions, or omissions, whereby the facts and teachings of the Gospel narratives are supposed to have been changed or mutilated.

The Essential Integrity of the Gospel Narratives.
General Remarks.

Of the autograph manuscripts proceeding immediately from the authors of the Gospels we find no trace after the apostolic age. We have consequently no absolute standard of comparison. But there is no ground for supposing that, could we recover their text, it would differ in any essential respects from that which we now possess. We do not need the wood of the true cross that we may have redemption through the blood which Christ shed upon it. Neither do we need the identical manuscripts written by the four evangelists, since we have the contents of these manuscripts handed down to us without corruption in anything essential.

When the youthful inquirer first learns the number of

“various readings” which textual criticism has brought to light, amounting to so many thousands, it may seem to him as if the facts and teachings of the evangelic record were brought into a state of utter uncertainty. But let him dismiss all apprehensions on this point. By far the greater number of these variations relate to unimportant particulars; as, for example, whether the conjunction *and* (καί) shall be inserted or omitted; whether *but* (δέ) or *for* (γάρ) is the true reading; whether we are to read *and when thou prayest thou shalt not be* (καὶ ὅταν προσεύχῃ οὐκ ἔσῃ), or *and when ye pray ye shall not be* (καὶ ὅταν προσεύχησθε οὐκ ἔσεσθε); whether this or that order of words, giving substantially the same sense, is to have the preference; which of two words in a given clause exhibits the true reading; whether in Matt. vi. 1, to give a single instance, we are to read, with the received text, *alms* (ἐλεημοσύνην) or according to the more approved text, *righteousness* (δικαιοσύνην); whether a smoother or a rougher expression, a more or less grammatical form, be genuine reading, etc. A few of the variations are of a more important character. But even in respect to such variations we may decide either way without changing or obscuring the great truths of the gospel, since these are not dependent on particular words or phrases, but pervade and vivify the New Testament, as the vital blood does the body.

We propose to show the essential integrity of the evangelic record under the two following divisions: first, the text since the last quarter of the second century; secondly, the earlier text; the whole to be closed with a notice of the more important variations, real or alleged.

The Text since the Last Quarter of the Second Century.

The essential integrity of the evangelic text from the last quarter of the second century and onward admits of proof amounting to demonstration.

First, we have several hundred manuscripts of the Gospels, or parts of them, dating from the fourth century and onwards — the Vatican and Sinai belonging to the fourth, the Alex-

andrine Codex and Codex Ephraemi, with some fragments, to the fifth, the Codex Bezae and several others, to the sixth century, etc. According to any proposed principle of classification, these manuscripts represent different families, and some of them, as the Codex Bezae, contain very remarkable readings. Yet, written as they are in different centuries, and coming from widely different regions, they contain, notwithstanding all their various readings, essentially the same text; if not the same in a critical point of view, yet the same so far as the great facts and doctrines of Christianity are concerned. The argument from this source has been well elaborated by Professor Norton. Speaking of the imagined license which Eichhorn supposes to have been taken by the early transcribers, he says that upon this supposition :

“No generally received text would have existed; none, therefore, could have been preserved and handed down. Instead of that agreement among the copies of each Gospel which now exists, we should have found everywhere manuscripts presenting us with different collections of narratives and sayings, and differing, at the same time in their arrangement of the same facts, and in their general style of expression. At the same time we should have found the want of agreement which must have existed among different manuscripts of any one of the Gospels, extending itself equally to the translations of that Gospel, and to the professed quotations from it in ancient writers.”¹

And he justly calls attention to the fact, that in transcription it is only a single copy (with those subsequently executed from it) that can be corrupted, while the co-existing copies remain in their purity.

“This copy” — that of the falsifier — “would have no influence upon contemporary copies; and in the case of the Gospels we may say upon numerous contemporary copies, in which the true text might be preserved, or into which different alterations might be introduced. It is quite otherwise since the invention of printing. He who now introduces a

¹ Genuineness of the Gospels, Vol. i. Part i. chapter 1.

corruption into the printed edition of a work introduces it into all the copies of that edition; if it be the only edition into all the copies of that work, and, in many cases, into a great majority of the copies which are extant, or which are most accessible. The power of an ancient copyer to alter the text of a work was very different from that of a modern editor; yet it would seem that they must have been confounded in the hypothesis under consideration, unless some further account is to be given of the manner in which the text of our present Gospels has been formed and perpetuated.”¹

The conclusion at which Professor Norton justly arrives is, that “the existing copies of each of the Gospels have been derived from some common exemplar, faithfully followed by transcribers.”

Secondly, the quotations of the church Fathers from the last part of the second century and onward are, as has often been remarked, so copious that almost the entire text of our present Gospels might be reconstructed from them. Had there been in the manuscripts of that age those essential variations assumed by Eichhorn and others, some traces of them ought to have appeared in this vast mass of citations. But, though they exhibit abundant various readings, they agree for substance with each other and with the text of our existing manuscripts, only that the earlier Fathers sometimes quote loosely from memory, blend together different narratives, and interweave with the words of scripture their own explanatory remarks.²

In the first half of the third century flourished the distinguished biblical scholar Origen, who devoted a long life to the elucidation of the holy scriptures, giving especial attention to the state of the text. He uses very strong language in respect to the diversities of the copies current in his day. In discussing, for example, the question how our Lord could have said to the young man who, in answer to his recital of

¹ Genuineness of the Gospels, Vol. i. Part i. chapter 1.

² See in the preceding Article of this series Vol. xxvi. pp. 87, 88.

the commandments, closing, according to Matthew, with the words, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," affirmed, "All these things have I kept from my youth up; what lack I yet?" — how our Lord could have said to one who "with a good conscience professed to have kept the afore-named commandments," "If thou wilt be perfect go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor," etc.,¹ Origen ventures, very uncritically, to suggest that the clause, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," which is not found in the parallel narratives of Mark and Luke, was not spoken by the Saviour, but has been inserted in the text, justifying his surmise on the ground of "the disagreement of the copies concerning many other things." And he goes on to say:

"But now it is plain that much diversity of the copies has arisen, whether from the carelessness of certain scribes, or from the boldness of some in making bad emendations, or also from those who in the work of emendation add or take away what seems good to them."²

This is very strong language. Yet it is manifest from the general tenor of Origen's writings that he has in mind, not essential corruptions and mutilations of the Gospel narratives wilfully made after the manner of Marcion, but only such diversities in the copies as arise from the carelessness of copyists and the rash emendations of those appointed to revise the copies. He speaks as a textual critic, and his words are to be interpreted accordingly.

"Origen did not consider that the text in general had been rendered uncertain; in such of his numerous writings as are still extant in Greek, he quotes and uses a very large portion of the New Testament; and he thus supplies more important evidence than any other early Father as to the readings which were current in his day. It is true that he sometimes cites passages differently, and that he must at different times have used copies which did not read alike; but this does not affect the general testimony of his citations

¹ Matt. xix. 18, 19, compared with Mark x. 19 and Luke. xviii. 20.

² Commentary on Matt. xix. 19.

further than to show that such varieties existed in the copies which this critical writer and reader thought worthy of use."¹

Thirdly, we have some very ancient versions, particularly the Old Latin, and the Syriac called Peshito. The testimony of these witnesses to the genuineness of the evangelic text, from the time when they first appeared to the present day, has already been considered.² As witnesses for the integrity of the Gospel record in all essential respects their evidence is equally weighty, dating, as it does, from a period not later than the last half of the second century.

But do not Jerome and Augustine complain, it may be asked, of the corrupt state of the text in the Old Latin version? Yes, in very strong language. "If," says Jerome, "we are to rely upon the Latin texts, let them tell us which. For there are almost as many texts as codexes."³ Augustine's words, so often quoted and discussed, are as follows: "For they who have rendered the scriptures from the Hebrew language into Greek can be counted; but it is impossible to count the Latin interpreters. For whenever in the early days of the Christian faith a Greek manuscript fell into the hands of any one, and he thought himself to have a little skill in each tongue, he presumed to interpret."⁴ And elsewhere he speaks of "the infinite variety of the Latin interpreters,"⁵ of "the great number of interpreters," and how their renderings help to explain each other, while one says thus, another thus, etc.⁶ It is not necessary to our

¹ Tregelles in Horne, Vol. iv. chapter 5.

² See in the preceding Article, Vol. xxvi. pp. 101-103.

³ Si Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus? Tot enim sunt exemplaria paene quot codices. — Praef. in iv. Evangelia. *Exemplaria*, that is, *models* or *patterns*, mean here different patterns of text, not different independent versions.

⁴ Qui enim scripturas ex Hebraea lingua in Graecam verterunt numerari possunt; Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Graecus, et aliquantulum facultatis utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari. — De Doct. Christ. ii. chap. 11.

⁵ Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas. — De Doct. Christ. ii. chapter 11.

⁶ Plurimum hic quoque juvat interpretum numerositas collatis codicibus. — De Doct. Christ. ii. chapter 12.

present purpose that we inquire whether by these interpreters we are to understand independent translators, or revisers of a former translation. The latter is the more prevalent opinion among those who have made the question a matter of thorough investigation. They assume that there was originally a single Latin version which lay at the foundation of all the various forms to which the ancient Fathers refer, and that these forms, though they might be considered and spoken of as versions, were not made each independently from the original Greek, but were rather different recensions of the same original translation.

But the question with which we are concerned is: Do these Fathers mean to affirm that this great variety of texts is of such a nature as to change, mutilate, or obscure the essential facts and doctrines of the evangelic record? We answer unhesitatingly in the negative. They are not defending Christianity against corruptions and mutilations. They write as textual critics, just as modern critics might discuss the variety in our English versions and revisions from Wiclif to the present authorized version. Even had we no specimens of these Old Latin texts, we might infer from the connection in which Jerome and Augustine write that their words had no reference to essential corruptions. But fortunately quite a number of manuscripts containing the text of the Old Latin in various forms have come down to us. Blanchini has published four texts side by side with readings from others,¹ and still other codices have been edited by Sabbatier, Tischendorf, and other learned men. If one read a few pages of these codices side by side, he will comprehend at once the force and pertinence of the language used by Augustine and Jerome. Variations will offer themselves in almost every verse, but not such variations as corrupt or change the facts and doctrines of Christianity. Let him read for example the Gospel of John in the various texts published by Blanchini. Barbarisms he will find in abun-

¹ In his *Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinae versionis antiquae seu veteris Italicae*, etc. Romae, C1C8C8XLVIII.

dance, and various readings of greater or less importance. But in them all will appear the same Saviour, the same essential facts, and the same way of salvation. We must regard, therefore, the Old Latin version as an unimpeachable witness for the essential integrity of the previously existing Greek text from which it was executed ; and this carries us very far back towards the middle of the second century.

The old Syriac version called Peshito belongs to the earliest period of the Syrian churches, and cannot be placed later than the latter part of the second century. Rivaling, as it does, the Old Latin version in antiquity, its testimony to the integrity of the Greek text from which it was made is of the same decisive character. Here, then (to pass by the Egyptian and other old versions), we have two independent witnesses to the integrity of the Greek text as it existed from about the middle of the second century, certainly from the last quarter of this century. It is worthy of special notice, also, that the more ancient the Greek manuscripts the closer is their agreement in respect to characteristic readings with the Old Latin version. Tischendorf adds arguments to show that the Syriac-Peshito version, the text of which has not come down to us in a very pure state, had for its basis substantially the same form of text as the Old Latin and Sinai Codex. But we are not speaking now from the position of textual criticism. We proposed to show the substantial integrity of the evangelic text from the latter part of the second century and onward. This has been demonstrated from the substantial agreement of the existing Greek manuscripts from the fourth century and onwards ; from the abundant quotations of the church Fathers, and from the unimpeachable testimony of ancient versions.

The Earlier Text.

We now take our position somewhere past the middle of the second century, and we proceed to inquire whether the text from which the Old Latin and Syriac versions was executed, and with which the oldest manuscripts as well as the

quotations of the Fathers have a substantial agreement, was in all essential respects the same as that which proceeded from the authors of the Gospels. Here the candid critic will discard at once all groundless suppositions, whether made in the interest of the Christian faith or of scepticism. He will inquire after the known facts in the premises, and adhere strictly to these.

The first fact to be noticed is the *public reading of the Gospels* in the Christian churches, a custom prevalent in Justin Martyr's day as a regular part of the service, and which must, from the nature of the case, have arisen in very early times. "And in the day called Sunday," says Justin, "there is an assembly of all who dwell in the cities or country; and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as the time allows. Then, when the reader has ceased, he who presides admonishes and exhorts by word of mouth to the imitation of these good precepts. Then we all rise in common and offer prayer; and, as we said, when we have ceased from praying, bread and wine and water are brought; and he who presides offers in like manner thanksgivings and prayers to the best of his ability, and the people respond, amen," etc.¹ The connection of this notice in reference to the reading of "the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets" is of the highest importance. From it we learn that "the memoirs of the apostles," which have been shown in the previous Number to be our canonical Gospels, were regarded as co-ordinate in value with "the writings of the prophets," and that they were read in the Christian assemblies not casually, but regularly, as a part of the Sunday service. This fact is of the highest importance; for it shows that the witnesses and guardians of the sacred text were not a few individuals, but the great body of believers; so that no systematic corruption of their contents could have taken place without their knowledge and consent.

¹ Larger apology near the end.

But it is certain that such consent could never have been obtained. For a second fact is the high value which the primitive Christians set upon their sacred records, and their consequent zeal for their uncorrupt preservation. Earnestness and sincerity are qualities which no fair-minded man will deny to them. To them the Gospels were the record of their redemption through the blood of Christ. For the truths contained in them they steadfastly endured persecution in every form, and death itself. Could we even suppose without evidence, that private transcribers altered their copies of the Gospel at pleasure, the churches would never have allowed their public copies, which were read in their assemblies every Lord's day, to be tampered with. Marcion, according to the testimony of the ancient Fathers, mutilated the Gospel of Luke to suit his doctrinal views; but the determined resistance which he encountered shows with what watchful jealousy the believers of that day guarded the evangelic record against corruption.¹

A third fact, intimately connected with the stated public reading of the Gospels, is the *great multiplication of copies*. Every local church would, as a matter of course, be anxious to possess a copy, and private Christians who had the requisite means would provide additional copies for their own private use. Norton has gone into an elaborate calculation based upon the supposition that in the latter part of the second century there were at least three millions of Christians, or one in forty of the hundred and twenty millions estimated as composing the Roman empire. Allowing one copy of the Gospels to fifty Christians, we have for these three millions sixty thousand copies. The estimate does not

¹ The attempt made in Germany to show that the gospel of Luke, as we now have it, is corrupted by interpolations, and that Marcion had it in its true form, has given rise to a voluminous discussion, which orthodoxy has no occasion to regret. For the result is that the advocates of this new view have been fairly driven from the field, and the old position, that Marcion's gospel was a mutilated form of our present canonical gospel, is more firmly established than before. For a list of some of the principal writers on this subject, see in Smith's Bible Dictionary, Article "Luke, Gospel of." The most exhaustive treatise is that of Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*.

appear to be extravagant. But allowing only a single copy to every three hundred, we shall still have ten thousand copies. That such a multitude of copies, the contents of which were regularly read every Lord's day, could have been essentially changed or mutilated, is an impossibility. If we suppose one or more of them to have undergone corruption, the numerous uncorrupt copies would have remained as witnesses of the fraud.

A still further fact is the *want of time* for essential corruptions like those now under consideration. That such corruptions could have taken place during the apostolic age no one will venture to maintain. It is certain, moreover, that they could not have been introduced during the age next succeeding, while many presbyters and private Christians yet survived who had listened to the apostles and knew the history of the Gospels written by them or their companions. But this brings us down into the first part of the second century. Leaving out of view the Apostle John, who probably survived till near the close of the first century, and assuming that the martyrdom of Peter and Paul took place somewhere between A.D. 64 and 67, we may place the beginning of the age now under consideration at A.D. 65. Of the numerous Christians who were then thirty years of age or less many must have survived till A.D. 110 and even 120. Polycarp, a disciple of the Apostle John, suffered martyrdom A.D. 167, and doubtless others of his hearers survived till the middle of the second century. The time, then, during which such a corruption as that now under consideration can be supposed to have taken place is so narrowed down that it amounts practically to nothing. It is, moreover, the very time during which Justin Martyr wrote his apologies, and Marcion was frustrated in his attempt to mutilate the gospel history.

The conclusion at which we arrive is, that whoever assumes the essential corruption of the early evangelic record does so without proof, and in the face of conclusive evidence to the contrary. Marcion's attempt called forth warm opposition,

and of this we have abundant notices. According to Theodoret, Tatian also, in his Diatesseron (that is fourfold gospel, as being a combination of the four Gospels in one), mutilated the evangelic record, "having cut away the genealogies and the other things which show that the Lord was of the seed of David according to the flesh." Of these books he found more than two hundred in his churches, all of which he caused to be removed and replaced by the four genuine Gospels. Respecting other like attempts the early Fathers are silent, and their silence is conclusive proof that they were not made. Had we the original autographs of the Gospels we should, with good reason, esteem them most highly. But there is no ground for supposing that their text would differ in any essential respect from that which we now possess.

More Important Variations, Real or Alleged.

Under this head will be examined the passages which Professor Norton thinks may "be regarded as spurious, or as lying under suspicion";¹ but, as being more convenient, in the reverse order, from John to Matthew.

We begin with the passage of John's Gospel which relates to the troubling of the waters of Bethesda. The received text reads as follows, the suspected part being marked with brackets.

"In these lay a great multitude of the diseased — blind, lame, withered — [waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain time in the pool and troubled the water. Whosoever therefore first went in after the troubling of the water became whole, by whatever disease he was held]. And a certain man was there," etc. (John v. 3-5).

The Sinai Codex omits all of the above passage that is included in brackets, reading thus: "In these lay a multitude of the diseased — blind, lame, withered. And a certain man was there," etc. With the Sinai Codex agree the Vati-

¹ Genuineness of the Gospels, Vol. i. Part i. chapter 1, and additional note A.

can and Ephraem (first hand), the Curetonian Syriac, the Coptic Codex Diez, and the Sahidic Version. The Alexandrine Codex (first hand) and the Codex Regius (of the eighth or ninth century) with some cursive manuscripts, omit only the last clause of v. 3, "waiting for the moving of the water." The fourth verse alone is wanting in the Codex Bezae, the important cursive manuscript 33, and some other cursive manuscripts, and the paraphrase of Nonnus (fifth century), and is marked as doubtful in some other manuscripts. The last clause of v. 3 is inserted in the Alexandrine Codex by a second hand, and the whole passage in the Codex Ephraem by a third hand. Tertullian about the close of the second century found the passage in his manuscripts, for he refers to it (*De Bapt.* chap. 5), and it is quoted by later Fathers. Arguments against the genuineness of the passage have also been drawn from its peculiar diction, "seven words used either here only, or here only in this sense" (Alford), and from the number of various readings. To such internal marks, taken by themselves, the cautious critic will not attach much weight. But in connection with the testimony of the manuscripts above adduced they certainly add something to the evidence against the genuineness of the words in question. A passage which has against it, wholly or in part, the testimony of the very oldest manuscripts and the Curetonian Syriac must certainly "be regarded as lying under suspicion." Further than this our purpose does not require us to go, since we do not propose to decide whether the words under consideration should be inserted or omitted in a critical edition of the Gospels.

The next passage is that relating to the woman taken in adultery (*John* vii. 53–viii. 11). The whole is wanting in the Sinai Codex, the twelfth verse of the eighth chapter following the fifty-second of the seventh. With the Sinai Codex agree many of the oldest and best manuscripts — the Alexandrine, Vatican, Ephraem, Regius, Borgianus, Monacensis, San Gallensis — more than fifty cursive manuscripts, among which is No. 33; also the Peshito, Curetonian, and Harclean

Syriac, the Old Latin codices, Vercellensis and Brixianus, the Coptic (in most manuscripts), Armenian, and Gothic versions. Also Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril, Theophylact, Nonnus (in his paraphrase), and others of the Fathers are silent concerning this passage; while Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and others refer to it. Of the manuscripts which contain it, the Codex Basileensis, and many cursive manuscripts mark the passage as spurious. To these external testimonies may well be added the difference of style as compared with that of John, and the existence of several distinct and independent texts, presenting many varieties of reading. In view of all this evidence the candid critic must say that the passage cannot well be admitted as a part of the text of John's Gospel. The position taken by Augustine (*de Conjug. adult.* 2, 7) is, that the passage was expunged by some on account of the supposed license given by it to sin. But, aside from the internal difference of style, we should be slow to believe that a "pious fraud" of this kind could have obtained such wide currency in the primitive church. Were the omission found in only here and there a manuscript, the explanation of Augustine (in which he is followed by Nikon in the thirteenth century) might have more plausibility. We must admit, however, that the passage bears the marks of being a true narrative. "The early church," as Wordsworth remarks, "would never have invented such a history as this. Its tendencies were in the other direction." How it became incorporated into the Gospel of John in this particular place must remain a mystery. Perhaps it was because the tradition connected it with this part of our Lord's history.

Norton does not specify the last chapter of John's Gospel as among the suspected passages. Some regard this chapter as a sort of appendix. But if so, it must have been added by the apostle himself, and apparently very early, since it bears the impress of his style, is found in all the copies, and was received from the beginning as an integral part of the Gospel. Norton thinks, however, that the concluding words

of this chapter, "And we know that his testimony is true. And there are many other things that Jesus did, which, if they were severally written, I do not think that the world itself would contain the books written," could hardly have been written by the apostle; who would not, as he judges, have said of himself, "*We know* that his testimony is true," nor have employed "the extravagant hyperbole in the second sentence," which is "foreign from the style of St. John." But Meyer and others take no offence at the plural number (*οἶδαμεν*), which expresses the common interest that all believers — *we know* — have in his testimony; and has a parallel, moreover, in xix. 35, where we read, "And he knoweth that he speaketh what is true, that ye also may believe." The transition here from *he* to *ye* is certainly as abrupt as that from *we* to *his* in the passage under consideration. As to the last verse, it expresses an admitted truth, that it would be an endless task to write all the Saviour's words and deeds, in the form of an hyperbole, which was never yet misunderstood by any one. But suppose it be conceded that this last verse was added by another hand, say by one of those to whom the apostle committed his Gospel for circulation and use in the churches, what then? The addition must have been made in good faith, and from the very outset; for it has, as Norton admits, the authority of all the manuscripts and versions, with no exception worth naming.¹ It is, then, for all practical purposes, a part of the gospel.

Passing now to the Gospel of Luke, we read in the received text, ix. 54–56, as follows:

"And when his disciples, James and John, saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them [as also Elias did]? But he turned and rebuked them [and said, ye know not of what

¹ "There is no external authority, properly speaking, for rejecting this passage. In one manuscript [the cursive manuscript marked 63] the last verse is omitted, and in several others it is said to have been thought by some to be an addition." Additional Note A, No. 9.

spirit ye are. For the Son of Man came not to destroy souls, but to save]. And they went to another village.”

The words in brackets are wanting in the Sinai manuscript. The second bracketed clause is wanting in the Alexandrine, Vatican, Ephraem, and Beza manuscripts; also in the palimpsest Codex Zacynthius referred by Tregelles to the eighth century, and many other manuscripts uncial and cursive. On the other hand, they are found, with some variations, in the Latin, Syriac, and Gothic versions (the Syriac Curetonian included), and are recognized by several of the Fathers. The external testimony against the first bracketed clause, “as also Elias did,” though preponderating, is not so strong as against the latter clause.¹ The case stands thus: although the words are in entire harmony with our Lord’s spirit and teaching, and as such, commend themselves to our reception, they cannot on critical grounds be regarded as certainly constituting a part of the original text of Luke.

The next passage occurs in the account of our Lord’s agony in Gethsemane, Luke xxii. 43, 44. These two verses are wanting in the Alexandrine and Vatican manuscripts, in the Codex Borgianus (probably of the fifth century), in the Syriac Codex Nitriensis (said to be of the sixth century), in a few cursive manuscripts, in some Lectionaries, and in the Coptic Codex Diez, and the Sahidic. Some other manuscripts that contain them mark them as doubtful. From Hilary, Jerome, and Epiphanius we learn that they were wanting in some ancient copies. On the other hand they are found in the Sinai Codex, and the uncial codices generally, with the exception of those above specified; in the Latin and Syriac versions, and two Coptic manuscripts (Alford). The Leicester manuscript, marked 69, and many Lectionaries insert them after Matt. xxvi. 39. They are also expressly recognized by Justin Martyr and Irenaeus as a part of the true text. The weight of external testimony preponderates in their favor, and there is some ground here

¹ See in Alford’s Commentary in loco.

for the supposition that they were omitted by certain copyists as derogatory to our Lord's deity.

We come now to the important passage, Mark xvi. 9-20, over which hangs a mystery that no one has thus far been able to dissipate. The question of its claim to be a part of the original Gospel of Mark is discussed with great fairness and ability by Tregelles in his *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament* (pp. 246-261). Since this work was published, however, a weighty witness against the passage has appeared in the Sinai Codex. For details the reader may consult the above discussion of Tregelles. Tischendorf's *Nov. Test.*, eighth ed.; and, on the other side, Hug's *Introd. New Test.*, § 75, Wordsworth's *New Test. in loco*. We notice only the main points of importance.

The passage is wholly wanting in the Sinai and Vatican manuscripts, in the Old Latin Codex Bobbiensis (fifth century), in old manuscripts of the Armenian, and in an Arabic version in the Vatican (marked 13). The Codex Bobbiensis adds (see in Tregelles and Tischendorf) a very different conclusion. The same conclusion is appended by the Codex Regius to v. 8, with the introductory note: *φερετέ* [i.e. *φέρεται*, Tregelles] *που καὶ ταῦτα, the following words are current to some extent (που)*. After this the manuscript goes on to say: *ἔστην* [i.e. *ἐστίν*, Tregelles] *δὲ καὶ ταῦτα φερόμενα μετὰ τὸ Ἐφοβοῦνται γάρ, but the following words are also current after*, For they were afraid; and then adds, vs. 9-20, as in our received text. The same is done by the cursive manuscript 274, and by the Hareclean Syriac in the margin. A considerable number of cursive manuscripts add a note stating that the words in question are wanting in some, in many, or in the most current copies. Several of the Fathers, among whom are Eusebius and Jerome, notice the absence of the passage in many copies. Eusebius says: *the accurate among the copies* (τὰ γ' οὖν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων) and *almost all the copies* (σχεδὸν ἐν ᾗπασιν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις); Jerome, in an earlier writing, says they are found in few Gospels (in raris fertur evangeliiis); in a later work he

gives a peculiar variation, as found in some copies, and especially in Greek codices.¹ Finally, of the manuscripts which insert the passage, several uncial and many cursive manuscripts do not insert the numbers of Ammonius and Eusebius beyond v. 8 (see Tregelles, pp. 247, 248). Among good manuscripts which insert the passage without the canons Tregelles specifies the codices Alexandrinus and Amiatinus. See others in Alford.

On the other hand, the passage is found in many uncial manuscripts, and in the cursive manuscripts generally. The uncial manuscripts are the Codex Alexandrinus (without the Eusebian canons), Ephraemus, Bezae, Monacensis, Sangallensis, etc., thirteen in all. It exists in copies of the Old Latin (the best manuscripts are defective here and give no testimony), in the Vulgate, in the Curetonian,² and other Syriac versions, in the Coptic, Gothic, Ethiopic versions, and recent manuscripts of the Armenian. The earliest of the Fathers who testify unequivocally to its existence are Irenaeus and Hippolytus. Later witnesses are Cyril of Jerusalem, Ambrose, Augustine, Nestorius.

From the above brief synopsis it appears that the external documentary testimony preponderates in favor of the section in question, yet not so as to exclude grave doubts. As to internal evidence, we must say that, were there no outward testimony against the passage, its internal character could not warrant us in rejecting it, or even in regarding its genuineness with suspicion. More especially would it be an uncritical procedure to reject it on the ground of alleged inconsistency with the narratives of the other evangelists. And as to peculiarities of diction, these are, in so short a passage, an uncertain ground of judgment. But, looking at the internal character of this section in the light of the divided outward testimony concerning it, we are constrained

¹ See the passages in Tregelles, as above referred to.

² The Curetonian Syriac wants the whole of Mark, except the last four verses of the last chapter, beginning with τοῖς πιστεύουσι, v. 17. But the testimony of this fragment is decisive.

to say that it makes against the supposition of its having constituted a part of the original Gospel of Mark. It has clearly the aspect, not of a continuation of the narrative of the resurrection, but of a supplementary adoption. As to the difference in phraseology, see Tregelles, pp. 256, 257; Davidson, *Introd. to New Test.* Vol. i. pp. 164–172. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that the original Gospel ended abruptly with v. 8. More probable is the suggestion of some, that the closing section of Mark's autograph (probably a papyrus manuscript) was by some means lost, and that vs. 9–20 were added as a substitute for it. Yet this is only a conjecture. Here we must leave the question, preferring to the less favorable judgment of Davidson that of Tregelles, which is expressed in the following words:

“I. That the book of Mark himself extends no further than *ἐφ' ὃ βούντο γάρ*, v. 8.

“II. That the remaining twelve verses, by whomsoever written, have a full claim to be received as an authentic part of the second Gospel, and that the full reception of early testimony on this question does not in the least involve their rejection as not being a part of canonical scripture” (*Ubi supra*, p. 258).

With the exception of the doxology appended to our Lord's form of prayer (*Matt.* vi. 13), which is wanting in the Sinai, Vatican, Beza, and Dublin manuscripts, the Latin versions, and most of the Fathers, and which Wordsworth, with the critical editors generally, rejects as an early addition from the church liturgy — with this exception there are no sections of Matthew's Gospel which can be regarded as doubtful on the ground of external documentary testimony. In arguing against the genuineness of three passages of Matthew, — (1) i. and ii.; (2) the notice of Judas, xxvii. 3–10; (3) the notice of the resurrection of the saints, xxvii. 52 (last clause) and 53 — Professor Norton changes his ground entirely. He admits that there is no doubt that these passages have always formed a part of our Greek translation, but maintains that this does not decide whether they were in the Hebrew original.

Yet he elsewhere admits that he is "not aware of any consideration that may lead us to suspect that the Greek is not a faithful rendering from the Hebrew copy or copies used by the translator, or that the exemplar he followed did not essentially correspond with the original."¹ He may well make this admission, for the primitive churches unanimously received the Greek form of this Gospel as authentic, and allowed the Hebrew form (if, as seems altogether probable, this was its primitive form) to go into disuse and perish. The only natural explanation of this fact is the supposition that the Greek form of the Gospel came to the churches with apostolic authority, and that it received this form at the hand, if not of Matthew himself, yet of an apostolic man; that is, a man standing to the apostles in the same relation as Mark and Luke. No reasonable suspicion can rest on its integrity on the ground of its being a version from an earlier Hebrew text. The critic who, judging from the internal character of the passage alone, says, in the face of the united testimony of manuscripts, versions, and Fathers: This passage was interpolated by the translator, departs from all sure rules of biblical criticism, and stands on the subjective ground of rationalism. This, in the case of Professor Norton, is a great inconsistency. If, however, one should concede (without any legitimate evidence, as we contend) that all the passages specified by Norton are spurious or at least doubtful, it still remains true that the integrity of the Gospels as a whole remains unassailable, that not one of the great facts or doctrines contained in them has even a shade of suspicion thrown over it.

¹ Vol. i. Part i. chapter 2.

ARTICLE VII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A. GERMAN WORKS.

HISTORY OF JESUS OF NAZARETH, IN ITS CONNECTION WITH THE
ENTIRE LIFE OF HIS NATION.¹

PROFESSOR KEIM of the University of Zürich, author of the above work, might be described as a kind of German James Martineau. He sympathizes with and adopts many of the principles, methods, and results of the Tübingen school, but differs from it in not denying the possibility of miracles, in clinging to the reality of the resurrection of Christ, and in the lofty eminence he assigns to Jesus relatively both to God and man. He studied under Dr. Baur of Tübingen, and speaks of his former tutor with the highest respect, but refuses notwithstanding to be considered a member of his school. Readers who accompany us to the end of the present notice, will be surprised to hear that Dr. Keim is the representative of the positive element in the theological faculty of Zürich. At all events, such men as Tholuck regard him with great hopefulness; and he is disliked both by the so-called *Zeitstimmen* party² in Switzerland, and by Strauss and Schenkel in Germany. This last-mentioned circumstance prepossesses one in his favor. He occupies therefore a rather peculiar position in the German theology of the present moment; a position in some respects akin to that of Professor Hase of Jena, whose *Manual of Church History and Life of Jesus* have been translated into English.

Dr. Keim was for many years a pastor in Würtemberg, and even now preaches at Zürich, where his sermons are said to be warm, edifying, and to all outward appearance pretty orthodox, both in tone and expression. Both the present work, and a former one, entitled *The Historical Christ*, are written with a warmth and earnestness that awaken confidence in their author's sincerity; and when he alludes to the person of the Redeemer he seems to struggle with language, and to experience a difficulty

¹ Geschichte Jesu von Nazara, in ihrer Verkettung mit dem Gesamtleben seines Volkes. frei untersucht und ausführlich erzählt. Von Dr. Theodor Keim. Vol. i. — The Period of Preparation. Zürich: Orell and Co. London: Asher and Co., Trübner and Co. 1867.

² The *Zeitstimmen* (Voices of the Age), is a theological periodical issued by a Pastor, H. Lang, who is one of the chief Swiss spokesmen of the party that eliminates the supernatural from Christianity, and almost God from religion.

in finding expressions lofty enough to convey the feelings of his heart, without exactly designating him God or the Incarnate God. The style too, for a German theological treatise, is unusually lively and readable. Nor have we as yet met with any production of the so-called critical (really the uncritical), school which evinced so much freedom from philosophical prepossessions, such willingness to be taught by history, and such respect for the religious needs and experiences of Christians as this. But while we grant this, we must still complain that he has been far more influenced by the lessons of his master than he ought to be; more perhaps than he is himself aware of. Hence one receives here and there an impression that he is inconsistent with himself.

But we must now pass on to the treatise itself: we will first indicate its contents, and secondly describe its results; adding, as space may allow, our own criticisms. The present volume is divided into two main parts, the first treating of the sources of our knowledge of Jesus, the second, of the early part of his life. The sources are divided into four classes: 1. Jewish sources, for example, Philo the Alexandrian, Josephus, the Talmud; 2. Heathen sources, for example, Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny the Younger, Lucian, Celsus, and others; 3. Christian sources other than the canonical books, for example, Justin Martyr. Julius Africanus, Clemens Romanus, Irenaeus, and the New Testament Apocrypha — the Gospels of the Hebrews, Egyptians, of James, of Thomas, and others; 4. The New Testament sources. Among the last-mentioned the first rank is assigned to the Epistles of Paul, then comes Matthew, then Luke, then Mark, and lastly John. The account of Christ's life is opened by a description of the intellectual, political, and religious state of the Jews at the time; of the Messianic hopes, the religious parties and the religious sects. Then follow two chapters headed respectively, the Holy Youth; his Self-Knowledge and Resolve; with a number of minor sections.

We next give a brief account of the principal results at which Professor Keim arrives.

1. The *Jewish* sources are the writings of Philo, Josephus, and the Talmud. Philo never once alludes to Jesus. In Josephus he is mentioned twice; the first time in the words, "James the just, who was a brother of Jesus, called Christ"; the second time in a passage of the "Antiquities," which has been discussed times without number. Professor Keim rightly regards it as an interpolation. If Josephus wrote the words in question — such words for example as "a wise man, if it be allowed to call him a man" — he must have been either half or altogether a Christian, of which we have no other evidence whatever. It is very unwise to lay stress, as many Christian apologists have done, and still do, on proofs which, to say the least, are doubtful. In its present form the Talmud arose much later than the time of Christ, but it contains deposits probably nearly contemporary in age. Such deposits are, in our opinion, worked up into the

Toldoth Jeschu, a brief account of the history of Jesus, so scandalous and vile that we should shrink from giving it to our readers. That this is the case, seems to follow from the similarity between it and the traditions quoted from Celsus, in Origen's reply to that famous heathen philosopher's attack on Christianity.¹ Regarding this source, Dr. Keim uses the very proper words: "We register with disgust sources which are no sources."

2. The main *Heathen* sources are Tacitus, Suetonius, C. Plinius Secundus; and of them Dr. Keim says: "No one can venture to throw doubt on the Christian writings, on the ground of what a Tacitus or Suetonius may say." Heathen allusions to Christ after the middle of the second century, as for example those by Lucian, Numericus, Phlegon, Galenus, the Eclectic, and Celsus, are still less deserving of serious attention. The last-mentioned, says Keim, "slays himself with his own weapons; his Life of Jesus needs no refutation." So far our author harmonizes completely with the best defenders of Christ.

3. *Non-canonical Christian Writings* constitute the third class of authorities. These are Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, with, for example, their assertion of the Davidic descent of Mary; The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, with their account of the derivation of Christ from the tribe of Judah and Levi; Julius Africanus, who gives the genealogy and residence of the entire family; and Hegesippus who tells us the names of Christ's nearest relatives. Various other particulars are alluded to also by Clemens Romanus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Barnabas, and by the Gospel of the Hebrews, and other apocryphal writings. At the close of the not very long notice of the apocryphal writings, Professor Keim exclaims, "thoroughly disappointed, we hasten away from this mass of lies and myths, to seek a last support and help in the New Testament sources, specially in our Gospels." How does he deal with the canonical authorities? Let us see.

4. *The Canonical Christian Writings.* He refers first of all to the testimony borne by the Apostle Paul, particularly in the four Epistles to the Corinthians, the Romans, and the Galatians, which even the most hypercritical of modern critics allow to be his genuine productions. Paul is now the *δός μοί πον στῶ* in the critical investigation of the problem of Christianity; and considering how firm and broad a standing-ground he supplies, it will be well for the defenders of the church to follow in this respect the example of its assailants. In the estimate he forms of the historical element in Paul's epistles, Dr. Keim is much more conservative than most members of the critical school. He says, for example: "We

¹ We may remark here that the account of the Talmud given in the October number of the Quarterly Review is a glorification. The Talmud is a literature by itself, and while it contains not a few pearls, it comprises, perhaps, more foolishness and as much filth as any other literature of similar compass and pretensions.

must assume that the life of Jesus was much more fully known to him than we can now see; for he obviously presupposes, takes for granted, an acquaintance with many things that he neglects to detail" (p. 37). "Nay more, we are in a position to show that Paul was under the necessity of carefully and critically weighing the reports about the life of Jesus." Two conclusions are warranted by the facts before us: 1. That the faith of the apostle was based on a comprehensive knowledge of the life of Jesus — a knowledge justifying to his mind the mighty deductions drawn by his intellect; and 2. That his knowledge was the result of a careful collection and critical sifting of the various traditions current among Christians. So far Dr. Keim seems sound enough. But immediately afterwards he adds: "We allow, however, that as regards such points as the existence of the Messiah before time, his incarnation, and the design of his death, Paul has converted ideas into facts"; in other words, the apostle gives out his own subjective fancies for historical realities. This concession to the critical, or rather uncritical, prejudices of his own mind and school, obviously renders totally uncertain the most essential features of Paul's Epistles. We are assured, indeed, that such confoundings are rare, unobjectionable, and separable; but however "rare" they may be, they can only be counted "unobjectionable" and "separable" by a view of Christianity and Christ essentially rationalistic and shallow. And we are unable afterwards to attach much importance to his conclusion, that "it is a rich and full life of Jesus that Paul's writings give us; a gospel of such a character that it would enable us, if necessary, to dispense with every other." The question of the trustworthiness or untrustworthiness of Paul's testimony relatively to the facts which we described in our first notice as inward or invisible — manifestly the cardinal question — is not discussed by Professor Keim. He takes for granted that such ideas as those of the atonement, the incarnation, and so forth, are mere ideas; agreeing herein with nearly all the antagonists of Christianity. In his case, as in the case of his master Baur, whatever other differences there may be between them, philosophical theories are the key to most of his so-called critical and historical results. The remaining epistles of the New Testament are treated as second-rate authorities; the Apocalypse, written A.D. 68 contains relatively the most certain and fullest references to Christ. The Acts of the Apostles, despite many contradictions, contains instructive and interesting notices.

We now come to the four Gospels; let us see what he makes of them. We will take them in the order in which they stand in our Bibles: which, as Dr. Keim maintains, is also the true chronological order of their production.

a. Matthew. The *main substance* of Matthew was written prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, about A.D. 70. This Dr. Keim considers to be indicated by the absence of all hints that the Jerusalem of the days of Jesus with its "great king" (v. 35), with its altar and sacrifices, its gold

and silver, its priests and parties, was no longer in existence. Nor would prophecies regarding Jerusalem have been put into the mouth of Jesus which were never fulfilled, if the book had been written later. The original language of the book was Greek, not Hebrew. Though the author wrote a full generation after Christ's death, and may perhaps have either been led astray by his memory, or accepted as facts stories that were either partially or wholly mythical, still his narrative is on the whole reliable. Dr. Keim rejects the division of Matthew into two parts, the one containing a collection of discourses and the other a collection of histories which has been adopted by Schleiermacher, Ewald, and others; he disapproves also of the distinction made by Baur and his school between elements of a Jewish Christian and those of a Gentile Christian tendency; and yet maintains that a certain discordance is indicated by the different modes of quoting the Old Testament, and by a lack of connection between various portions of the narrative. Theological readers will be aware that the quotations from the Old Testament are partly translated directly from the Hebrew and partly taken from the Septuagint. This circumstance is supposed to indicate different authors. The unconnectedness referred to is affirmed to exist between the account of Christ's childhood and that of his baptism (ii., iii.); between xxii. 1-14; xxv. 1-12; xxiv. 45-51; xxv. 18-30; xxv. 31-46, and what in each case precedes and follows. We must leave to the common sense of our readers to form an opinion as to the worth of this mode of historical criticism. To our mind it is closely allied to hyper-criticism. At the same time we may add our conviction that, even if the Gospel of Matthew, along with the other three, could be demonstrably shown to have been the work of two or more writers, the certainty of the great history on which the church and its hopes are built would not be affected. The question is not exclusively or even mainly one of authorship, but one of historical credibility; and, so far as we can see, other things being equal, the more hands at work in writing our Gospels the better. The author of the Gospel according to Matthew was neither an apostle nor an eye-witness, says Keim; but this does not prevent us from conceding to his narrative the measure of credibility which stands midway between that of an eye-witness and that of a later writer. The additions made by the redactor or editor are less authoritative than the original portions. Among the later additions are the stories of the miraculous birth, of the flight to Egypt, of the visit of the Magi, and so forth.

b. We must pass rapidly over Luke and Mark to John. Luke's Gospel was written by a companion of Paul about A.D. 90. Mark's about 100; by whom is unknown. Regarding the former Dr. Keim says: "He wrote the history of Jesus as he thought it really had or might have happened; not as a romance, nor to serve party purposes. And yet at many points he has bent facts. There can be no doubt that he has introduced chrono-

logical improvements, and either omitted or changed passages which bore a legal or Jewish-Christian character." Mark's Gospel is "not without historical worth," though it is "a subordinate authority, to be used with the greatest caution."

c. We now come to the key of the entire Christian portion, the Gospel of John. Taking his start from the words, "these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (xx. 31), Professor Keim maintains and tries to show that this "Gospel neither is nor pretends to be a simple historical work like the other three, but a practical treatise, a good message designed to meet the need of salvation"; that the "outward details are but means, signs, scenery employed at the author's pleasures, for the purpose of conveying the ideas to which alone he attached worth." Further: "It is a fact as evident as possible and therefore acknowledged more or less openly, not only by Bretschneider, Baur, and Baumgarten-Crusius, but also by Lücke, Bleek, Schmid, Weizsäcker, and others, that the Gospel of John owed its existence to the marriage of the Life of Jesus with that Alexandrian-Philonic philosophy which fifty years before had enabled the Apostle Paul to build up his peculiar doctrinal system." It was most probably written between A.D. 100 and 117, Keim allows; thus assigning it to a considerably earlier period than Baur and his school. A very significant phrase lets us into the real secret of the view thus taken of this Gospel; its author, who by the way was not John, sets the divine Logos into a relation to human nature which is "opposed to our ideas." Here is the explanation of the critical difficulties; the Johannine representation of the person of Christ is opposed to our ideas, that is, to the ideas current in the circles to which Dr. Keim belongs. This in fact, to speak plain English, is the true explanation of most of the critical difficulties raised relatively to the gospel history; it is actually full of facts and words which are opposed to the reason of man in his present state; and if it were not it would be worthless.

Like Baur, Hilgenfeld, Ewald, and even Hengstenberg and Godet, Dr. Keim allows that the author of John's Gospel was acquainted with the synoptics. To describe, much more to examine, the arguments by which he sustains his view, would require almost a volume; we shall therefore limit ourselves to one or two illustrations of his mode of procedure. He speaks of the account given by John of the nobleman's son (iv. 46 sq.), of the man with an infirmity (v. 1 sq.), of the walking on the sea (vi. 16 sq.), as being much more artistic than the supposed corresponding accounts given by Matthew; nay more, as in comparison mythical and objectionable. In his narratives of the stilling of the tempest, John says: "And immediately the ship was at the land, whither they went" (v. 21); this Dr. Keim describes as closing with a fabulously sudden landing. Matthew only refers to the landing in the words: "When they were gone over" (xiv. 34). But no one reading the two accounts with unprejudiced, common sense

eyes, can avoid seeing that they harmonize thoroughly in substance. Matthew tells us that Jesus went to the disciples about the fourth watch of the night, having previously informed us that the bark was in the middle of the sea. John tells us that when they had rowed about twenty-five or thirty furlongs or stadia, they see Jesus approaching them. Now the lake of Gennesareth was about forty stadia wide, as Josephus testifies; consequently, according to John, the disciples had gone over three fourths of the distance; according to Matthew, they had traversed a distance from about the middle or twenty stadia, sufficient to allow time for Jesus joining them, that is, say ten stadia more; not too little considering that the wind was contrary and the waves ran high. As to the word "immediately," it is ludicrous to describe it as "fabulous." The time taken to traverse the remaining ten or fewer stadia must undoubtedly have seemed very short compared with the hours occupied in rowing the prior thirty or more stadia; nay more, very naturally so, considering, first, that the wind had become favorable; secondly, that the sea was calm; and lastly, that their minds were full of and excited by the miracle performed. There is not the slightest reason for identifying the healing of the man sick of the palsy narrated by Matthew (ix. 1 sq.), with that of the impotent man waiting at the pool of Bethesda (John v. 1 sq.). The scene, the circumstances, the disease, everything, is different; and yet Dr. Keim regards John's story as containing mythical embellishments of Matthew's.

As to the narrative of the healing of the nobleman's son in John iv. 46 sq., and that of the healing of the centurion's servant in Matthew viii. 5 sq., we must say again, there is no reason for identifying the two miracles. On the contrary, as Godet says in his valuable "*Commentaire sur l'Evangile de Saint Jean*," "everything is different save that the cure is effected at a distance. In the one case we have a father, in the other a master; in the one case a Jew, in the other a Gentile; in the one case the scene is Cana, in the other Capernaum; in the one case the father wishes Jesus to come to him, in the other the centurion begs him not to do so; in the one case Jesus blames, in the other he praises the faith, of the applicant." In a word the criticism is hypercritical. And these are specimens of the difficulties which induce Dr. Keim to deny to John's Gospel the character of a history.

These, then, are the authorities from which we are to draw our knowledge of the life and person of Jesus Christ; weak enough authorities, most will exclaim.

The second main division of the work is devoted to the subject of the historical surroundings of Jesus, to a consideration of the religious, intellectual, moral, and political state of the Jewish people, at the time of Christ's advent; and this is the most valuable section. The account given of Philo's system and of the religious sects, is on the whole reliable and certainly well worthy of attention. We cannot, of course, attempt any

further notice of it. Dr. Keim seems to us to have done very rightly in inserting this section into his work ; for it is impossible fully to understand the life of Jesus without having an acquaintance with his surroundings. Recent critics and romancers like Renan, have made too much of them ; but most orthodox writers have made too little of them. One consequence has been that little besides the miraculous, the supernatural, the divine, has for generations been seen in Jesus, and his reality — his flesh and blood, historical, every day reality, has been greatly veiled from view. To this mistake is partly attributable the undue stress at present laid on his humanity.

If space had allowed we should have been glad to put our readers in possession of the main features of the chapter entitled "The human birth of Jesus," in which Dr. Keim gives his own personal view of the person of Christ. Though we find reasons for differing from it at almost every step, we cannot refrain from saying that we have seldom read anything so instructive, so bright, so warm, so thoroughly deserving of candid consideration ; and the close rises to a pitch of eloquence that is rarely reached by German writers.

While denying the supernatural conception and birth of the Saviour, he does not hesitate to express himself as follows : "So long as we are bound to recognize as facts that Jesus was sinless : that his consciousness of God was unruffled ; that he wrought miracles ; that he rose again from the dead, that he advanced claims infinitely transcending all that have ever been advanced by or warranted in the most distinguished members of the human race, — we shall be under the necessity of acknowledging in his person a higher human organization, brought into existence by the creative will of God operating invisibly alongside of the will of the creature. If we must give this organization a name, we know of no better one than that which was given it by Paul : a new creation in humanity, a completion, an unsensualization, a spiritualization, a deification of the divine image. We shall not do justice to the greatness of Jesus unless we distinguish the creative activity of God in his person, both as to degree and kind, from all other modes of the divine creative activity, unless we recognize it as unique and specific. The divine energy or rather the divine self-communication is here unbroken, mighty, penetrative. We have before us an entire, full, blameless life ; nowhere is it fragmentary ; nowhere is there a commingling of the higher and lower ; it is a creation in which the entire power, the entire love of God was engaged ; and why ? Because the end to be realized was the perfection of man, as man, the debouchment of the creature in the Creator, the blessed resting of God in his creation. Jesus is the realization of the divine ideal in creation ; nay, he is more than a creation ; he is a divine generation of that which is akin to God in humanity ; he is a coming of the essential God to men. One positive result we can all believe, accept, even those who are most scrupu-

lously sceptical as to the existence of a perfect man, whether his name be Jesus or another; the fact that no human being ever existed whose person so combined the ideal and the real as the person of Jesus." These and many other expressions we might quote, indicate very clearly that no epithet, short of the epithet adopted by the church, is in Dr. Keim's esteem too lofty to be applied to Jesus. Some of the words we have adduced seem to us to be unwarranted by his premises. His heart has carried him away to a happy inconsistency; and we are not without the hope, to which we previously alluded as entertained by Tholuck, that he will eventually find his way into the orthodox camp. With this very imperfect and inadequate account we must take our leave of Dr. Keim's first volume; but we cannot close without asking: Where is the man among us to take up this great subject and treat it with all the mingled freedom, candor, and reverence that it demands? The critical principles and results of the great school of which Dr. Baur of Tübingen was the master mind, are becoming widely adopted in America and England, as well as elsewhere. Are efforts enough made to counteract the poison that is rapidly pervading our higher intellectual life? Where is there an English "Life of Jesus?" Where are the English investigations of the historical problems to which we have alluded in passing? We must verily be up and doing; we must look not only to the practical, but also to the scientific and philosophical aspects of Christianity; for it is not possible that either the nation, the denomination, or the individual should be permanently healthy and strong in its Christianity so long as the intellect cannot feel itself reasonably convinced of the truth of that which the heart yearns to believe.

GREEK CONCORDANCE TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.¹—A small concordance comprising five hundred and forty-eight pages, nearly in the form of the celebrated Tanchnitz Classics (a little larger) and remarkably neat. The type is small, but distinct; the paper good, and the price very reasonable. The only other concordance of the same compass that we have heard of, is Greenfield's abridgment of the celebrated large work of Erasmus Schmid, published by Bagster of London; but it is considerably dearer in proportion to its size. Probably too the new German concordance contains improvements; though as Greenfield's is not before us, we are unable to compare the two. For theologians who desire to enter on a more profound study of the New Testament Bruder's large work will be necessary; but for ordinary students and pastors, this of Schmoller's is sufficient. To give an idea how complete the book is, notwithstanding its small size, we may mention that under the words *δίκαιος*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *δικαιοῦν*, *δικαίωμα*, *δικαίως* more than two hundred passages are quoted,

¹ Handconcordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament. Bearbeitet von Otto Schmoller. Stuttgart: S. G. Liesching; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868. Price, 40 sgr.

besides references to parallels. We have said enough to induce all who need a Greek concordance to examine this of Schmoller's.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES EXPOUNDED FOR BIBLE CLASSES.¹—The name of Gerok, the author of this practical commentary, ought to be enough to recommend it to such as need a work of the kind. He is one of the most eminent ministers at Stuttgart, a writer of spiritual poems highly valued throughout the Christian circles of Germany; and a co-operator in Lange's celebrated Bibelwerk. So far as we have been able to examine the work it seems to bear a considerable resemblance to the expository lectures of the late Dr. John Brown, which were so widely read some years ago in Great Britain. It is divided into sections; to each section is prefixed the passage considered, and then follows the exposition. The work, we think, may be very useful, especially for pastors laboring among Germans; and no private individual will read it without the edification which results from deepened earnestness, intensified yearning after Christ, and fuller insight into the depths and heights of the word and providence of God.

INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.²—That this is not an introduction in the usual sense of the term will appear from the following table of contents: the Gospel of Mark; Paul and the First Apostles; the Epistle to the Romans; the Contents and Import of the Revelation of John: The peculiar Nature of the Gospel of John, and its significance for the Church of the Present. Professor Grau's design in these popular lectures—for such they are—is to exhibit the reciprocal relations of the various portions of the New Testament, and to show that they form mutually complementary parts of one organic whole. The Gospel of Mark he describes as the elementary Gospel *par excellence*, the gospel which reproduced objectively, for missionary purposes, the public life of Christ. Paul is the witness of the risen and glorified Redeemer, thus supplementing, not contradicting, as the critics aver, the other apostles, the apostles of tradition, the witnesses to what Christ had been in Judea. The Epistle to the Romans is taken as representative of the subjective stage in the development of the New Testament literature, letters being the most subjective form of literary production. From the section on the Book of Revelation we will simply quote the words: "No more than any other book of scripture does it contain information about divine,

¹ Die Apostelgeschichte in Bibelstunden ausgelegt von Karl Gerok. Zwei Bände. Stuttgart: S. G. Liesching; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868. Price, 2 thalers.

² Zur Einführung in das Schriftthum Neuen Testaments. Vorträge von Professor Grau, Königsberg. Stuttgart; S. G. Liesching; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868.

heavenly, and future things, given for its own sake. Its revelations, like all other divine revelations, aim solely at the deliverance of man from sin, not at enriching his knowledge"; a point of view judiciously taken, of inestimable importance. The Gospel of John is the gospel of perfection, of the whole truth. The last three lectures strike us as richer and truer than the first two, though all are well worth reading.

BRIEF MEMOIR OF DR NITZSCH.¹ — We need only say that this is a brief and very interesting outline of the life of one of the most eminent recent German theologians and churchmen, from the able pen of his distinguished friend and colleague, General Superintendent Dr. Hoffmann, of Berlin, whose funeral sermon is also appended. The sketch ought to be widely read, either in German or in an English translation. Nitzsch's was a life of very high style.

THE BOOK OF HENOKH.² — Dr. Philippi, son of the celebrated Rostock divine, treats his subject in nine chapters: Introduction; course of thought; critical review of views concerning the composition of the Book of Henoch; its age determined on internal grounds; its relation to the New Testament; historical survey; its original language; its occasion and relation to the Epistle of Jude; source of the fourteenth and fifteenth verses of Jude; an appendix discusses briefly the ninth verse of Jude and the "Prophecy of Moses" (*ἀνάληψις Μοῦσέως*). He believes the book to have been written after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and tries to show that its tone and contents presuppose the existence of the doctrines and ideas contained in the New Testament. Jude 14, 15 are the source of the same words in Henoch; and Jude's words were derived from a traditional idea that Enoch prophesied, based on or justified by Gen. v. 21-24. Some of Dr. Philippi's statements are perhaps venturesome; but the aim of his work is good and its spirit fair.

THE COINS OF THE BIBLE.³ — A careful account of the various Jewish, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman coins mentioned in the entire Bible. The investigation tends in various ways to establish the credibility, genuineness, and authenticity of the Biblical books, besides throwing light on obscure passages. The little book (forty pages octavo) serves therefore

¹ Lebensabriss des entschlafenen Dr. C. J. Nitzsch, etc. Von Dr. W. Hoffmann. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868. Price, 8 sgr.

² Das Buch Henoch, sein Zeitalter und sein Verhältniss gum Indasbriefe, etc. Von. Dr. F. Philippi. Stuttgart: S. G. Liesching; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868. Price, 28 sgr.

³ Die Münzen der Bibel. Von. Dr. A. Hager. Stuttgart: S. G. Liesching; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868.

a double purpose; a new proof that no branch of inquiry is useless, even in a religious respect. There are sermons even in stones and evidences in coins.

RENEE DE ESTE.¹—A brief memoir of the celebrated princess of this name carefully and interestingly written, and comprising notices of the reformatory movements in Italy and France at the time at which she lived; she was born in 1513 and died in 1575. A daughter of Louis XII. King of France, she became by marriage Duchess of Ferrara. She was converted to the reformed faith, was acquainted and corresponded with Calvin, and did all she could to further Protestantism. Hers was a most eventful life. The present volume forms part of a series of lives of celebrated women, among others Anna Lavater and Mrs. Judson, edited by Prediger Ziethe of Berlin, who himself wields a very facile pen, and is assisted by other able writers. The books are specially designed for the female sex, and seem well fitted for the purpose.

LUTHERAN DOGMATICS.²—The third volume of the celebrated Leipsic Professor's work on the Dogmatic Theology of the Lutheran Church. Dr. Kahnis is much freer in many points than his distinguished Rostock contemporary, Dr. Philippi; e.g. he makes concessions relatively to inspiration and the canon, which have drawn on him the attacks of Hengstenberg; but he is in the main an orthodox Lutheran; one too who does not believe in a union of his church with the reformed. The first two volumes were devoted to preliminary inquiries, such as the canon, etc.; the present treats of the doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. It is unquestionably an able work, but hard reading.

HISTORY OF THE CATECHUMENATE AND OF CATECHIZATION.³—This history, which is the work of a young Roman Catholic theologian, comprises the first six centuries of the Christian Church. Its author received for it a prize offered by the Roman Catholic Theological Faculty at Munich. The work is said to evince very careful study, both of the original sources and of modern writers; but alongside of Protestant treatises like that of V. Zezschwitz, its chief value consists in its being Romish.

* ¹ Renata von Este und deren Leiden. Von Lic. Karl Strack. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868. Price, 10 sgr.

² Die Lutherische Dogmatik historisch-genetisch dargestellt. Von Dr. Kahnis. Leipzig: Dorffling und Franke; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868.

³ Geschichte des Catechumenats und der Catechese in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten. Kempten: J. Kösel; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868.

An appendix explains the present Romish rites of baptism from the early practice relative to catechumens.

SAMARITAN STUDIES.¹ — This little work contains contributions to a critical edition of the celebrated Samaritan translation of the Pentateuch, and to an enlarged edition of the Samaritan Lexicon of Castellus, which is comprised in the "Lexicon heptaglotton" to the London Polyglot. If these preliminary studies should meet with the approval of the learned, their author designs to publish a critical edition of the Samaritan paraphrase in Hebrew letters, with notes, and a complete dictionary of the Samaritan language. A good deal of attention is now directed to the remains of this ancient dialect. For example, Dr. Heidenheim is publishing unedited fragments in his "Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für englisch-theologische Forschung und Kritik," and a large number of hitherto unpublished manuscripts is said to have been secured by the Russian government. Dr. Cohn examines a considerable number of passages, suggesting emendations and derivations, and making explanations. An index of the words and passages discussed adds to the utility of the book, which we commend to the notice of scholars.

SEALS AND GEMS WITH ORIENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.² — Dr. Levy, author of *Phœnician Studies* and a *Phœnician Lexicon*, here examines seals and gems with Aramaic, Phœnician, Old Hebrew, Himharic, Nabathæan, and Old Syriac inscriptions. Three lithographic tables are appended which enable the reader to form an idea of most of the designs and devices. The essay is adapted to throw light on this important branch of archaeology.

THE SECT OF THE FRANKISTS.³ — The Frankists were a curious half Jewish, half Christian sect, which flourished towards the end of the last century. Frank, whose real name was Lebowiez, would seem to have been a Galician Jew, and the son of a Rabbi. He was born about 1712 or 1723. Till he made the acquaintance of the mystical sect of the Sabbatians, who held Sabbatāi Zewi, a Smyrnaean Jew, for the Messiah, his life was a very prosaic one. After that, however, he formed the purpose of

¹ Samaritanische Studien. Beiträge zur Samaritanischen Pentateuch, Uebersetzung und Lexicographie. Von Dr. S. Kohn. Breslau: Skutsch; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868.

² Siegel und Gemmen mit Inschriften in verschiedenen Sprachen, erklärt. Von Professor Dr. M. A. Levy. Breslau: Skutsch; London: Asher and Co. Trübner and Co. 1868.

³ Frank und die Frankisten. Eine Sektengeschichte aus der letzten Hälfte des Vorigen Jahrhunderts. Von Dr. H. Graetz. Breslau: Skutsch: London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868.

setting up on his own account, and, returning to Poland, managed, by pretended miracles, cabalistic mysteries, gifts of money, and promises of future wealth and honors, to get followers. The Polish Sabbatians were his first disciples. He gave himself out for the God-man, and was eventually baptized into the Romish Church, though merely for the sake of being able to carry out his plans more safely and successfully. He ended his days in Offenbach. The story as told by Dr. Graetz is more romantic than any romance we have read, and furnishes an additional proof of the credulity and folly of which men are capable. The statements made are almost all sustained by references to or quotations from original documents.

HISTORY OF THE VULGATE.¹—The object of the author of this work is to trace out the course of the changes undergone by the great Latin version of the Bible, till it assumed the form now commonly termed the Vulgate. The chapter of church history relating to this subject is not one of the least interesting; if it does nothing else, it throws considerable light on the spirit and proceedings of the Romish apostasy. Dr. Kaulen, who is himself a Roman Catholic, aims also at glorifying his church in and through his history of the Vulgate.

B. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WORKS.

Through the house of Charles Scribner and Company, New York, we have received several of the new and eminently useful works published by T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh. **THE ANTE-NICENE LIBRARY** which the Messieurs Clark are now publishing, promises to be one of great value. It is to consist of translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, and is to be edited by the Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and James Donaldson, LL.D. The ninth volume (octavo) of this Library consists of the **WRITINGS OF IRENAEUS**, Vol. II., translated by Rev. Alexander Roberts, D.D., and Rev. W. H. Rambant, A.B. pp. 288. **THE WRITINGS OF HIPPOLYTUS**, Bishop of Portus, Vol. II., and also fragments of Writings of the Third Century, translated by Rev. S. D. T. Salmond, M.A. pp. 297. Various valuable indexes accompany these translations. The tenth volume of the Ante-Nicene Library contains **THE WRITINGS OF ORIGEN**, translated by Rev. Frederick Crombie, M.A., Professor of Biblical Criticism, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Vol. I. pp. 478. This volume contains the treatise of Origen *De Principiis* entire; also his *Epistola ad Africanum* entire; and the first book of his treatise *Contra Celsum*. The second volume will contain a full account of his Life and Writings. The present volume will be of special service to those who are interested in Origen's

¹ Geschichte der Vulgata. Von Dr. F. Kaulen. Mainz: F. Kirchheim; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1868.

opinions concerning the pre-existence of the soul, the pre-existence of the human soul of Christ, and the final restoration of the lost.

THE FOREIGN THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY, which has already accomplished so great good, still meets a popular want, and receives extensive patronage. It is to contain, in addition to the volumes previously announced in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the following among other important works: *Dorner's History of Protestant Theology*; *Schmid's New Testament Theology*; *Stier on the Words of the Apostles*. The following books belong to this library: *SYSTEM OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS*. By Dr. G. Chr. Adolph von Harless, translated from the German of the sixth enlarged edition by the late Rev. A. W. Morrison, and revised by the Rev. William Findlay, M.A., Larkhall. "Harless's Ethics" is one of the most celebrated, as well as profound, treatises in this department of science. A translation of it into English has long been a desideratum. The present volume, forming the nineteenth of the fourth series, is one of the most valuable parts of this Foreign Theological Library. — *COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS*. By Franz Delitzsch, Professor of Theology, Leipsic, translated from the German by Thomas L. Kingsbury, M.A. Vol. I. Professor Delitzsch published this Commentary in 1857. Of course the time has now arrived for a second edition. This, however, he has not given. Still the first edition is well worthy of being translated. The author's wonderful familiarity with the Jewish history and character, with Rabbinical literature and traditions, qualifies him in an eminent degree for interpreting an inspired book which has so intimate a relation to Judaism as has the Epistle to the Hebrews. — *BIBLICAL COMMENTARY ON THE OLD TESTAMENT*. By C. F. Kiel, DD, and F. Delitzsch, D.D., Professors of Theology: *The Twelve Minor Prophets*. By Carl Friedrich Keil, DD. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. 515, 475. The extent of Dr. Keil's learning, and the labor which he has expended on this particular Commentary will at once commend these two volumes to students of the Bible. By American scholars he is highly esteemed for his defence of the truth in his commentaries on various books of the Old Testament, as on Joshua, Kings, and for the enterprising spirit which in connection with Professor Delitzsch, he has manifested in the present series of their biblical expositions. — *THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF SIN*. By Dr. Julius Müller, Professor of Theology in the University of Halle, translated from the German of the fifth edition, by the Rev. William Urwick, M.A. 2 vols. pp. 417, 440. This is not a revision of the translation by Mr. Pulsford, but is an entirely new translation. It is far better than that by Mr. Pulsford, and is besides from a more recent edition. "Instead of the long, dreary table of contents at the beginning of each volume," says the translator (but here, we think, he misjudges, for a table of contents is a great advantage to any scientific work, and especially to such a work as that of Müller, and the length of the table augments the advantage of it) "he has divided each chapter into sections, has inserted marginal notes throughout, has occasionally added references of

his own in the foot-notes, and has appended a copious index, which will make the work more accessible as a book of reference." We think that we express the universal desire of those who know the author of this work on sin, that he would publish his *Lectures on Dogmatic Theology*; for on these lectures he has expended the labor of his life, and that life has been characterized by severe toil.

In addition to the volumes composing the Ante-Nicene and the Foreign Theological Library, the Messieurs Clark have published various independent volumes of great worth. Among them are *THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT* as taught by Christ himself; or, the Sayings of Jesus on the Atonement, exegetically expounded and classified. By Rev. George Smeaton, Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 460. The design of this work is a felicitous one. The atonement as described by him who made it is the most inspiring of all themes. It is treated in this volume with richness of erudition and with deep Christian feeling. The author does not quote the treatises, but evidently rejects the theories, of Edwards, Smalley, Griffin, Beman, Barnes, Jenkyn, on the atonement. He says: "Primitive justice is an essential, eternal, necessary attribute of God, and its exercise is necessary on the entrance of sin; God is such a person that out of love to himself and delight in himself he loves all that coincides with his perfections, and hates all that is in collision with them; his love leads him to bestow happiness, and his hatred or anger leads him to send the reverse. The supreme God, insulted by sin, and at least wronged, if not personally injured, by the irreverence of free creatures, punishes to satisfy the perfection of his nature. This is the reason why he punishes, and no other explanation is satisfactory to any mind" (p. 381). All these statements are of course designed to imply that God punishes sin, not so much because he loves his universe, not so much because he intends by punishment to augment the general reverence for his law, deference to his authority, love to his holiness, and trust in his undeviating benevolence, as because he hates sin, because he has a righteous anger toward the sinner, because he must satisfy that sentiment of justice which demands punishment on its own account, for its own sake. The American divines named above may believe that God punishes sin because he hates it, has a righteous anger towards it, and chooses to comply with the demands of that justice which calls for just such a punishment as is deserved; and yet these divines may maintain that he would not punish sin unless, in addition to those reasons, he saw that the punishment would conduce to the general well-being. Punishment is an external act, and the rightfulness of inflicting it depends, not like the rightfulness of a moral choice, on its own nature, but on its relation to the general welfare. — Another volume of rare interest from the same house, is *THE REVELATION OF LAW IN SCRIPTURE*; considered with respect to both its own Nature, and to its Relative Place in successive Dispensations. The third series of the "Cunningham Lectures." By Patrick Fairbairn, D.D., author

of Typology of Scripture, etc. 8vo. pp. 484. Dr. Fairbairn is a profound and instructive writer. The present volume is perhaps his best. It presents many just views of law, and deepens our impression that the law is the basis of the gospel, and without right ideas of the one we cannot form right ideas of the other.

LECTURES ON THE FIRST AND SECOND EPISTLES OF PETER. By the Rev. John Lillie, D.D., late Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Kingston, N.Y., author of "Lectures on the Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians," etc. With an Introduction by Philip Schaff, D.D. 8vo. pp. 536. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1869.

Dr. Lillie is well known as the translator of Auberlen and Riggenbach's Commentary on the Thessalonians, for the American edition of Lange's Bible Work, and by his Commentaries on the Epistles of James, Peter, John, Jude, and of Paul to the Thessalonians. The present Lectures are prepared with great care, contain many thorough discussions, are founded on a strict theory of inspiration, and illustrate the importance of sermons designed to unfold in a methodical style the meaning of the inspired word.

ISAIAH: WITH NOTES CRITICAL, EXPLANATORY, AND PRACTICAL; designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. Henry Cowles, D.D. 12mo. pp. 552. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1869.

Dr. Cowles is an enthusiastic student of the Old Testament, and devotes himself with a single aim to the elucidation of its meaning. His style is concise and perspicuous, adapted to the taste of intelligent laymen and practical clergymen. The extensive circulation of his Commentaries will tend to heighten the interest of the churches in the ministrations of the pulpit. His volume on Isaiah will increase his popularity as an interpreter of the prophecies.

THE NEW TESTAMENT; Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf. By George R. Noyes, D.D., Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages, and Dexter Lecturer on Biblical Literature in Harvard University. 12mo. pp. 570. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1869.

A careful translation of the Bible is a commentary on it. A new translation at the present day is a commentary on King James's version. Dr. Noyes has not deviated from that version, except in those passages which in his judgment required a change in order to give the exact meaning of the original text as adopted by Tischendorf. He has selected simple and good old English words and idioms. He has obviously aimed to be candid and unsectarian in his version, and has translated various texts in words more favorable than the words of King James's version to the orthodox

faith. Since the decease of Dr. Noyes the fifth part of Tischendorf's eighth edition of the New Testament has been published, and the editor of the present volume has appended to it such readings in the eighth edition as differ from the readings which Dr. Noyes followed in the seventh. In John i. 18 Dr. Noyes follows the last edition which had been published during his life: "No one hath ever seen God; the only-begotten God, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath made him known." In the eighth edition Tischendorf returns to the familiar reading "the only-begotten Son." In John iii. 13 Dr. Noyes follows the latest edition which he had seen: "And no one hath ascended into heaven but he who came down from heaven, even the Son of man." In the eighth edition Tischendorf restores the familiar ending of that verse "who is in heaven." Doubtless the most recent text of Tischendorf would have been followed by Dr. Noyes had he lived to receive it, and the new readings which are added in an appendix to the present volume are such as he would have incorporated into his translation. The editor of the volume is Mr. Ezra Abbot the exact, conscientious, and learned associate librarian of Harvard College. He has performed the present service with his accustomed fidelity.

THE HEBRAIST'S VADE MECUM: a First Attempt at a Complete Verbal Index to the Contents of the Hebrew and Chaldee Scriptures. Arranged according to Grammar, the Occurrences in full. London: Groombridge and Sons. 1867.

This is a neat octavo volume of little more than six hundred pages, edited by G. V. Wigram, the editor of the Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance. In the preface of the latter work is given an account of the manner in which the Vade Mecum was prepared; and whoever reads the account will confidently expect to find the work there described thorough and accurate. The expectation will not be disappointed.

The Vade Mecum notes the passages in which the words occur only by chapter and verse. It will therefore sometimes be less convenient than those concordances which give the surrounding text. Yet this disadvantage is in itself not very serious, and is, on the whole, perhaps fully compensated by the more convenient size of the book and by its superior accuracy, while multitudes whose means are too limited to allow their buying the larger works, will be glad to obtain this (at the low price of \$5.40), knowing that it will practically answer every purpose for which a concordance is needed.

We have compared this work with the concordances of Buxtorf and Fürst in the case of two words chosen at random (כִּסְפָּר and כִּסְפָּה), and find six instances of omission or error in each of the latter, which are corrected in the Vade Mecum. We doubt not that a more extended investigation would reveal a proportional superiority in any similar case. Besides this advantage, however, the Vade Mecum gives what we do not find in the

larger works at all, a full list of the proper names, with the passages in which they occur, and furthermore all the particles (except the conjunction *ו*), the absence of which in the concordances is often a serious inconvenience.

We therefore take pleasure in recommending this work to all students of the Hebrew scriptures. It can be had of John Boyd, the agent for this country, 1193 Broadway, New York.

HORAE HEBRAICAE. By Francis J. Crawford, Ex Sch., T.C.D., Member of the Philological Society of London, and Rector of Derryoran, Ireland. 16mo. pp. 191. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1868.

This volume contains various suggestions, some of them original, many of them interesting and valuable, some of them more or less conjectural, on the Hebrew Prefixes, those consisting of a single consonant, those consisting of two consonants, the negative prefixes of composition, the affirmatives of verbs, also of nouns, and roots not used in their simple state.

HEBREW-ENGLISH LEXICON: containing all the Hebrew and Chaldee Words in the Old Testament Scriptures, with their Meanings in English. 16mo. pp. 287. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons; New York: John Wiley and Son.

This Lexicon is "designed to put into the hands of the English student in a compressed and compendious form, the contributions of modern philology to the interpretation of the Hebrew scriptures." The definitions are expressed in a concise style, and are arranged in a convenient order. It is a neat pocket companion to the Hebrew Psalter.

A GRAMMAR OF THE IDIOM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT; prepared as a Solid Basis for the Interpretation of the New Testament. By Dr. George Benedict Winer. Seventh edition, enlarged and improved. By Dr. Gottlieb Lünemann, Professor of Theology at the University of Göttingen. Revised and authorized translation. 8vo. pp. 728. Andover: Warren F. Draper. London: Trübner and Co.; Leipsic: F. C. W. Vogel. Philadelphia: Smith, English, and Co. 1869.

George Benedict Winer was born at Leipsic on the 13th of April, 1789; was educated at the Leipsic University, became Professor Extraordinarius at the University in 1818, received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Halle and Rostock in 1819. In 1823 he was appointed Professor Ordinarius of theology at Erlangen. He afterwards received an appointment to a Professorship at Jena. This he declined. In 1832 he returned to Leipsic as Professor Ordinarius at the University. In 1822 he published his *New Testament Grammar*. The fifth edition of it was published in 1844, the sixth in 1855. In 1821 he published his *Exposition of the Epistle to*

the Galatians; in 1820, his celebrated "Realwörterbuch"; in 1824, his equally celebrated "Comparative Darstellung," etc; in 1825 his *Manual of Theological Literature*. He also published various other works of less extensive reputation. He was an admirable teacher. He was severely afflicted for many years by a disorder of his eyes. He died in Leipsic May 12, 1858, at the age of sixty-nine years.

After his death a seventh edition of his grammar was published in 1866, under the editorial care of Dr. Lünemann. This editor incorporated into this edition the numerous manuscript notes which Winer had prepared for it. "Without altering the general distribution of matter as it appeared in the sixth edition, he [Winer] constantly improved the book in details, by additions of greater or less extent in more than three hundred and forty places, by erasures and reconstructions, by the multiplication of parallel passages from biblical and from profane literature, by a more precise definition of thoughts and expressions," etc. Professor Lünemann has added to the seventh edition not only these improvements, but also improvements of his own; and has thus made the seventh edition more full, as well as more accurate, than either of the preceding.

The first edition of Winer's Grammar was translated into English by Professors Stuart and Robinson in 1825; the fourth edition by Professors Agnew and Ebbecke in 1839; the sixth edition, translated by Professor Masson, was published at Edinburgh, and his translation of the sixth is the basis of Professor Thayer's translation of the seventh [Lünemann's] edition. Professor Thayer, however, has introduced numerous and important corrections of Masson's translation, and has made the present edition of the Grammar decidedly superior to any of the preceding translations. He has made it especially convenient for the uses of an English student, by noting on the outer margin of the pages the paging of the sixth and seventh German editions, and also of Professor Masson's translation. Thus the reader of a commentary which refers to the pages of either of those volumes, may easily find the reference by consulting the margin of this volume. Great care has also been bestowed on the indexes of the present volume, which are now very accurate and complete. One of the indexes, that of passages in the New Testament explained or cited occupies sixty pages, and notes distinctively not only the texts which are merely cited, but also those which are commented upon. For this, much credit is due to Professor G. W. Warren, of the Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago. The three indexes fill eighty-five pages, and largely augment the value and richness of the volume. The typographical execution of the book also deserves praise; so far as we have examined it we have been surprised at its correctness in places where the types are apt to err. Of course no work of this kind is entirely free from errors. Two mistakes are sometimes made in the process of correcting one.

THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY; with an Introduction on the Existence of God and the Immortality of the Soul. By Ebenezer Dodge, D.D., President of Madison University. 12mo. pp. 244. Boston: Gould and Lincoln; New York: Sheldon and Co.; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard and Co. 1869.

Many of the arguments for the truth and divine authority of the Bible are presented with unusual distinctness in this treatise. It is a valuable contribution to the evidences in favor of the inspiration of the scriptures. We regard the body of the work superior to the introduction. When the author says "We cannot go beneath consciousness and affirm the unity of the soul's essence" (pp. 35, 36), he concedes too much to the materialist. If we cannot affirm the unity how can we affirm the immateriality of the soul's essence? "All we know," says President Dodge, "is that the person is one and indivisible. Consciousness, if it exists at all, must exist as a unit." Now the materialist admits that consciousness is one, but contends that beneath consciousness is a material substance. If we "cannot go beneath consciousness," we cannot deny that a material substance is beneath it. But how can a material substance be the subject of an indivisible personality? The materialist answers: We are not to explain the *modus*; still we can tell how a *material* substance is the subject of an indivisible personality, as well as you can tell how a *divisible* essence is the subject of an indivisible personality.

ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN PULPIT; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of various Denominations, from the Early Settlement of the Country to the Close of the year 1855. With Historical Introductions. By William B. Sprague, D.D. Vol. IX. 8vo. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1869.

Two hundred and thirty-one pages of this volume are devoted to the Lutheran church in America, two hundred and fifty-six pages to the Reformed Dutch church, one hundred and forty-six to the Associate church, one hundred and eighty-four to the Associate Reformed, and ninety-eight to the reformed Presbyterian. The present volume gives us an acquaintance with many worthy names which are too little known outside the pale of their own denominations. It gives a noble testimony to the worth of men who devoted strong minds and pure hearts to the cause of truth. It gives additional proof of the benign influences which have been exerted on our land by its faithful clergymen.

MORAL USES OF DARK THINGS. By Horace Bushnell. 12mo. pp. 360. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1868.

Dr. Bushnell has written this book with his characteristic originality and vigor. Where his readers cannot agree with him they will not fail to be interested in him. The sixteen essays which have been collected into this

volume will stimulate thought, and suggest many truths besides those they directly express.

DAVID THE KING OF ISRAEL: a Portrait drawn from Bible History and the Book of Psalms. By Frederick William Krummacher, D.D., author of *Elijah the Tishbite*, etc. Translated, under the express sanction of the author, by the Rev. M. G. Easton, M.A. 16mo. pp. 578. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868.

The beauties and the faults of Dr. Krummacher's style are conspicuous in this as in his other volumes. He is a spirited writer, and often where we do not admire him we are enlivened by him. Many of his metaphors are brilliant, and some of them, even when forced, inspire us by their striking suggestions. It is interesting to compare the religious writings of the German Court Preacher and popular author with the compositions of English and American preachers on the same themes.

THEOLOGICAL LECTURES of the late Rev. David Bogue, D.D. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Samuel C. F. Frey. Second edition. 8vo. pp. 806. New York: Harper and Brothers.

The first American edition of this work was published in 1848. It is a syllabus of the lectures which Dr. Bogue read to his theological pupils at Gosport, England. Among his more than four hundred pupils were Dr. George Bennet, John Angel James, the Chinese Missionary Dr. Robinson, and other eminent dissenters. The lectures, as our readers know, exhibit much good sense and familiarity with the Bible. They may be highly useful to teachers of Sabbath Schools and Bible classes as well as to clergymen.

THE LAW OF LOVE, AND LOVE AS A LAW; or Moral Science, Theoretical and Practical. By Mark Hopkins, D.D., LL.D., President of Williams College. 12mo. pp. 342. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1869.

"Among various recent signs of a humane and thoughtful spirit extending in the upper ranks of English society, there is none more expressive or of greater promise than the increasing regard for moral and political studies in the old universities." What Mr. Martineau says of the English universities may be said of some American schools. We rejoice that President Hopkins is devoting his vigorous and independent mind to ethical studies, and has now published a volume additional, and in a sense supplemental, to his "*Lectures on Moral Science*." We are also happy to see the announcement that President Fairchild of Oberlin College is soon to publish his *System of Moral Philosophy*. We anticipate both pleasure and profit from the speculations of President Fairchild, as we have expe-

rienced no small degree of satisfaction in the discussions of President Hopkins.

On page 5 Dr. Hopkins remarks: "If I say that self-interest is the ground of obligation, I mean that it is that in view of which obligation is affirmed by a moral agent fully constituted." On page 6 he says: "Without questioning what others have done, and simply desiring distinctness, I prefer to call that the ground of obligation in view of which obligation is affirmed." Is this a proper definition of the ground of obligation? Is the ground of obligation that *in view* of which obligation is affirmed, or is it that *on account* of which ultimately obligation exists? Is it the ultimate object in regard to which we have the feeling of obligation, or is it the ultimate reason why that object excites the feeling of obligation? On page 10 Dr. Hopkins approaches nearer the exact definition: "By a ground of obligation we mean the ultimate reason in view of which it is affirmed." Some of his objections against the systems of Clark, Wollaston, Jouffroy, Wayland, are founded on the assumption that those authors, regarded the ground of obligation as the ultimate object in view of which, rather than as the ultimate reason on account of which, obligation exists. They supposed that many things may be predicated of the object which cannot be predicated of the ground. They supposed that the ground may be complex, including more than the final element, and may be ultimate as a reason when it involves much which is not ultimate as a fact.

Ethical philosophers in general will not agree with Dr. Hopkins in his theory of virtue as related to happiness, nor in his arguments for the theory. On page 28 he writes: "So the apostle viewed it. 'If,' says he, 'the dead rise not,' if this life be all, 'let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.' This is good philosophy, and also common sense. It is just drawing the rule of conduct and of duty from the end." We have been in the habit of supposing that the apostle is not speaking here of the soul's immortality, but of the body's resurrection; and certainly we cannot ascribe to him the sentiment, that if the body is not to be raised we may give ourselves up to sensuality. But even if the apostle be here speaking of the soul's immortality, we cannot regard him as endorsing the sentiment that, if our souls be not immortal, we may abandon ourselves to sensual pleasure. What if we are not to be rewarded for our virtue, we are still bound to practise virtue. *Fiat justitia*, etc. We have been wont to regard the apostle as designing merely to affirm that, if the doctrine of the resurrection of the body be not true, then such consequences result as will, in point of fact, induce men to give themselves up to license; that although this ought not to be the event, although the event is not justified nor connived at, yet this will, as a matter of history, be the event. We have been accustomed to suppose that, if the soul of man had been made for the end of sensual indulgence, then it would have been made for a wrong end; that the right character of the soul does not consist in a fitness to its end unless

the end itself be right; that the question, On what is rectitude founded? goes deeper than the question, What is the chief end of man? It reaches the depth of the question: Why is it the chief end of man to glorify God, and enjoy him forever? The profounder question is not, What is the ultimate object in view of which obligation is affirmed? But the profounder question is, What is the ultimate reason why obligation exists in view of that object? Is it the chief end of man to glorify God and enjoy him forever? That is the first query. Ought this to be the chief end? That is the second query. Why ought this to be the chief end? This is the third query; and when we are considering the ground of our obligation this is the sole query.

ESSAYS, PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL. By James Martineau. Vol. II. 12mo. pp. 430. Boston: William V. Spencer. 1868.

This is an excellently printed volume, and exhibits new proofs of the genius and force of thought which distinguish Mr. Martineau. The essays in the volume are entitled: Whewell's Morality; Whewell's Systematic Morality; Morell's History of Modern Philosophy; Soul in Nature; Kingsley's Phaethon; Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy; Kingsley's Alexandria and her Schools; Theory of Reasoning; Plato: his Physics and Metaphysics; a Plea for Philosophical Studies. We hope that Mr. Spencer will publish other volumes of Mr. Martineau's Miscellanies; for while we often disagree with Mr. Martineau's speculations, we always read him with profit. He has rare acuteness of mind and richness of style. Few writers express their thoughts on metaphysical philosophy with so great a degree of liveliness, freshness, and originality.

ENGLISH, PAST AND PRESENT: Eight Lectures by Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Sixth edition, revised and improved. 16mo. pp. 325. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1868.

Archbishop Trench has not the same degree of logical power with that which distinguished his predecessor in the see of Dublin, but he is superior to Whately in some branches of learning, and especially in the literature of the English language. The present volume abounds with interesting historical notices of words which are made the more suggestive by the facts associated with them. See the remarks on Selfish, Selfishness, Righteousness, Painfulness, Thought, Worship, etc. Dr. Trench is eminently candid in his treatment of Americanisms (see pp. 48, 57, 58, 194). The very titles of his Lectures are attractive, and suggest profound as well as pleasant thoughts. These titles are: English a Composite Language; English as it might have been; Gains of the English Language; Diminutions of the English Language; Changes in the Meaning of English Words; Changes in the Spelling of English Words. In his last Lecture he says that he has met the word "sudden" spelt in fifteen different ways among the early English writers.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE: comprising Representative Masterpieces in Poetry and Prose, marking the Successive Stages of its Growth; and a Methodical Exposition of the Governing Principles and General Forms, both of the Language and Literature; with copious Notes on the Selections, Glossary, and Chronology, designed for systematic study. By Henry N. Day, author of "Logic," "Art of Composition," "Art of Discourse," "Rhetorical Praxis," "American Speller," etc. 12mo. pp. 539. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1869.

Professor Day has already accomplished much in familiarizing our students with the principles of their vernacular language. The present volume is better adapted for regular academic study than any volume of the same general character which we have seen. The "notes" are judicious, the principles of the English language are well stated, and the general execution of the work is exact and faithful.

GLIMPSES OF CHRIST IN HOLY SCRIPTURE. By Thomas Laurie, D.D. 12mo. pp. 264. Boston: Gould and Lincoln; New York: Sheldon and Co; Cincinnati: G. S. Blanchard and Co. 1869.

We find many striking thoughts in this book; many rich expressions. Dr. Laurie is one of our best writers on spiritual themes. His volume on "Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians" is one of permanent value. His preparation of the volume entitled "Woman and her Saviour in Persia," has reflected high credit upon him. The most excellent missionary who furnished materials for that book says of Dr. Laurie, "I feel that God has sent him to do" this work. "He will do it a great deal better than I could" (see Dr. Fiske's Memoir of Miss Fidelia Fiske, pp. 350, 359). We hope that Dr. Laurie will continue to favor the religious community with his thoughts on practical religion. In these days of religious romances a book of sober meditations is like a spring of water in a desert.

SEEDS AND SHEAVES; or, Words of Scripture: their History and Fruits. By A. C. Thompson, D.D., author of "The Better Land," "The Mercy Seat," "Lyra Coelestis," "Morning Hours in Patmos," etc., etc. 12mo. pp. 323. Boston: Gould and Lincoln; New York: Sheldon and Co.; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard and Co. 1869.

The design of this volume is to give "illustrations of the use which God has made of particular passages of his word. The biography of certain texts of scripture is more wonderful and more valuable than the biography of a hero." Many of the most precious texts of the Bible are here cited and accompanied with a statement of the influence which they have exerted on certain minds, the responsive expressions which the texts have called forth, the exact adaptedness of the inspired words to the peculiarities of different persons in different states of life and especially at the

hour of death. The biblical illustrations are very numerous, some of them very striking, and are well arranged under appropriate heads.

LYRA SACRA AMERICANA; or, Gems from American Sacred Poetry. Selected and arranged with Notes and Biographical Sketches, by Charles Dexter Cleveland, author of the Compendiums of English, American, and Classical Literature, Concordance to Milton's Poetry, etc. 16mo. pp. 328. New York: Charles Scribner and Co; London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston. 1868.

Mr. Cleveland has already made important contributions to American literature. The present volume lays us under augmented obligations to him. Every reader who is versed in hymnology will, perhaps, miss some hymns which he would have inserted in the volume, and would perhaps have omitted some hymns which he finds here. The comparative value of lyrics is a subject on which, more than almost any other, the judgments and tastes of men differ. Mr. Cleveland's selection, however, will commend itself to the majority of readers by its excellent character, and even if its intrinsic merits were less than they are, it would receive from the compiler's reputation a passport into the public favor.

THE HUGUENOTS: their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland. By Samuel Smiles, author of "Self Help," "Lives of the Engineers," etc. With an Appendix relating to the Huguenots in America. 12mo. pp. 448. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868.

Mr. Smiles has been diligent in his investigations, and has communicated many before unfamiliar facts in the history of the Huguenots. He has given a vivid narrative of the sufferings, the religious feelings, the artistic skill and the benign influence of a class of men to whom Europe is indebted for no small part of her progress in cultivation and refinement. The appendix relating to the Huguenots in America was prepared by Hon. G. P. Dinsway, and is well fitted to interest an American.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW. Preceded by a History of the Religious Wars in the Reign of Charles IX. By Henry White. With illustrations. 12mo. pp. 497. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868.

This work more than the preceding sheds new light on the history of the Huguenots. "Either personally or through the help of kind friends the author has searched far and wide among the provincial records of France. The sources of the information thus acquired have been carefully indicated in the notes, and the result has often been to discredit the statements of the older writers, carelessly copied by their successors." The perusal of this volume deepens our impression of the oft-repeated truth, that a general history cannot be well written without a study of local records, and that the general faults of the old histories have resulted from

overlooking the local details. In the old histories there has been too much of philosophical or imaginative construction, and too little of search for individual facts and private incidents. The Messieurs Harper have done an important work in presenting to the public two such instructive volumes as the History of the Huguenots and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

We are also indebted to the Messieurs Harper for another volume, which will be of permanent value. We allude to the *CYCLOPEDIA OF BIBLICAL, THEOLOGICAL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE*, prepared by the Rev. John M^cClintock, D.D., and James Strong, S.T.D. Vol. II., C, D. 8vo. pp. 993. — Although this extensive work is published under the patronage of the Methodist denomination, it is by no means a sectarian Cyclopaedia. It is instructive to scholars of all denominations. Many of its Articles are written with great care, and evince a multifarious scholarship. Among its chief contributors who are not named as editors, is Professor Alexander J. Schem, whose extensive information and accuracy of detail are admirable qualifications for the important part which he performs in this work. The typographical execution of the first and second volumes is worthy of special commendation.

RELIGION AND THE REIGN OF TERROR; or, the Church during the French Revolution. Prepared from the French of M. Edmond de Pressensé. By Rev. John P. Lacroix, A.M. 12mo. pp. 416. New York: Carlton and Lanahan; Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. 1869.

This volume "is not strictly a translation, but rather a digest" of the work of Pressensé. Professor Lacroix has appended to it many valuable notes. We do not know the author who has exhibited the religious phase of the French Revolution so clearly as Pressensé.

THE GARDEN OF SORROWS; or the Ministry of Tears. By Rev. John Atkinson. 16mo. pp. 203. New York: Carlton and Lanahan; Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden.

Many appropriate reflections for the sick and sorrowing, many interesting historical incidents, many rich quotations from our best writers, are found in this beautifully printed book.

THE CONSCRIPT: a Story of the French War of 1813. By Mm. Enkmann Chatrain. Translated from the twentieth Paris edition. With eight full-page illustrations. 16mo. pp. 330. New York; Charles Scribner and Co. 1869.

The European celebrity which this book has attained will attract the attention of our own countrymen. It is written in a graphic style, and charms while it instructs the reader.

WRITINGS OF DR. MCCOSH. The Messieurs Carter of New York, in addition to other volumes noticed in the present number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, have published a uniform edition of the best writings of Dr. McCosh. They could not have selected a more favorable time than the present for attracting the attention of scholars to the following valuable works: *TYPICAL FORMS AND SPECIAL ENDS IN CREATION*. By Rev. James McCosh, LL.D., President of the College in New Jersey, Princeton, and George Dickie, D.D., Professor of Natural History in the Queen's University in Ireland, and author of a number of papers on Zoölogy and Botany. 8vo. pp. 539. *THE METHOD OF THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT, PHYSICAL AND MORAL*. By Rev. James McCosh, LL.D. 8vo. pp. 549. *THE INTUITION OF THE MIND INDUCTIVELY INVESTIGATED*. By Rev. James McCosh. New and revised edition. 8vo. pp. 448. *AN EXAMINATION OF MR. J. S. MILL'S PHILOSOPHY*; being a Defense of Fundamental Truth. By Rev. James McCosh. Second edition with additions. 8vo. pp. 470. These works are too well known to need any commendation. They form an important part of every well-selected library for a clergyman. The same enterprising house have also published an octavo pamphlet of ninety-six pages, entitled, *INAUGURATION OF JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D.*, as President of the College of Princeton, New Jersey, October 27th, 1868. The inaugural address of the new President occupies sixty-one pages, and is an interesting and candid treatment of the important theme, "Academic Teaching in Europe." Our entire country congratulates the author on the auspicious commencement of his literary career in the United States.

The same well-known house of Carter and Brothers have published two interesting volumes, one entitled, *TALES FROM ALSACE*, or Scenes and Portraits from Life in the Days of the Reformation, as drawn from old chronicles. Translated from the German. With an Introduction appended to the French edition by the French translator, E. Rosseau Saint Hilaire. 16mo. pp. 454. 1869. The other entitled *HADES AND HEAVEN*; or What does Scripture Reveal of the State and Employments of the Blessed Dead and the Risen Saints? By the Rev. E. H. Bickersteth, M.A., author of "Yesterday, To-day, and Forever." 16mo. pp. 128. This book consists of two essays, both of which have been favorably regarded in England, as they deserve to be in our own country.

We have also received from the Messieurs Carter two volumes which are familiar, and may well remain familiar, to our readers: *NATURAL HISTORY OF ENTHUSIASM*. By Isaac Taylor. 1868. *THE CHRIST OF HISTORY*: an Argument grounded in the Facts of his Life on Earth. By John Young, LL.D. Edinburgh. 1868. We owe a debt of gratitude to the publishers of these works, for reminding us that these and similar volumes are still accessible to the American public.

THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

THE NATURAL THEOLOGY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

BY REV. JOHN BASCOM, PROFESSOR IN WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

No. VI.

CREDIT AND CONSUMPTION.

It is impossible to construct society without the cement of faith, or industrial society without the form of faith known as credit. As long as parties are mutually and perfectly distrustful, fearful of each other, they can only guard themselves one against the other with ceaseless anxiety. Every effort goes to establish a barrier against injury, to cut off access by wall or ditch, or to make ready for the approach of an enemy by arms offensive and defensive. Slavery, which rests on violence, must remain a state of conflict, of patient watching on either hand to inflict or to evade wrong, unless, the deep-seated injury overlooked and forgotten, mutual trust comes to unite the parties, with faithful service on the one side, and kindness on the other.

Thieves who band together are compelled to establish, in place of that broader morality which they have thrown off, a narrower code of honor, which they strenuously enforce among themselves, finding in it a new hold for faith. Barbaric society differs from civilized society in the restricted

circle to which this trust extends, and its limited force even here ; in the many fears and superstitions which seemingly spring up on purpose to replace the restrictions of morality. Treachery and the fear of it are most thoroughly destructive to all social ties, the most ruinous of all social vices, and, therefore, all men in the sphere in which they have recognized the obligation to faithfulness, have branded the opposite fault as the most opprobrious of sins, as deserving the severest punishment, the most universal scorn. Even the slave, unless the victim of extreme cruelty, is not suffered to be faithless to his master without peculiar censure. No term conveys more general, more unsparing reproach than that of traitor.

The establishment of faith between individuals, gives the family ; between families, the tribe ; between tribes, the nation ; between nations, the breadth and amenities of modern civilization. In no one respect is the uniform progress of the world more distinct and discernible than in this constant growth of confidence, till the natural and presumed relation of man to man and of nation to nation is now one of amity and trust, one of recognized obligation, which a conviction, rooted in every conscience and as broad as the civilized world, enforces.

The transition to this state from that in which a stranger, *hostis*, and an enemy were one in language and in thought, has been greatly aided by commerce. Commerce demands faith and leads to faith. So strong is this connection that it has given rise to a peculiar word expressive of the phase of confidence called for, to wit, credit.

The first form in which trust appears in trade pertains to the quality of the articles sold. Exchange is greatly embarrassed, and must be often arrested, if no reliance can be placed on the parties to it in regard to the amount and quality of the goods purchased. Though deception in this respect still remains the great bane of traffic, calling for much watchfulness, and often resulting in mortification, loss, and failure, yet, so far has the element of good faith been

developed, that a universal pride and satisfaction are felt in the production of commodities uniformly good ; and every enlarged business rests, or may rest, on connections much the majority of which are reliable without especial watchfulness. Though labels are often false, they have for the most part ceased to deceive, and though quantities have fallen below the standard first established, these deficiencies have come to be recognized, and remain more often traces of past dishonesty than of present fraud.

The want of entire trustworthiness as regards the quality of commodities has never received so severe censure as would have attached to it, had it not been possible, in most cases, to guard sufficiently against it by skill and caution. These endowments are so much the staple of mercantile virtue, that any failure through deficiency in them receives proportionally less sympathy. The shrewdness and overreaching of trade assume this form of deception with less sense of guilt and less public censure, because it is felt that, in the mimic war of traffic, there are minor disguises and subterfuges against which the experienced merchant may protect, and ought to protect, himself, and which he in turn employs. Commerce has not yet learned to rest on entirely frank and open methods ; and omissions, false appearances, and extravagant claims are the remnants of the downright lying, fraud, and violence which were once the rule. When, however, these tricks of trade are practised on the helpless, or at points at which even the shrewd and experienced have no defence, public censure becomes more decided, and struggles to check the destructive, disorganizing tendency by branding the deceiver as a cheat and rogue.

It is worthy of remark that in proportion as the service, or even the product, increases in value, the surveillance exercised, the fear of deception suffered, tend to decrease. The day-laborer is carefully watched to see that he renders the due amount of labor ; the workman of higher skill develops proportionate character, and finds occasion of offence in too scrutinizing an eye ; while the professional laborer is con-

scious of little or no supervision. There is a growth of confidence as the occasion and necessity of it increase. It is both a condition and a result of the higher forms of production. If the same risk attached to the purchase of costly as of less costly goods, it would constitute in those articles a much greater discouragement, and render their production so hazardous as hardly to be remunerative.

The more peculiar form in which faith appears in the commercial world, is that of credit. Credit, though indeed sustained by legal process and penalty, is almost always granted as the result of personal confidence, of a belief that the payment will be made according to agreement.

The two forms of credit are, the parting with products to the consumer or to the merchant without immediate payment, and the loaning of money as capital in business. The first form chiefly appears in book account; the second, in notes, or their equivalents. Credit in the purchase of goods is more often a convenience, a thing of ease or even of indolence, than a necessity, than a relation mutually advantageous to buyer and seller. As the amounts and times of credit are less definite, as both are liable to insensible increase, as the parties are frequently slightly acquainted, and the trust reposed springs from no sufficient knowledge, as the motives to prudence and economy in buying are weakened, as the demand for payment usually comes when the commodity bought has been consumed, and the sense of advantage passed away, this form of trust frequently betrays those who repose upon it, and rarely results in solid advantages to either party. It plays into all heedless indulgence, unthrifty ways, sanguine moods, and a willingness to mortgage the future to the present.

The many bad debts consequent on this form of credit embarrass business, make the circuit of capital longer, the rates of profit higher, and the vexation and anxiety of trade incalculably greater. This form of trust, which is least advantageous, is most risky, and has little to recommend it, since the conditions most favorable for its safe existence are

also most favorable to its abolition. Those to whom it can be most securely granted are those least disposed to it; while those who especially seek it are especially liable to injure, and be injured by, it. The poor, in behalf of whom, a plea for limited credit may sometimes be instituted, ought, above all classes, to be trained to meet present liabilities with present resources, and to avail themselves of the discount of cash prices. The poorer the person the larger usually is the price paid by him for goods, and this, principally because the improvident class to which he belongs are wont to seek and to endanger credit, till the risks of loss constitute a very appreciable part of the price charged.

The development of business tends to remove this form of credit, as destructive to that cheapness, ease, certainty, and rapidity which it seeks. In doing this, it does not restrict the trust of man in man, but rather increases it, by lopping off those forms of credit in which faith is most frequently betrayed; and the indolent, the careless, and the roguish play upon the good-will of their fellows. Virtue may grow as much by closing the door to abuses as by opening that for the development of graces. This form of credit does, indeed, imply considerable commercial progress, but tends to be displaced by further growth.

Perhaps the most undesirable form in which this first kind of credit appears is that in which, nevertheless, it most nearly approaches the second. The wholesale merchant supplies the retail merchant with goods, and waits their sale, in whole or in part, for payment. The temptations of abuse are here stronger, and the opportunity to guard against them slighter than in almost any other form that credit is allowed to assume. The value of the goods loaned, the distance to which they are carried, the ignorance of the parties of each other, and the slight, or rather entire want of, oversight of the debtor by the creditor, make this form of trust so hazardous that we are astonished that commercial faith should ever have gone so far, and that it is not more completely overthrown by its own audacity. A true development

of the moral sense would seem more inclined to censure this credit for its temptations than applaud it for its confidence; while a true business instinct would gladly sacrifice the gains of enlargement for those of safety and rapidity. Winning these, we shall quickly secure the first, while the first may be destructive of these.

The second kind of credit, a money-loan, affords to business obvious and grave advantages. It passes capital from those less to those better fitted to use it, from the old to the young, from the inexperienced to the experienced, from those out of business to those in it. It gathers up capital through the instrumentality of saving-banks, from those who held it in small, unproductive quantities, combines it in convenient and efficient sums, and brings it into the active circuits of production. The gains are thus double. Money, otherwise of little use, is made to work for him who loans it, and for him who borrows it. Capital is kept on its utmost stretch of service. Instead of gathering in stagnant hordes, it returns to the current of business, furnishing a new force and yielding a fresh harvest for the service of man. Judicious loans in this form, imply trust and strengthen it. Though not necessarily resting on good-will, they call it forth, become a means of sympathy, and bear with them the amenities of mutual aid and dependence.

Such loans are interesting on whichever side we look at them; in the power they develop and the virtues they stimulate. The borrower is able, through the faith he inspires, the credit he commands, that is, chiefly through personal character, to transform potential, future advantages, into present possessions, to reap the harvest while he is yet sowing the seed, to turn strength and honesty into capital, and yet to retain them to work with this necessary instrument of production. He is thus able to forestall success, and to come immediately into the possession of its chief advantages. A position is given him on which to plant his lever; he finds the ground for it in his trustworthiness, and is thus able quickly and easily to lift the weight, to move the obstacles

on which he acts. That such purely moral forces as skill and integrity should thus double his power, and command capital, the second essential instrument of production, marks the premium that, even in the field of self-interest, attends virtue.

On the other hand, the lender, in the possibility of a safe loan, finds the continuation, the increase of his power, even when circumstances or inclination have arrested his labor. A strong, faithful agent is at his disposal. The toil which he has expended has become, in the form of capital, a living thing, runs by its own strength, increases by its own processes of growth, and, under the watchful eye of the interested holder, still threads all the paths of exchange, and returns faithfully to lodge its yearly wages in the hands of its master. This accumulated power is developed on both sides by faith.

Private loans, resting on individual knowledge and confidence, afford such new opportunities, develop advantages so rapidly, so call out and reward integrity, and express goodwill, that they seem at once an economic and moral force, and while resting on these two supports cannot readily be excessive.

The more strictly business paper of institutions like banks, set apart to discount, having less of a moral basis and receiving only the protection of general rules, is much more liable to excess. It always plays a conspicuous part in any extended system of credit, brings a constant temptation to relax or evade the rigor of the rules instituted for its defense, and, in the very fact of lively and successful business, finds a reason for that enlargement which is almost sure to bring ruin. The especial guards of this form of credit are the shortness of the times for which it is extended, the promptness of the payment required, with the commercial dishonor and ruin which custom has made to accompany failure, and the requisition of two or more names to each note of indebtedness. There are indeed, if faithfully applied, great protections to this form of credit; yet, when it is left to rest on these, with little or no oversight of character, with no moral

basis, it often becomes very insecure. Rules coldly or carelessly applied lose their value. A second loan may pay and enlarge the first, and two names are not necessarily better than one. Discounts which recur more frequently, require, indeed, more care than private loans, and demand peculiar safeguards, but are not thereby saved the necessity of underlying, well-grounded confidence.

The sharpness and coldness of this form of credit are especially seen in the prompt payment required, while the clumsy, partial nature of the protection thus afforded is illustrated by the ruin often incident thereto. Commercial sentiment at this point, is exceedingly stringent, and rather than abate a jot of its demands, or hazard in the least the promptness of business, often precipitates private bankruptcy, or even draws on a great crisis. A stringency of rule and sentiment grows up proportionate to the end in view, and with the rigor and harshness of a purely mechanical force, the protest comes, and is followed by disgrace and ruin. In private loan, the kindliness of the moral element is much more apparent, and in discounts to which this is wanting, men strive to supply its place with the harsh penalties of a conventional system. Yet this law is law, and stringent law, and, on the whole, wise and disciplinary law.

A third form of credit is that of paper currency, not based dollar for dollar on the precious metals. By this excess of paper over coin, there seems about to be realized a creation of commercial power. Products, capital already acquired, are not loaned, but credit is made to become capital, to add to its absolute amount, to place instantly without a substratum in any existing resources, new funds at the disposal of the fortunate issuer, the lucky debtor, who has at length hit upon an alchemy of currency by which one dollar can be made two, three, or a dozen dollars, as the case requires. Looking only at the immediate, obvious results, this satisfaction does not seem altogether ill-grounded. A new capital has arisen, and is working most real and rapid results in the market. It is only when we take a broader and deeper

survey that we find nothing has been created, no absolutely additional power been given into the hand of industry. A multiplication of bills by increasing the numerical aggregate of the currency by so much reduces the worth of its units, and leaves the sum of value the same. That which determines the value of gold is its amount compared with the offices it has to discharge—is the demand for it; and with the substitution and multiplication of paper this demand decreases, with a proportionate loss of value. This general loss of purchasing power in the precious metals may not be at once sensible, but it is none the less real. We may dip a pail of water from a lake, or fill a reservoir therefrom, and observe no fall in the general level, but we have not therefore created this fresh supply. We may take air into an air-chamber or press air from it, and find it in each case full, and no more than full, and, if we overlook the density of the element, fail to perceive that we have affected it. We may add or take from a currency, and fancy that so much has been lost or gained, unless we estimate the effect on the purchasing power of each unit, leaving the aggregate value unaltered. This form of credit, bold and peculiar as it is, has no claim to create any new capital, but only to re-direct and re-divide the old. For my neighbor to issue ten dollars of paper for one of gold held in his possession, is for him to add to his own resources by subtracting an insensible amount from mine and every other man's within the circuit of the currency, or strictly of the civilized world. The plea for this kind of credit must rest, then, on its relations to currency, in which we have discussed it, and not on the ground that it either creates capital or constitutes an ordinary transfer of it. The unmistakable fact that a paper currency is simply a re-adjustment of old values, an insensible plundering of the many with manifest fortune for the few, a stealthy, an imperceptible clipping, as it were, of the metallic circulation, should not certainly, financially or morally, incline us to it.

This kind of credit, least of all, rests on personal confidence, and, most of all, depends on rules for the observance

of which there has never been found adequate security, and whose violation has been as tempting as it has been easy. He who receives the bill of a bank, and, to that extent, becomes its creditor, more frequently knows little or nothing of its soundness, finds the loan forced upon him by the necessities of business, has neither protection against making it, or means of security in it beyond a few general principles or loose rules, whose observance is left very much to the option of interested parties.

It would doubtless have been thought beforehand, in clear view of all its liabilities, that this form of credit would be much more unsafe and disastrous than it has actually proved. Its losses, however, are so small in the separate amounts involved, and are, while constant, so scattered, that they do not make the impression which belongs to them in the aggregate. This, if we could cause it to express at once all discounts, counterfeits, and bills absolutely worthless, would be found very great.

While credit is an indispensable instrument of production, giving facility and strength to its processes, while it finds a basis in our moral constitution, and tends to unite the lower impulses of gain to the higher of good-will, it nevertheless, by gradually growing into a system and extending itself in business from point to point and branch to branch, is open to grave evils, and often ends in a general and wide-spread catastrophe.

Especially those forms of it which we have seen to rest least immediately on personal confidence, and to have only a few general safeguards cast about them, become, in such a system, sources of danger. So completely is this true, that an undue extension of a system of credit will hardly be found without its chief instrument, banks of issue, whose expansive and contractile power gives to trade those nervous and convulsive movements that carry excitement and frenzy over into stupor and paralysis. As long as credits are simple, resting on a single, straightforward transfer of capital, it is not easy to secure that state of mutual and crit-

ical dependence which renders an accident to any fatal to all. It is only when banks, the centres of supply to wide and interlocked circles of business, endanger their own footing by excessive issue, and become, instead of pivots of strength, points of especial vacillation and weakness ; when obligations yet unmet, and goods still unsold are made the basis of further loans, that a complicated net-work of dependencies is established, sensitive in every part, and liable to be flawed and hopelessly entangled by the merest gust of disaster falling on any part.

The evils which follow from credit when ripened into an extended system and made the foundation of business deserve careful notice. The first of these is the rise of prices attendant on the growth of credit ; or, taking into consideration both its growth and subsequent decline, the fluctuation of prices. Stability of prices, except so far as they are affected by natural and inevitable forces, is the great security and encouragement of industry. All fluctuation without a reason in the necessity of things, merely occasions an unfortunate and unjust transfer of property from hand to hand, often from the more to the less industrious, from the staid, faithful producer to the tricky, wide-awake speculator, from the commercial laborer to the commercial gambler, and is thus attended with discouragement of sober industry. The rise of prices frequently accompanying the development of a new branch of industry, the breaking out of new enterprize, is a mark of prosperity, gives life to business, and thus becomes associated in the minds of men with the prosperous and productive condition which occasions it. The rise of prices following an undue extension of credit, bears the same appearance, but is, in fact, quite diverse in its effects. Credit, by the ease and efficiency of use which it imparts to all the available capital of a community, in its best and desirable forms, tends to business activity, and thus to high prices ; when, however, there is added to this a large and general transfer of goods on unsafe, easy credit, and to this, generous issues of currency acting as a factitious capital, a purchas-

ing power with no valid basis anywhere, the conditions of business are made so open and alluring that an excessive, unsubstantial demand springs up in many directions, occasioning a sudden rise of prices, sure to be followed by a correspondingly violent decline. Credit is almost certain to lend its highest facilities to the speculative branches of trade, since it is here that sudden hopes arise, craving but a few months, or even days, for realization. Rarely does one enter upon an extended, substantial, and permanent branch of business without patience, skill, and an ownership of most of the capital requisite to it. It is trade whose circuits are short, whose promises are excessive, and whose steps can often be traversed by a short loan or a month's discount, that holds out deceitful lures to easy credit, and by some sudden turn of the market engulfs the too credulous borrower. He who fastens his hopes of gain on these uncertain fluctuations of price, is like one who crosses a swollen river leaping from block to block of ice. A chasm by a single foot too broad, completely baffles him. The exertion and success of the past go for nothing, if amid the fortuitous and shifting scene about him one gap lies in his path too wide for his leap. The speculator may strain credit to the utmost, and perish with the image of hope but a week or a month ahead.

The effect of extended credit through trade on prices is evident. A rise of prices is pronounced in any community. Credit extends its hand to all who wish to close with the golden opportunity. Speculative purchases follow, and are attended by a rapid acceleration of prices. Success waits on those who have purchased, and allures others to the field, and those in it to further investments. As, however, a portion of the rise has been effected by artificial forces, when these are withdrawn there will be a correspondingly rapid decline of value. There comes a moment when speculative purchases must cease, and speculative sales commence. Then it is found that no real, adequate state of the market occasioned the universal demand, and that sales cannot be

effected at remunerative rates. Then follow alarm, precipitate sales, and heavy losses. In this vacillation there is nothing but disturbance and overthrow for sober, profitable production. The reliability of its calculations, the certainty of its rewards, the firmnesses of the ground gained, are chief conditions of prosperous industry; while sudden and unforeseen changes, the miscarriage of schemes sustained by prudence and patience, are its great discouragements. It enters on each new undertaking, uncertain whether the cost of material will be met by a corresponding value in the completed product.

The high prices, moreover, which constitute the rule under a credit system, expending to the utmost the purchasing power of the community, favor foreign, as contrasted with home, industry. Gold is cheapened by the multiplication of its paper equivalents, and hence flows easily abroad. To say that prices are high, is to say in other words, that the precious metals are low, easily bought by foreign produce, ready to seek a better market abroad. Nor do the high prices of commodities, with the consequent transfer abroad of gold and silver, check a system of credit when once established. Room is only thereby made for the expansive power of paper, and there seems to be a demand for the enlargement of a credit which is becoming more and more unstable. Industry is therefore doubly perplexed by the general prevalence of high prices, and by their vacillation, compelling it to compete unfavorably with foreign industry, and to enter with unusual risk on the circuit of its productive processes.

Not only are these serious obstacles in the way of industry, their presence is concealed by false appearances. High prices themselves are the delusive indications of prosperity. At some points and by some parties money, in the fluctuation of values, is made rapidly, and large foreign purchases are readily met from surplus coin thrown out of the currency by the expansion of paper circulation. There is nothing, therefore, save to the more thoughtful and experienced, to occasion alarm; indeed, the judgment of danger rests on

unobtrusive indications, and seems to be, in the very face of conspicuous facts, of apparent prosperity, forced on one's very senses. The commercial barometer therefore is watched only by the more observant, and most, with all sails set, are struck by the storm.

And the storm is sure to come, general and sweeping, strewing the shore with many wrecks. The final issue of a financial crisis is the last, the crowning liability of an extended credit system. For a time the expansion of credit may proceed slowly in diverse and independent directions. In its growth the disconnected losses of a few will not be much observed, and will occasion no general disturbance. As, however, the system advances — and advance it will under the hope of easy gains, the allurements of brilliant prizes, and the extension of a reckless, insatiate, speculative spirit — parties will be locked together in broader dependencies, banks will be the centres of large circles of loans, and themselves become involved, each with each, by indirect if not direct dependence. A sensitive and wide-reaching sympathy will thus be established. An excitable and nervous condition will pervade the entire business community. Delicate and universal connections will be alert nerves along which every vibration of commercial feeling can run with easy and increasing rhythm, carrying the whole commercial body forward in the excitement of hope, or causing it to recoil under the shock of fear. With these extended dependencies, this wide-felt and excitable feeling, the commercial world is placed in a condition of most unstable equilibrium, at the mercy of accident, and sure, sooner or later, to be thrown entirely from its balance. In the midst of general and extreme indebtedness, of immature and extravagant schemes of trembling speculation, comes at length a heavy failure. The blow is given, one tottering structure falls against another. The force of concussion runs on to a third, a fourth, through a score, a hundred, a thousand, sweeping into bankruptcy long lines of debtors. Fear, more senseless than hope, sends a throb of frenzy round the circles

of business. Debtors supplicate the banks, creditors press upon debtors to overwhelm them if possible. No alarm is felt by any one that is not communicated instantly, that does not create a new pressure, that is not made to do its utmost of mischief, finding echo and reverberation in the universal fear. A sense of general insecurity, valid, indeed, in itself, but now waking up only to work ruin with a fool's madness, closes the avenues of escape, and plucks down heavy destruction on those whom a little patience and faith might spare. Credit, but a short time since so easy and excessive, becomes utterly and everywhere impossible. The irrationality of one movement vibrates into the irrationality of the opposite. Commercial faith, hitherto as succulent as a sponge, is now instantly squeezed dry, and men stand astonished, hopelessly awaiting the shock of fortune they can neither avert or limit. When the storm has wrought its own pleasure, and expended itself, business changes hands, suffers the depression of reduced prices, gathers together the wrecks of the past, slowly revives, finds a basis for hesitating and limited credit, and, too often untaught by experience, suffers this to grow once more into the same unsound methods, to be followed again, as time softens the memory of events, by kindred disasters.

Nor is this slow growth of prices, at length reaching a crisis, and followed by a rapid decline, disastrous as it is to industry, so much to be lamented in the immediate losses it entails, as in the tone and spirit it gives to production and trade. As credit is not made to rest back solely on personal trust, on established character, the necessity of a reputation for industry, prudence, skill, is less felt. Capital is obtained on easier terms than a personal guarantee of its faithful and successful employment, and therefore the premium on high, productive virtue is withdrawn or greatly reduced. This system not only lays less stress on honesty, — it encourages dishonesty. To loan the property of one to another with no adequate security, is to encourage the debtor in a low estimate of the advantages and conditions of credit, to leave

him open to the temptation of a reckless and careless use of that in which so little either of his own property or even good name is involved ; is, indeed, to place him in the very outset in a dishonest position, obtaining and employing the possessions of another with no adequate pledge, either in the securities given, or in the integrity and skill which he brings to the business.

The constant failures which follow such a system, involving many relatively prudent and industrious parties, greatly lessen the odium of bankruptcy, cause it to be regarded more as a misfortune than a crime, and thus by so much weaken the penalties which public opinion attaches to indolence, to heedlessness, and to dishonesty, and remove the safeguards established in behalf of capital.

With this reduction of the shame and the disaster of failure on the one hand, and with the occasional easy and extravagant gains of a bold and reckless venture on the other, it is not strange that a speculative prevails over an industrial spirit, and labor is left to those who have not the wit to buy and sell, to sit at the table of exchanges, and play at the brokerage of chances. Just so far as wealth is allowed to rest on the fall and rise of prices, production becomes a form of gambling, or rather ceases altogether, while its past products are made the stakes of to-day's venture. There is fortunately a grand, broad stratum of small capitalists and hard workers, to whom this restless and adventurously spirit finds little access, and who plod on, the sober men, the real producers of the world. With this class credit hardly goes beyond a few direct loans, of which personal confidence forms the chief security. On these, most unfortunately however, the waves of price which have their rise in the commercial and financial centres, break, and while they are here in part arrested, it is not without much inconvenience and loss.

With these facts of credit before us, we see that men are at once interlocked with each other ; commercial interests make the dishonesty and unreliability of some perplexing

and disastrous to all, and that, therefore, strictly personal well-being seeks for general integrity as the indispensable condition of extended and prosperous traffic, and accepts and cherishes that mercantile sentiment which honors the trustworthy and censures the unreliable. Production, involving confidence in so many, and the weighty venture of direct loan in not a few, needs, and must find, a moral basis for credit, and strives to quicken and support the moral sense by such maxims as, Honesty is the best policy. Though commercial integrity is in some instances — under the peculiar motives which operate so strongly to induce it — found separated from other forms of virtue, it is evident that the discipline of business, in this confidence which it must repose in its agents, in this actual and extended credit which it must fearlessly grant to many, is moral. The trust reposed appeals to a feeling of honor, the reputation for integrity calls out pride of character, while the consequent advantages give a lively sense of wisdom, of a safe and sound policy. Thus commerce at once works with forces and feelings closely allied to the pure motives of morality, and chiefly sustained in our constitution by them. Character becomes a most important consideration. The honesty of one wins for him, and the dishonesty of another loses for him, a favored position, a fortunate employment, a needed loan, and the closeness and strength of the lock of commercial relations are proportionate to the sense of security, of integrity.

Credit, having thus its basis in confidence so closely associated with the moral sentiments, tends of course in its growth to call forth the moral nature. The fact of reposing trust develops a watchful interest in others, and the fact of accepting trust makes the strongest appeal to the nobler impulses. The transaction does rest on a moral basis, and therefore calls into action moral forces, and by the satisfaction, the private and public approval they secure, prepares the mind for enlarged activity in kindred directions. The growth of commercial integrity is as natural and inevitable when once inaugurated, as of the virtues of courage, self-reli-

ance, magnanimity. The occasion and motives of a healthy moral sentiment are given in business, though under strong, sudden, subtile temptations, integrity may be often lost, and confidence suffer many a shock.

This progress of sympathetic, moral forces, in connection with commerce, is well illustrated by the present as compared with earlier and with ancient methods of treating debtors. Says Maine, in speaking of the severity of Roman law toward the debtor: "His indebtedness was doubtless regarded as an anomaly, and suspense of payment in general as an artifice and a distortion of strict rules. The person who had duly consummated his part of the transaction must, on the contrary, have stood in peculiar favor; and nothing would seem more natural than to arm him with stringent penalties for enforcing the completion of a proceeding which by strict right ought never to have been extended or deferred."

Nor need we travel but a brief period into the past to find a debtor's prison whose concomitants were little better than those which attended the confinement of the lowest felon. Now bankrupt laws, laws shielding various forms of property from attachment, shift the burden from the debtor to the creditor, and leave the former to renew the experiment of life with no further disadvantage than the loss of time and a restriction of credit. Indeed, so easily are commercial sins forgiven, that the last soon ceases to be felt. Here, then, a totally new state of feeling and of relations, much broader, kinder, and sympathetic, has sprung up in connection with the growth of business.

But let it not be inferred that these commercial forces, while calling into extensive activity the moral nature, and tending, in the conditions they impose, the motives they present, to urge men upward, are yet sufficient to establish and maintain moral growth. Indeed, did not the moral nature stand ready to receive these inducements, to feel their impulse, we should almost as hopefully expect to educate the cunning of the fox into an adroit policy of honesty, as the rapacity and greed of men into the forbearance the

patience, the high honor of commercial character. The growth of confidence has not been secured in exchange by its own forces, by the influences it alone has called forth. The greater lenity which has been extended to the debtor, the substitution, for the coarse, hasty method of brute force and severe punishment, of generosity and sympathy, have not been reached save by the philanthropic exertions of individuals, and the softening power on the community of Christian sentiments. This movement has not arisen within the commercial circle, and been urged by commercial incentives, though these motives have not been without their influence; but has been rather an expression of Christian interest and good-will. The severity of punishment has been mitigated, the tyranny of the creditor been softened, by the influence of men like Howard, who, under the impulse of good-will, have undertaken the thankless task of reform.

Moreover, mere forethought, prudence, the wisdom of experience, cannot present motives strong enough to confront pressing temptations, incorporated in the constitution of men and customs of society. The deceitfulness and dishonesty of Eastern nations cannot be cured by simple commercial experience; for such an experience cannot itself be gained till the cure is measurably effected. The mind may give a languid, obscure assent to the general principles of honesty, but can have no such settled and practical faith in them as to follow them against universal practice, the hope of immediate gains, and the transmitted and habitual tendencies of the mind. To expect deceit and dishonesty to cure themselves by a remedial process of their own, is to suppose the deep experience, the profound and wide-spread convictions which close the movement to be present to inaugurate it, to require the results of reaching the goal as a condition of starting for it.

The fate of credit when divorced from the moral nature is seen in those extended systems which rest it on commercial rules rather than individual confidence, and build it up into an independent and organized business scheme. We

have marked the certain and universal overthrow which follows the unsubstantial and treacherous character of the commercial fabric so constructed, and the sudden ruin in which it is involved. No scheme seems more ingenious and to promise easier and more flattering returns than that of a paper currency ; yet, lacking a basis, a sound metallic footing, it betrays the community into incalculable losses, entails upon it chronic ailments, and leaves it, in every trial of strength, weak and timid. Nothing can better illustrate the demand for complete and thorough integrity, for an immediate, adequate, and sound support for every promise to the full measure and form thereof. A bank bill is not an engagement to pay at a single specified time, but at any and every time ; not to one party, but to any party, and the security of this promise is not, cannot be, personal trust, but an ability put by the circumstances of the engagement beyond a peradventure. Every step in the growth of bills beyond specie, therefore, endangers the promise, and tends to its ultimate overthrow. In the strict equalizing of the power with the pledges that rest on it, we have a noble instance of commercial soundness and moral integrity ; and, in the excess of the one over the other, a notable illustration of the abortive growth of spurious credit when cut from the trunk of stern virtue.

What, therefore, commercial law struggles to do, yet fails to accomplish, what it disciplines, vexes, punishes men for not doing, moral law, working with a more profound and independent force, is able to reach. The higher motive comes in to employ and sustain the lower, to give a breadth, precision, and beauty to commercial action, of which taken alone it is incapable ; yet, which once established, it recognizes as essential to its full development, and is prepared to sustain with the force of motives never before so strongly felt. As strictly chemical forces never seem so potent, so able to work such unusual and perfect transformations as when under the influence and handling of the vital power, so the laws of exchange never accomplish so completely their

own results, never reveal so fully their beneficent action, as when brought under the superior government of the moral impulse. It is this which pleurably and completely reaches what the others painfully and inadequately aspire to. Thus again we find a lower plane of forces, which the most selfish cannot fail to feel, and feel through their very selfishness, preparing discipline, punishment, and incentives for those who are not yet ready to accept the restraints of virtue, or be blessed by its motives. Yet we also find this incipient order able to complete itself only as at length it is brought to minister to a higher life, falls under a more efficient and pervasive force, descending upon it, developing the strength that is in it, and gathering its minor and subsidiary tendencies into the sweep of a more inclusive and potent plan. That is partial, this complete. There is a struggle; here, its only hopeful, divine issue. Herein, then, runs the creative thought.

Political economy does not properly include consumption. It is the science of the production, distribution, and exchange of values, not of their consumption. Values are values because they directly or indirectly appeal to human desires, and the many and complex movements by which these are realized, and at length lodged in the hand of the consumer, complete the field of economic inquiry. A detached, separate system of laws controls the rise and transfer of wealth. It is these which form the science. The production, division, and transfer of values, practically inseparable, require distinct consideration. Though the three processes go on under the form of one, they nevertheless, in their nature and relations are diverse, each possessed of its own principles. Exchange constitutes rather the accidental form than the peculiar character of distribution and production, and it is advantageous, therefore, to consider these apart from the more general laws regulating the transfer of values. While exchange penetrates every economic process, and becomes the

prevailing form of movement, in one class of cases it is nevertheless incidental to other ends, and in another it is itself the end. We cannot, therefore, treat the whole science as one of exchange, as if traffic were the full and perfect type of every economic transaction.

Consumption, on the other hand, as a form of social action, lies without the pale of economic forces. It may, indeed, by the form it assumes react strongly upon these. So will the laws, customs, and religion prevalent among those engaged at any place and time in production; yet this fact does not make government or theology a branch of political economy. All that this science properly does is to aid man in securing the means of gratification by unfolding the laws which govern values, thus enabling him to gain these with the least exertion and greatest certainty.

When values are once lodged in the hand of the consumer, the observation of political economy ceases to be especially directed to them, and their right consumption becomes a question of social and moral interest. We may ask many questions concerning wealth which it is no part of the office of economic science to answer; as, for instance: How much wealth is it desirable to have? In what occupation can it be most easily obtained? Is this investment of it desirable? To this class belongs consumption, or the inquiry: How ought wealth to be expended? The definite office of political economy is to enunciate the principles which govern the distinct processes of acquiring, dividing, and transferring values, without at all touching those questions, either of expediency or duty, which are so intimately associated therewith, and are ever urging themselves upon the individual. We need to know the laws of mechanics if we are to set up machinery, though that science cannot tell us whether a mill should be built in this or that locality, or is desirable at all. The object of a knowledge of the science of values is to give ease, security, and certainty in their handling, not to decide how much the individual should have of them, in what employment he should gain them, nor what he should do with

them. Such knowledge merely enables us to make safe and wise, in the general principles on which it proceeds, the action, be it more or less, expended in securing wealth.

There is, indeed, one form of consumption wrongly so called, which is directly connected with production, and that is the use of material already valuable in the creation of further value. Thus leather is made into shoes, and timber into furniture, buildings, shops. There is here the form not the fact of consumption. In true consumption the commodity or service finally disappears in the gratification of a desire, and this act lies beyond, not within, the field of political economy.

Of this intermediate consumption, which is production rather, the expenses of government present the most interesting example. The public safety and justice which these are intended to secure are among the most essential conditions of exchange. The scaffolding by which a building is erected, the ways on which a ship is launched, are no more necessary and included parts of the outlay, than are the expenses of legislative, judicial, and executive action of the cost of production, of the national wealth, whose acquisition they aid and whose possession they guard.

By far the largest branch of this form of consumption is the expenditure of war. However wasteful war may seem to be, it is yet a wise and prudent and productive expenditure when it is necessary to social order, to just institutions, and national character. Too much cannot be laid out on the foundations, since the superstructure is an impossibility without them. If the half of national wealth is swept away by necessary war, the remaining half more than doubles its value, and from the additional security, liberty, and integrity of character gained, the productive forces may receive such a stimulus as quickly to replace all pecuniary losses. When moral qualities are really at issue, when wide-reaching truths and fundamental rights must be defended or surrendered, it is foolish to count the cost in dollars and cents, since these, in the right social state, can be quickly replaced, while with-

out those nothing can flourish. The life is more than meat, not only as greater, but as having in it inexhaustible powers of production. We cannot, then, suffer the fountains of economic, as of all other forms of strength, to be choked up, on the vain plea that it costs too much to guard and keep them open. Needful war is the most needful of all needful things, the most economic of all economic forces, the most moral of all moral actions. The sublimity of heroic faith, of expenditure risking all for all, laying down life for life, the lower for the higher, is to put the present with all its fascinating show of good, its physical wealth and temporal well-being, in peril and pause for the future, is to close up with quivering muscle every chasm across the path of the race in its march to a spiritual goal. This is to order virtue as God orders it, who holds the race in a long, hard discipline, suffering physical forces to tread and crush it as in a wine-press, that holiness may at last be seen; who rules the world on the distinct, pre-eminent principle that the life is more than meat, and the body than raiment.

But when and how often this necessity of war exists, and whence it arises, remain most grave questions, and rightly answered go far to show that most of the sacrifices of war have been made in obedience to the worst impulses, heroism swallowed up in brute ferocity, the holy tendencies put to most wicked work, bringing their immolations to the altar of Molock. Of the wars which have been waged, few, even in modern times, have been on either side in pure maintenance of principle, have been at once justifiable in their spirit and form, — the last appeal, when patience and exhortation had failed against unreasonable injustice and determined wrong. In these very few cases the wickedness of war is but the more marked on the part of those who have been able, in the face of Christian sentiment, to make the great and dire appeal solely for selfish, unjust purposes. Generally, however, right has been more or less divided between the parties, and the principles involved have entered as often by implication and secondary dependence, as they

have been the openly avowed, the clearly and consistently maintained, ground of either party.

The truths put at issue in war have suffered the peril of Paul, ready to be pulled in pieces between the contending factions his words had aroused. The principles thus established have more often been blindly eliminated in the heat of personal passion, than distinctly, broadly, and wittingly vindicated. The interests of men have frequently compelled them to make and maintain statements of right more far-reaching than they themselves would be willing to accept and enforce as against themselves. Self-love couches the eye, and enables it to see truth not discernible by the indifferent, much less by those in opposition. Thus we, in the revolution of '76, enunciated principles against whose inferences and applications we have ever since struggled. A combination of interests forced us to a progress we should not have made on purely moral grounds.

Even in those few cases in which war is the last resort, the acknowledged necessity of one party, it is well to remember what makes it so. That necessity does not arise outside of the opinions and choices of men. A cruel war is forced upon weak or reluctant parties so frequently, because no broad-spread, deep-seated sentiment condemns war, and arraigns those who seek this appeal. It is a majority vote, as it were, that maintains this method of arbitration, as it is that justifies and supports any form of tyranny. What is it that holds an army to duty and drives it into the face of danger? It is either the clear, decided choice of the majority, or a false belief in such a choice, maintained by mutual ignorance and fear. It is with the soldiers, not with the leaders, that strength lies. It is they that must punish disobedience and mutiny. It is they that handcuff and execute their fellows for a violation of orders. Leaders, therefore, can only enforce obedience and hurl their men into the jaws of death by controlling, or seeming to control, their choices. Let opinions be rife among the soldiers, and the expression

of them free, and authority cannot go much beyond the bias of feeling, the judgment prevalent with them.

As the army is maintained by the estimate which the soldier has of his duties, so is war maintained by the public opinion, or want of it, in the masses who are spurred on to suffer its dangers and endure its losses. Individual passion and ambition could not kindle the wide-spread and destructive conflagration of war did not the humbler ranks of men serve as fuel to the fire, as trains ready laid by which to ignite and explode a nation or a continent. The very moment that men, the masses and the majorities, will have an opinion, will know one with another what that opinion is, and be ready to guide their action by it, that moment authority passes into their hands, and they cease to be the living instruments of war, and to endure the sufferings from which no advantage can accrue to themselves or to humanity. Rulers and leaders walk on the heads of citizens and soldiers because the masses lie congealed and inert, as it were, in ignorance and mutual fear. Low passions, class prejudice, and national enmities serve as media along which to transmit the fury and rage of war, and enable skilful leaders to combine and hold together great armies, and, in the pursuit of personal and limited ends, to batter, waste, and splinter them, as if they were nothing more than a faithful sword given for this very end to their right hand. If, perchance, a little thought starts here and there, a little reluctance is felt at this or that point, it is quelled at once by the reverberating march of thousands, no one of whom knows but that the fellow who stands by his side would become his executioner should he strive for an instant to break loose from the ponderous, irresponsible, unreasoning body of which he is but a single atom. The maul may be battered and shattered by the blows which it gives, but that is it for which the tool was made, reasons the workman. Let the light of intelligence, the heat of moral purpose, thaw out these masses, open up and set in free motion these frozen streams, and leaders sink at once as units into the flood of humanity.

When the soldier asks what purpose the dangers and sufferings of war subserve for him, when his fellow propounds the same inquiry, and they together answer, no good purpose, but much loss every way, war approaches an end. The necessity on which it now rests begins to disappear, since that necessity springs only from the passions of men acted on by false and confused opinions.

Most legitimate and needful, then, is the constant appeal to public sentiment against war in behalf of peace, since error and inertness here are its occasion and condition. Violence and ruffianism are to be banished between nations in precisely the same way as between individuals. Personal encounters, street quarrels, and duels are held in check by a sentiment which makes patience, or a calm appeal to reason or to law, the universally accepted criterion of manhood, and brands every other procedure as low, debasing, and barbarous. Let society from a given point slip one step toward barbarism, and personal altercation and revenge freely enter; let it rise one step toward true enlightenment, and these disappear and are replaced by judicial processes. The same is equally true between nations, though we have not yet reached the point of verification.

If, then, the necessity of war is not absolute, but one of our own creating; if it arises from the ignorance and passions of men; if it is no visionary or remote idea of social perfection to suppose a community of civilized nations so alive to their own interests, so impressed with a sense of justice, of individual safety, and national prosperity as to provide for and demand the judicial settlement of national as of private differences,—then, assuredly, do we do well to begrudge the vast expenditures of the war-system, the great burden imposed by it on the working classes. If this branch of governmental expenditure could be greatly lessened or entirely removed, there would at once be lifted such a load from the galled, jaded shoulders of the poor, there would at once be opened for them such a new margin of opportunity, as to give them the buoyancy of fresh hopes, the elasticity of successful enterprise.

The poor are, as a class, more affected by war than any other, not only because the waste of life falls chiefly on them, but because the taxation incident to its enormous expenditures is sure to seek them out, often in a very disproportionate degree, always with peculiar hardship. So much of taxation is indirect, resting on consumption, that the poorer classes feel, even beyond their measure, the public burden. So, too, the loss of capital incident to war finally rests most severely on the poor, since it is to the employment which the productive use of this would afford them that they look for aid. This form of loss would be much more severely felt did not war at the same time reduce by its slaughter the number of workmen. The poor are always in a critical position; a very slight gain or loss determines with them the question of progress or retrogression, of comfort or of suffering. If, therefore, the losses of war fall on them only in due proportion, they suffer relatively much more sharply from them than those who can maintain their social ground and rank from resources comparatively abundant. The changeable prices, also, and opportunities for rapid gains incident to war, result almost universally in the gains of a few, and the depression of the many. In the severe struggle through which this country has recently passed, though the large bounties have afforded some relief, high prices have pressed generally and heavily on the working classes.

These considerations are the more grave in the present state of improvement in military and naval warfare. War is now resolved into a race of financial, rather than physical, strength. New inventions superseding old weapons, rendering useless fortifications and armaments, impose enormous and purely experimental expenditures on those who wish to rival their neighbors in arms. Nor do these new outlays, great and burdensome as they are, solve the problem, or permanently alter its conditions. The advances of one nation are met, sooner or later, by corresponding advances on the part of others, and armaments of thrice the cost in construction and maintenance bristle on either hand against each

other. The outlays of one people impose kindred outlays throughout the civilized world, and this with the barren result of leaving each in the same relative position as before, with a greatly increased cost in maintaining it. It would seem that such a futile, and therefore such a heartless and brainless, race must come to an end. And it will come to an end the moment that men generally perceive its real character, and refuse to maintain it. The recent revolution in naval warfare, rendering comparatively useless half the enormous labor hitherto expended on fortifications and armaments, would seem to be well fitted to disenchant men of the strange fascination and sense of necessity which attach to the war-system, a system which gives neither the security nor justice which are its ostensible objects, and lays an ever-growing burden on the people in its futile efforts to redeem irredeemable promises. Let nations fall to once more, rebuild their forts, re-make their navies, re-arm their armies, it shall not be final. Nothing is final but justice and peace, accepted for themselves, and allowed with quiet counsel and fruitful hands to bless those who maintain them.

In one view how ridiculous, in another how sad, the attitude of a Christian world seeking prosperity and peace by hedging out war, by sinking ditches it cannot overleap, building walls it cannot penetrate, mounting ordnance it cannot resist, forgetful that the devil of passion on this side, is as cunning in device, as bold in execution as the devil on that, and that each finds in each the provocation and food of new inventions. If this chimerical bubble of armed safety could be exploded, and the resources expended in seeking it be turned to useful production, what a sudden, astonishing, and beneficent revolution would take place in society, and what a marvellous increase would there be of the means of good at its disposal! This is by no means a money question merely, since it is chiefly the reaction on national character, and the gains to national well-being that are sought.

The next form of consumption of which we shall speak, is not, like that of war, alleged to be in the line and interests

of productions, but is true consumption. As it is claimed that the luxuries of the rich especially aid the poor and quicken industry, the relation of these to social and industrial interests, and the moral discipline instituted through them, deserve notice. On the grounds of political economy alone we cannot criticise the most luxurious forms of expenditure. Wealth is sought only for the gratification of desires which it affords, and to judge between desires is not the office of economic but of moral science. Whatever the desire may be which prompts productive labor, the principles and laws of that labor are the same. There is no economic, any more than there is any civil, principle restricting personal liberty in the expenditure of wealth, provided the rights of others are respected.

While political economy yields its guidance to efforts which are prompted by frivolous, selfish, and excessive desire, the influence on society of lavish and luxurious outlay is very different from that often ascribed to it. Such expenditure is not for the general interest, as thought by many. The majority of luxuries, aside from those which minister directly to the appetite, lend their chief gratification through vanity and pride, — using these words in no opprobrious sense, but as including the satisfaction which arises from the admiration of our fellow men, and the sense of possession. Luxuries are altogether relative; they are indulgences decidedly beyond those common in the community to which we belong. The necessities of one place or time may be the luxuries of another. They express, quicken, and gratify the love of superiority, and afford a broader circle and higher grade of enjoyments than fall to the masses. Now it is not in the least denied that intellectual and esthetic taste, a love of ease and superior comforts, may not come in to guide and influence luxurious expenditure, but that the dominant feeling in what is distinctively and peculiarly luxurious in the race of refinement and fashion, is that of vanity, the attention and admiration elicited by things got up so nicely, so expensively, so superbly.

Most luxurious outlays would have no significance outside of society, would be an absurdity, were not many to see and admire them. Coaches, laces, India shawls, as much call for curious, gaping, wondering eyes, and busy, gossiping tongues, as philosophy for intellect, or statuary for taste. Such expenditure, resting on the love of display, impels those who join in it through the fickle, frivolous, selfish circles of fashion, and leaves the heart worn, waste, and cynical as the fruit of indulgence. The interests of humanity have least of all to expect from those who squander their resources on personal gratification, and are soured by the very good they seek.

Those also thus unscrupulous, thus forgetful of others in their expenditures, are equally heedless and grasping in their acquisition of wealth. The poor have little leniency, little softening of the hard conditions of the market to expect from him who, with his eyes set on future indulgence, and his impatient desires spurring him forward, only accepts business as a means of money-making, an intervening drudgery to be endured because not to be avoided. From eager, heedless luxury springs rapacity. The connection is natural, almost inevitable. Wanton and excessive expenditure requires, to maintain it, hasty and unscrupulous acquisition, and the selfishness which allows the first will as readily admit the second. It is usually found, therefore, that those who have exorbitant ideas of the quality and claims of their own pleasure, have little thought even for the necessities of others, and that the prodigality of private outlays drinks up public benefactions. We intensify personal feeling through any form of indulgence at the peril of rendering it unconscientious, exacting, cruel.

The effect of luxury on the poor is as unfortunate as on the rich. The ignorant and improvident are, in God's economy, the wards of the intelligent and thrifty. If these take the fruits of industry and forethought, and devote them to their own enjoyments, the former are left to shift for themselves, to endure to the full the retribution of sin, to bear

unpitied and unaided the burden which their physical and moral misfortunes and sins lay upon them. We have seen what an essential element of production is capital. Without large amounts of this, labor is shorn of its strength, is comparatively worthless. Capital is the indispensable yoke-fellow of labor. It represents the contribution of moral and intellectual qualities to production: the ingenious machines, the costly natural agents walled in with wood and stone, bitted with iron and brass for the service of men, the manifold edifices and instruments of manufacture and commerce. We might as well divorce mind from matter, thought from muscle, as capital from labor, since the one is but the manifold, multiplied resources of ingenuity and patience, giving power and wisdom to the tough hand of the other. To weaken the laborer, therefore, at this point; to withdraw hastily, constantly, wastefully, capital for private consumption, is to arrest productive progress, to hold back society from economic, and thus moral growth, to rob workmen of the advantage about to be realized from the multiplication of capital, its increased competition, its lower rates, and the consequent advance of wages.

Luxurious consumption does, indeed, involve — as in rich fabrics, prodigal entertainments, and costly villas — the employment of labor, and hence a transitory advantage; but he is very short-sighted who supposes this to be an adequate compensation for withdrawing the sums expended from the active processes of production, wherein they were able to act as a permanent force, cheapening the commodities of constant, universal consumption, giving to the laborer a brisk, profitable, growing market for his services, and enabling him to expend his growing wages with increasing advantage. Luxury is forestalling, on the part of a few, the common good, a grasping in advance social gains which more patience and generosity would allow to accrue ultimately for all, is unhitching from the chariot of social progress its wheel-horses, that they may prance away their strength in private parade, is leaving labor where it is, to moil on under the

same old, hard conditions, finding its pleasure and its holidays in gazing remotely from street and roof-top on those who in purple and fine linen pass by in civic procession, in wedding cortege, in funereal solemnity. It is this haste, this grasping at instant, isolated, superior indulgences, which mark the selfishness of luxury, and make its cold desertion of the needy so disastrous, its divorce of capital from dependent labor, fruitless and thriftless without it, so unfortunate.

Luxury has usually been found in close proximity with pinching, tormenting poverty. The luxury of past ages, of Babylon, Persia, Rome, was nurtured by the most abject condition of the masses, more frequently than otherwise by the slavery of the producers. In our own country, where a more Christian, a more generous sentiment tempers and restrains private indulgence, we yet find in our large cities the most luxurious outlays in immediate connection with the most extreme want and degradation. These surf-capped waves, bursting with their own fulness, never rise without opening just at hand troughs that swallow up the wrecks they make. A fact akin to this is the circumstance that many of the products which are especially the objects of excessive expenditure come from the most famished hand of poverty, from labor the most ill-paid of any. Of this class are French laces, India shawls, and diamonds, perchance the fruit of Brazilian slavery. Here, as elsewhere, the one extreme begets the other, and the head of society tosses a plume, only that its feet may clump in pattens or go naked.

Luxury, then, is chargeable as against the poor with withdrawing and consuming capital, the most needful adjunct of labor; with ceasing to improve and cheapen articles of general consumption; with directing attention to products rare and relatively worthless; with taking in many cases its richest commodities from the poorly-paid or unpaid hand of poverty; with accepting and widening the gulf between classes, feeding its own satisfaction by a sense of superiority to its fellows; and, above all, with withdrawing that guidance and sympathy especially due from the strong to the weak.

Of the various forms of luxury, religious luxury — the luxury of churches and worship — is the most intolerable, since it is most immediately and manifestly at war with the true Christ-like character of that impulse which it claims to gratify. It is not the splendor of churches that we complain of, but that this splendor exists and is even paraded as an acceptable sacrifice, while the greater portion of the world is without churches, or even a gospel; that we are bid to retreat from the Christian scheme of self-denial to the Jewish one of pomp and ritual, from a spiritual to a material good.

But it may be thought that in restricting private expenditure, in insisting that capital should, as far as possible, remain in production, we destroy the motives from which alone the labor and self-denial of production are endured. It is only apparently that we do this. We seek to substitute one set of motives for another, one reward for another, and that a full, noble reward, for a small, base one. This we shall see in contemplating the form of consumption consistent with social well-being. There are some indulgences, by their own nature always and everywhere inconsistent with physical and moral health. These can never in the growth of society come into the class of accepted pleasures. But every product which gratifies a just desire, which has in it an intrinsic good, cultivates the taste, softens the manners, gives art, elegance, excellence, we may believe, shall ultimately be removed from the class of luxuries to that of the amenities, the decencies of life. A product is luxurious sometimes, from what it is in itself, from the excessive, ill-bestowed labor which it has cost, and often, from the fact that it is far in advance of what the industrious and intelligent masses can reach. Against this last class, in which the labor is neither perniciously, frivolously, nor disproportionately bestowed, but one objection lies, that they are premature; that a hasty reaching after them by a few retard the many, retard society in its approach to their enjoyment, that such an anticipation is not the dictate of benevolence and sympathy. Herein, then, in our relations to society, we find the

law of reasonable expenditure, the variable line which to-day separates conveniences, elegancies, from luxuries.

A fuller inheritance of the gifts of the world, a more rich and abounding service exacted from its natural agents, a multiplication of the conveniences, enjoyments, and tasteful pleasures of life, are to be sought after as victories of mind over matter, as adjuncts to that social, intellectual and spiritual life, which is the highest product of manhood. It is, however, the march of the masses of men, of the rank and file of the great army of humanity, that is to be watched over and longed for; that goodly houses and cunning fabrics may be prepared for them; that leisure and literature, art and worship, may wait on them; that Christ's poor may have a kingdom opened to them. The expenditures of the few which forget this general progress, and tend to make it impossible, are morally and religiously censurable; those which contemplate it and bow immediate individual good to it, are just, generous, and wholesome. Now the highest, most encouraging stimulus is imparted to the masses by those who are nearest to them, yet somewhat in advance. That which is within the hope of the industrious and intelligent quickens them; that which is beyond their reach discourages and represses them. That exercise of taste, that moderate but well-timed expenditure on grounds, on social and intellectual enjoyments, which open the way, direct the eye, and encourage the activity of the intelligent and prosperous masses in the rear, are most desirable, and convert the wealthier classes into true leaders; not barbaric leaders for whom all live and slave, but Christian leaders, who bring superior powers to superior service, — the forerunners of the many.

The vast possession of an English lord, dropped into the midst of a depressed population, hanging on the mere verge of existence, can only bring a sense of hopeless discouragement, if not of bitter wrong. Such fairy magnificence, such prodigal provision for the pleasure of a few, seem more like an impossible dream than a sober fact, to the weary, hungry

eye of the poor. They have cost the owner no labor, and are as much beyond the ken of simple industry as the feasts and palaces of a magician; they separate the higher from the lower by an impassable gulf, and compel these to feel that they are but the rubble, unshapen stones, that fill the ditch, that feel the pressure of the whole superstructure without themselves once coming to the light. The rich thus become the carnivora who feed upon the poor, sucking into the bloated body of luxury, drop by drop, the life-blood of the feeble, famished ones who neither know the nature of the wrong they suffer nor its remedy.

On the other hand, improvements that lie so close on moderate means as to be within reach of the enterprising, which owe their excellence to superior skill and taste quite as much as to superior expenditure, which are free from all selfish ostentation, and create no barrier to intercourse and sympathy, which have reference at once to private and public well-being, which are not less in gratification of a benevolent heart than a cultivated mind, and, free from the charge of luxury, leave to the wealthy the great part of their resources to be used for the general good. Capital, rescued from the service of vanity and handed over to that of benevolence, may, in part, be retained in business, cheapening products of general consumption, granting easier terms to labor, shortening the hours of toil, stimulating hope, and smoothing the path to prosperity for that incipient intelligence and enterprise, which, like a tender bud of spring, may be easily destroyed, or easily developed into a strong and beautiful life.

“We need examples of people who, leaving heaven to decide whether they are to rise in the world, decide for themselves that they will be happy in it, and have resolved to seek, not greater wealth, but simple pleasure; not higher fortune, but deeper felicity; making the first of possessions, self-possession, and honoring themselves in the harmless pride and calm pursuits of peace.”

Another portion of capital, withdrawn from business, may

render a still higher service in quickening thought, providing the means of education, strengthening the social and religious sensibilities, and thus evoking those germs of manhood without which true prosperity is impossible to the laborer, abiding skill and energy to the producer. What nobler and more enjoyable field of action is open to the large capitalist as the result of superior wealth, than that offered by those whose hopes and opportunities are so directly entrusted to him. How sad the picture which a manufacturing village presents, when the owner, pushing production in a selfish, grasping spirit, enlarging to the utmost the hours of labor, and reducing to the utmost its reward, spends in personal indulgence, on family luxury, wealth which removes him from all sympathy with the indigent, and leaves them to the natural untidiness and unthrift, discouragement and dissoluteness, of poverty. How bright the opposite picture, when the talent and enterprise of the head seem to have become the gift, the inheritance of all, and the common prosperity to be wrought out with the indomitable energy and power of great capital; when the abundant gains of cheerful labor return at once to the general good, enriched with a sense of mutual strength and personal sympathy. Production thus ceases to be a disguised warfare of exaction and remissness, of justice contending with fraud, now on this side, now on that, dealing indiscriminate blows like a street constable, and becomes the parent of physical and intellectual life, of social strength. A generous regard of one class by another, a regard not patriarchal, but one which respects the rights and powers of all, which cultivates independent manhood, which aims at equal, co-extensive growth, is the product of the Christian spirit the world now waits for.

Let it not be said that consumption so directed ceases to be a motive to production. This is to affirm that the pleasures of benevolence are small and weak when compared with those of ostentatious selfishness; that it is better to be the object of the envious admiration of the poor, than of their cordial and grateful affection; that the cold, formal elegan-

ces of life are more enjoyable than rich moral feelings, broad philanthropic sympathies ; in short, that labor can never be undertaken in the same cheerful way for others and one's self, as for one's self against others ; that selfishness is and must be the great incentive of production.

Here, again, in consumption, we come once more, and more plainly than ever, in view of a higher and a lower law, each adequate to its own government and form of order, but the one infinitely transcending the other. Let men expend their wealth as they choose, let consumption, eluding the law of benevolence, submit only to that of personal pleasure, and we still have a powerful force evoking activity, dividing classes, establishing dependencies, working out an order under which society can be maintained, character disciplined, and the conditions of the moral and social problem brought distinctly before the mind. Indeed, self-love does a work that love cannot do, since the one finds play in hearts destitute of the other, and imparts impulse to them. Yet this condition of proximate order shows its immature and partial character by the restless and unstable form it assumes. There is no continuous, firm progress as under a general life-giving law, but revolution, convulsion, overthrow, as of unbalanced and conflicting forces, seeking to evolve a permanent tendency, to reach a settled relation, a happier balance. Power and wealth will always, in the incipient states of society, fall into the hands of a few, the fortunate, the skilful, the cunning ones. If they are to be appropriated as personal possessions, advantages for private consumption, the progress of the masses will thereby be barred, and a broad substratum of workers, of those essentially servants, be established in the human hive. It now becomes more than a figure to call the wealthy few the upper-crust. There is a seething, blind, molten, volcanic mass beneath, that may for a time bear them, and may at any moment, and ultimately will, open and swallow them up. The latest instance in which the upper class have sunk into and under the lower, the foundation of an insecure social order giving

way, is afforded by the South. Such revolutions, perfect or partial, under the law of selfish consumption, must come. In the action and reaction between luxury and want, each is carried to the extreme. The indulgence and display of this season provoke the greater displays of the next; and these, in the accumulation of means, require a more eager, searching eye, a more heavy, hard, exacting hand. If the state of society is so low as to admit violence, the plunder of provinces, and the labor of slaves, then luxury accumulates readily and rapidly the means of prodigality, and as at Rome, hastens the consummation.

If the stricter commercial law must be followed, wealth as wealth still gains an increasing control of the market, a broader and broader sweep of opportunity, a growing power through the fluctuation of prices to grasp the gains, and leave the losses to the many, and, in each social movement, to rise a little higher to the relative and frequently the absolute depression of others. A compact class is thus established, selfish by instinct, trained to exaction by dignified, sagacious, consistent, self-justifying practice; and ready, with recognized and well-defended power, to protect their social amenities and peculiar civil privileges. A social antagonism and political jealousies are thus established, which, if the framework of society is, as in England, largely constructed of the worm-eaten timbers of the past, must bring the sullen dissent and open collision of reform; or if, as in the United States, social order has been developed from broad and fundamental principles, will again and again call these principles in their minor application in question, and throw them, from time to time, into the strife of politics, and even of civil war, to be vindicated anew.

There is no moderation in luxury, in aristocratic wealth; there is no final quiet and contentment in prolific poverty under mere mercantile and civil restrictions. The crowded and hopeless poor cannot but at some time, under a sudden flash of light or opportunity, reason angrily, unsoundly perchance, yet determinedly, against a framework of law, of

society, which leaves them in the hands of the few, which congeals into rock all the fortuitous divisions, advantages, and disadvantages of the past, which turns society, itself flexible and vital, through the force of custom and precedent, into the stubborn strata which hold them dead and stiff as fossilized fish. If half of Scotland is owned by six, and half of England by a hundred and five men, they will not understand how the monstrous wrong of the past becomes the indefeasible, holy right of the present; how society can turn into such astonishing monopolies the benignant distribution of nature, and maintain its work to be as just and valid as those deeper, more interior claims of man and society thereby displaced and suppressed. The selfishness that is underneath will never accept the logic of the selfishness that is uppermost, and the strife will wax and wane between them, now with arms, now with words, now on the political field, and now on the field of battle. A permanent, settled, equilibrium on these conditions is as impossible as in the atmosphere; the calm and the storm are equally brief adjustments of ever-returning conflicts between unbalanced elements.

The religious force of love, on the other hand, coming with an independent power, throwing considerations into the scales of action, that determine on which side they shall settle, profits by all the previous training of self-love, makes its bitter experience, its short-sighted, blind, and malignant action a ground of admonition, an experiment in morals, closing the road to instant and reckless gratification, and, imparting breadth and compass to interest, shows it to run parallel with the line of right action. The soul is thus lifted into a new realm without losing the influence of the old, bears with it lower forces, separates them from those forms of unguided, unrestrained action which are now antagonistic to true spiritual life, now co-operative with it.

The subserviency and parallelism of self-love to love are never felt while the eye ranges over actions on a low plane, for two reasons. The survey is too limited, and immediate pleasures are too much exaggerated by proximity. The

more remote gains, to a self-inclined heart, the uninterpreted and unappreciated gains of generosity, cannot be held at their just value, while the instant, longed-for, and, in the contrast, intense pleasures of indulgence cannot but receive from the inexperienced mind an extravagant valuation. Nor does long observation without a corresponding growth of the moral nature correct this estimate. While there does spring up and deepen a sense of disappointment in self-indulgence, there arises no counter hope in benevolence; the mind is perverted rather than instructed, the heart embittered rather than redirected. The appetites and passions are made more intense and exacting, and though less pleasure is the reward of indulgence, more pain is evaded by it; the impelling forces have indeed passed from the front to the rear, from persuasion to coercion; but are neither less, nor less blind, nor less exacting. The experience of sin is got by departing from virtue, and can never, therefore, as a pure, naked experience, cause at length the balance of impulses to turn toward truth. The mind loses sight of the blessedness of obedience even more rapidly than it comes to know the misery of disobedience.

A second equally important fact, disguising from the inexperienced, selfish eye, the parallelism of self-love and love, is, that this parallelism does not exist except by virtue of the existence of a moral nature. Without moral affections to be gratified by present self-denial in behalf of others, without conscience to command and sustain benevolence, it cannot be shown that self-love does require the line of action pointed out by duty. It is the unusual reward and satisfaction of doing right that puts this form of action above every other in the pleasure conferred, and these will not be secured or understood till we accept and do duty for its own sake. If, therefore, we station ourselves on the low level of interest, to the oversight of our moral nature, we can there never discern that parallelism which becomes so obvious and satisfactory in the pure, upper air of a spiritual position. It is not till we feel the force of the higher law that we find that

selfishness can be eliminated from self-love, and that this may be united with love as twin stars revolving around one moral centre, and sending their joint influence into the realms of action, among the planets whose orbits they order.

ARTICLE II.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NESCIENCE; OR, HAMILTON AND MANSEL ON RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

BY PROF. J. R. HERRICK, D.D., BANGOR THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

MANSEL'S Bampton Lecture on "The Limits of Religious Thought" was published some ten years ago. It was the application of Hamilton's Philosophy of the Conditioned to Religious Thinking. Such application was not made to any great extent by the master himself. This was done most vigorously by the ablest disciple, doubtless, of the renowned philosopher. The work is carefully prepared, and logically it is very able. It should also be said that in it valuable suggestions are made in respect to objections to some of the doctrines of religion. But that which gives to the work its special and permanent interest, as well as a temporary notoriety, is the main assumption of Mansel in regard to the possibilities of thought as wholly conditioned and relative.

He first affirms that the difficulties to be encountered are the same in theology as in philosophy, no greater in the one sphere than in the other. This position may be accepted, and, taken by itself, needs not to be controverted.

This granted, the philosophi-theologian lays down his grand postulate, which is to be applied, he argues, both in philosophy and theology, and which is substantially this: Our thinking cannot possibly reach beyond the relative and conditioned. In neither sphere can we think the infinite. We cannot *know* truth relating to the infinite, and yet we must believe it—therefore, Hamilton and Mansel would say, we are bound

to *believe* it. To the acute logician this seems the easiest way of cutting up scepticism by the roots, and of establishing Christian truth in its place. Wherefore, on this basis, Mansel chooses to conduct his argument; he need not have done so, but his choice is, to attempt the establishment of Christianity and the refutation of scepticism by calling to his aid the philosophy of nescience, or ignorance.

Certainly we are not to assume or allow the assumption, come from whatever source it may, that reason can discover all truth, all necessary truth—just that which is essential to salvation—without revelation. But whether reason can apprehend divine things and such as are revealed, is one question; whether divine things and truths of the infinite are opposed to reason, or it to them, is quite a different question, and one so important as to render it not a vain thing to inquire as to the validity of Mansel's assumption. Does his argument justify his conclusion, or would it, by making impossible any philosophy of religion, act against the Christian system itself?

It is but fair and honorable, while desirable for our own satisfaction, that we first understand what Mansel teaches; and, in order to this, let him, so far as possible, speak for himself.

We should here start with the fact already expressed, that the lecturer holds the limits of religious thought to be only a species of the limits of all thought, or, in other words, the limits of religious and philosophical thought are the same. "An examination of the limits of religious thought," he affirms, "is an indispensable preliminary to all religious philosophy. And the limits of religious thought are but a special manifestation of the limits of thought in general."¹ Mansel proceeds to show satisfactorily, as he seems to think, that no rational theology is possible, because a knowledge of the infinite is impossible. A knowledge of God would imply a knowledge of the infinite, absolute, and first cause. Nay, our author holds these to be the very ideas by which God is to be defined, and on this admission excludes a rational

¹ Mansel's *Limits of Religious Thought*, p. 62.

theology from the field, for since the above ideas in respect to knowledge are only negative, we try to think them, but cannot. This logic, which is but an application of Hamilton's assumption, that we have no positive ideas of the infinite and absolute, would reduce all our possible knowledge of God to a mere negative, if not to a zero.

It is necessary to seek aid here from the Philosophy of the Conditioned; and Mansel again postulates that the absolute, because one and simple, cannot be conceived. In a well-rounded sentence, weighty in form, rather than for its matter, and one that seems to be a kind of summary of the author's theory, he says: "The absolute cannot be conceived as conscious, neither can it be conceived as unconscious; it cannot be conceived as complex, neither can it be conceived as simple; it cannot be conceived by difference, neither can it be conceived by absence of difference; it cannot be identified with the universe, neither can it be distinguished from it. The one and the many regarded as the beginning of existence are thus alike incomprehensible."¹ If we would know the application he will make of this last remark, he will presently tell us: "The fundamental conceptions of rational theology being thus self-destructive, we may naturally expect to find the same antagonism manifested in their special manifestations."²

Mansel, not content with what he has already said, goes on to argue from consciousness the impossibility of reaching the infinite. We must think, he holds, if we think at all, under these conditions: first, distinction between one object and another; second, relation between subject and object; third, succession and duration in time; and fourth, personality, which he affirms to be limited and relationed, and hence not adequate to reach the infinite. "For though the mere abstract expression of the infinite, when regarded as indicating nothing more than the negation of limitation and therefore of conceivability, is not contradictory in itself, it becomes so the instant we attempt to apply it in reasoning

¹ Limits of Religious Thought, p. 79.

² Ibid.

to any object of thought. A thing, an object, an attribute, a person, or any other term signifying one out of many possible objects of consciousness, is, by the very relation, necessarily declared to be finite. An infinite thing or object or attribute or person is, therefore, in the same moment declared to be both finite and infinite. We cannot, therefore, start from any abstract assumption of the divine infinity, or reason downward to any object of human thought. And, on the other hand, if all human attributes are conceived under the conditions of difference and relation and time and personality we cannot represent in thought any such attribute magnified to infinity; for this, again, is to conceive it as finite and infinite at the same time. We can conceive such attributes at the utmost [not wholly inconceivable, then] only indefinitely; that is to say, we may withdraw our thought for the moment from the fact of their being limited, but we cannot conceive them as infinite; that is to say, we cannot possibly think of the absence of the limit, for the instant we attempt to do so, the antagonist elements of the conception exclude one another and annihilate the whole" — exclude one another and annihilate the whole.¹

It might well be observed that the above positions rest upon the false assumption that there is, and can be no thinking through meditation, the apperception of ideas, or by any intuition or rational insight whatsoever, only by some process of ratiocination, through syllogisms to a logical conclusion.

But in his philosophy the disciple is as his master. Hamilton says: "The unconditioned is incognizable and inconceivable; its notion being only negative of the conditioned, which last can alone be positively known or conceived." This is his statement of his theory, in distinction from those of Kant, Schelling, and Cousin. In further explaining it he adds: "In our opinion the mind can conceive, and consequently can know, only the limited and the conditionally limited. The unconditionally unlimited or the Infinite, the

¹ *Limit's of Religious Thought*, p. 107 (and third Lecture, passim).

unconditionally limited or the Absolute, cannot be positively construed to the mind ; they can be conceived only by thinking away from, or abstraction of, those very conditions under which thought itself is realized : consequently the notion of the unconditioned is only negative — negative of the conceivable itself.”¹ And again: “As the conditionally limited (which we may briefly call the conditioned) is thus the only possible object of knowledge and of positive thought, thought necessarily supposes conditions. To think is to condition ; and conditional limitation is the fundamental law of the possibility of thought. . . . Thought is only of the conditioned, because, as we have said, to think is simply to condition. The absolute is conceived merely by a negation of conceivability, and all that we know is only known as

‘ Won from the void and formless infinite.’ ”²

Masson, criticising Sir William Hamilton, says, according to him “All science is the science of the phaenomenal or conditional or relative, and philosophy is the science of this science. . . . In every way, therefore, an ontology or knowledge of things in themselves, of noumena or self-subsisting actualities as distinct from phenomena, must be declared impossible. More expressly in human philosophy must ontology or speculation of the absolute be *ab initio* given up.”³

And from such premises what is the conclusion ? What doubtless, some would not refuse to accept, that we are bound to believe the infinite, bound to believe what we cannot think, and take as valid truths such as in thought are self-contradictory and absurd. To other some, however, the conclusion from these premises does not appear legitimate or satisfactory, and we frankly confess ourselves to be among the number.

The doctrine thus stated, there may, we think, be opposed to this nescience philosophy and its application a threefold objection : first, that its advocates show in its use a want of

¹ Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, p. 454 (Wight’s ed.). ² Ibid. p. 456.

³ Recent British Philosophy, p. 115.

self-consistency; second, as philosophy the radical position is false; and third, if philosophy is to help theology we must turn our nescience into science.

1. The advocates of the nescience philosophy are not self-consistent. In some of their attempts to make their philosophy available in respect to religious subjects, they seem self-contradictory, although in stating this part of the objection, the milder term "not self-consistent" is used.

We may do well to begin here with the master. And not to seem alone in making the charge against so eminent a man as Hamilton, we may speak in the very words of Masson. "Without going beyond his purely philosophic writings," says he, "we shall find given in them expressions predicating in Sir William's own name, certain attributes of that ultra-phaenomenal existence, of which he protests that in the name of reason nothing whatever can be predicated. To aver such an existence at all, to assume that the phaenomenal universe is not all that exists, is already the planting of one huge predication in the region into which it was declared the mode of predication could not rationally go. It is the conversion of what was declared to be zero, into a vast, if vague, position"; and again, in regard to phrases referring to the absolute, "which are nobly and at the same time puzzlingly significant," he asks "are not those phrases most intensely and definitively ontological, and has not Sir William fore-sworn ontology? What is the explanation? How can one be consistent who first maintains that nothing can be predicated speculatively of the absolute, and then proceeds straight-way not only to predicate existence of the absolute, but to speak as if the human veracity must be predicated of the same." ¹

But the able Bampton Lecturer, in endorsing his system, is not free from the charge just made against the master; neither is the disciple always characterized by self-consistency. Is Mansel, for example, consistent with himself in first affirming that we cannot conceive of the absolute, or of God

¹ Recent British Philosophy, pp. 124, 126.

as he is, and then himself defining these inconceivable objects? As thus: "By the first cause is meant that which produces all things and is itself produced of none. By the absolute is meant that which exists in and by itself, having no necessary relation to any other being. By the infinite is meant that which is free from all possible limitation, that than which a greater is inconceivable, and which consequently can receive no additional attribute or mode of existence which it had not from all eternity."¹

No objection need be made to these definitions. It were not easy to improve them; but surely Mansel's Conditional Philosophy does not and cannot give them. And yet he implies that we must have these thoughts that cannot be conceived. Thus he says: "To conceive the Deity as he is, we must conceive him as first cause, as absolute and as infinite."² "Reason itself, rightly interpreted, teaches the existence of truths that are above reason."³ But yet, the bent of his argument is to show that reason does not teach any such thing; but if taught at all it is faith not reason that teaches them to us. Indeed, Mansel declares it to be a contradiction to conceive of first cause, the infinite, and absolute, in such words as the following: "That man can be conscious of the infinite is a supposition which, in the very terms in which it is expressed annihilates itself. A consciousness of the infinite as such, involves a self-contradiction."⁴ But in reasoning about it the author seems guilty of a contradiction not much less.

Now when weak and illogical minds fall into self-contradictions, we do not hence infer that their positions are necessarily false; but when men like Hamilton and Mansel, of vast erudition and great logical power, in a cool and deliber-

¹ Limits of Religious Thought, p. 75.

² Ibid. p. 75.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 94. "To speak of an absolute and infinite person is simply to use language to which, however true it may be in a superhuman sense, no mode of human thought can possibly attach itself" (p. 103). "The absolute and the infinite are thus like the inconceivable and imperceptible, names, indicating not an object of thought or of consciousness at all, but the mere absence of the conditions under which consciousness is possible" (p. 110).

ate exposition of their views, are inconsistent with themselves, the fact may be regarded as presumptive, at least, of something not valid in the premises of these men.

2. The second objection to the application of the nescience philosophy is, that its main assumption is false.

For one thing, it does not distinguish, as it should, between the conditions of knowing and the objects of knowledge. Mansel, for example, assumes that because we are finite persons our objects of thought are finite ; which certainly is not a necessary consequence. He also assumes that if we think in time and under certain conditions of thought, then the objects themselves must in like manner be limited. Here again we ask, is it true because there are successions and time-relations — does it follow that we can know nothing which is not itself thus limited ? Our finiteness is surely not the measure of the objects of our thought.

Let us advance another step, and say that we have ideas of the unlimited, of the perfect, the good, the true, the first cause. And these, though not fully developed at first are in our minds as germs, not put in from without, however they may be awakened by some external object. When seen they are recognized as original and necessary truths of reason. And unless admitted as valid and reliable, we have no basis for an immutable morality, nor for a religion equally binding upon all rational beings.

But are the higher actualities given as knowledge, and so that we may be sure of them and affirm them positively through their corresponding intuitions ? This is the question. We should expect John Stuart Mill to answer it in the negative, for he is an idealist,¹ in the sense that we know only the states and feelings of our own minds. In perception we do not know outward objects as they are, Mill would hold, and, of course, being an idealist in per-

¹ Not a pure idealist ; for he would admit the existence of an outer world, while denying it as immediately given in consciousness — what Hamilton would affirm. He may hence be called a constructive idealist, or, in the nomenclature of Sir William Hamilton, a “cosmothetic or hypothetical idealist.”

ception, and in respect to an external world, we should not expect him to turn realist in the higher sphere of philosophy. Mill seems to hate the expression "necessary beliefs," not to speak of "intuitive truths"; least of all would he admit them as valid for a super-sensuous realm and what is in it.

But Hamilton is a professed realist, holding through consciousness to the actual existence of the thinking subject and of the outward object. He would thus in perception rank himself as a "natural realist or natural dualist." In empirical psychology and in cosmology, or in respect to an external world, he is so truly. But, strange to say, in the sphere of ontology, of necessary being and thought, he is an idealist. Over the void he here first strikes hands with Mill — whom before he vigorously opposes — affirming that we can know nothing of the infinite, absolute, and first cause; the only difference, if we understand them, being this: Hamilton would say: "Things which we can by no means conceive, we must believe;" Mill saying: "It is a mere matter of expediency whether we regard them or not, since we have both already proved them unknowable."

Hamilton argues well and with great vigor for consciousness as a test of truth, and would make everything in philosophy depend on its validity. "Limiting, therefore, our consideration to the question of authority, how, it is asked, do these primary propositions, these fundamental facts, feelings, beliefs, certify us of their own veracity? To this the only possible answer is, as the essential conditions of our knowledge, they must by us be accounted as true. To suppose their falsehood is to suppose that we are created capable of intelligence in order to be made the victims of delusion; that God is a deceiver, and the root of our nature a lie. But such a supposition if gratuitous is manifestly illegitimate. For, on the contrary, the data of our original consciousness must, it is evident in the first instance, be presumed true." ¹

¹ Hamilton's edition of Reid, p. 743, Note A (Edinburgh). A little later in the same note, while opposing the idealists, he uses language equally strong: "But the Deity, on their hypothesis, is a deceiver; for that hypothesis assumes

But if consciousness is trustworthy in perception and in mathematics, as must be granted, why not in philosophy, in morals, and in religion also? Why stop half way in respect to the dicta of consciousness? If it affirms that we know an external world through sensuous intuition, does it any less affirm that we know and are sure of the objective verities corresponding to our rational and higher intuitions?

In saying that "reason itself must rest at last upon authority, for the original data of reason do not rest on reason, but are necessarily accepted by reason on the authority of what is beyond itself,"¹—what is true in logic, to be sure,—Hamilton, as we think, with all his reasoning, fails to appreciate the true character of the higher reason, as original and self-assertory. As a Christian man he would give us, it is true, beliefs or trusts as original data, instead of rational principles seen to be true in their own light, or by the direct assertion of reason itself.²

The denial of a possibility for the intellect in the sphere of the higher truths, the affirmation of realism in one realm, but denying it in another, where it is quite as legitimate, and not less needed—this, let it be observed, is the grand defect of the Hamiltonian philosophy.

What has been said above, as will be readily seen, might have been introduced under the first form of the objection, as showing a want of self-consistency. It is, however, brought in here as a help to show the philosophy itself not consistent with truth, or in other words, that the fundamental position of the nescience philosophy is false.

One thing more should be distinctly noted in this connec-

that our natural consciousness deludes us in the belief that external objects are immediately and in themselves perceived, either, therefore, maintaining the veracity of God, they must surrender their hypothesis, or maintaining their hypothesis, they must surrender the veracity of God" (p. 751).

¹ Edition of Reid, p. 760.

² Masson says of Sir William, he may "on the whole be described as a philosopher who, while denying speculatively in the strongest terms the possibility of an ontology, was himself endowed in an almost inordinate degree with the ontological feeling or passion" (Recent British Philosophy, p. 129).

tion. It is of especial importance because Mansel's famous argument is all the time assuming, at least, that if we think the infinite we do by the process change it into the finite. Now this is not the fact; and it helps much to break the force of the argument that rests on the assumption that it is, to make for ourselves the counter-positive affirmation that it is not. The truth is, we can and do hold — in philosophy and in religion — we do hold in our thought both the finite and the infinite, without changing the finite into the infinite, or the infinite into the finite by doing so.

3. The attempted application of this philosophy condemns it, and shows the need in the sphere of theology of changing our nescience into science. Mansel's argument, which is the application of the above philosophy, gives up the whole domain of reason to the sceptic and unbeliever, by admitting, or rather affirming, that reason has no place in theology. If said, as it would be claimed, that by this reasoning the pantheist loses his support, so in like manner does the theist. In fact, according to this philosophy, universal scepticism is the legitimate conclusion as far as the intellect goes, in respect to all highest truths both in philosophy and theology, although all things worth thinking of run back into these highest truths. Mansel says, Belief is the conclusion; but what if the unbeliever should say, "I do not accept your conclusion. It is from your own premises, entirely illegitimate and gratuitous." We may be thankful that the many accept Christianity through their religious instincts and sense of need, and test the religion of the Bible by experience, the best of all tests, since man's spiritual nature and the supernatural religion of the New Testament are adapted to each other. Thus true Christians would not object to belief as the conclusion; and yet, underneath this willingness to believe, is a most thorough conviction that what they believe is true. But it is not with such that our philosophy has most to do. And the unbeliever might very naturally ask: "How can I believe what you have already said is inconceivable and self-contradictory?" Has the nescience philosophy a

satisfactory answer to this question? Is it satisfactory to say "You must believe what you cannot think and what you cannot know?" Observe, this is very different from saying, "Believe and you shall know," or "Believe that you may know." It is "Believe what you cannot know." The former does not set one part of ourselves in antagonism to another part. The latter does. And in this point the stricture of Dr. McCosh is just: "I have no toleration for those who tell us with a sigh, too often of affectation, that they are very sorry that knowledge or reason leads to contradictions and indissoluble doubts, from which they are longing to be delivered by some mysterious faith. It is time to put an end to this worse than civil strife, to this setting of one part of the soul against another. The intelligence and the faith are not conflicting, but conspiring elements."¹

The fact is, men will think; and while they do we must needs have some sort of a philosophy. And does it become men who have to do with the highest truth to teach that thought is dangerous? It is rather our duty to think ourselves and to get others to think, so as to use aright that reason which God has given us. "There is a rationalism; it must be held all the more firmly because the too indiscriminate and too strong language of the Bampton Lecture would blind us to the fact; there is rationalism, not German — if so invidious and offensive a use of an honored and national name may be pardoned — not German and not infidel and not presumptuous and not godless — a rationalism reverent, humble, pious, which, unless we be false to the constitution of our minds, false to what is higher than our minds, eternal truth, and false to the Great Being, the Father of our minds and the Fountain of truth, we dare not, must not, never must forego."²

Again, it is very difficult to hold a theology outside of our philosophy. We do not say without a system of philosophy, but outside of our philosophy. Men of science claim that

¹ *Intuitions of the Mind* (first ed.), p. 200.

² *Young's Province of Reason*, pp. 55, 56.

they can expound nature, and that nature is real because they can do so. Now deny to the human mind the possibility of reaching and recognizing as actual the supernatural and a personal and absolute Deity; this were logically to cut off the possibility of theology proper; and who would care, save in spite of his logic, for such a theology?

Furthermore, faith needs reason. Surely it is vain to think of a faith that reason contradicts. In this case, faith would have nothing to stand upon. For one's philosophy, declaring everything contradictory, would pull out successively every round of the ladder from beneath his feet. How much better a seeing than a blind faith. Hamilton and Mansel advocate the last. A philosophy that would make it possible to apprehend God, the spiritual and infinite, and consistent for the intelligence to embrace as real what is above our finiteness, that allows and would have reason to behold the objects of faith; this only can give a seeing faith. "If, therefore, the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness" (Matt. vi. 21, 22).

And yet more, faith should have the help of reason, if it is not impossible without it. Do we not need a positive intuition of truth to call forth faith? Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. And is it not the truth which we commend to men's consciences, to induce in them, if possible, a belief of the truth? Mansel indeed admits faith to be only receptive, not constructive; why then take a positive truth, the idea of God for example, out of the sphere of reason where it properly belongs, and shut it up to that of faith? As object of faith, truth is seen and apprehended by the intelligence. And surely we must know a truth to be positive before we can believe it to be. In fact when called upon to believe does not every one instinctively ask: "In what shall I believe?" May we not justly say of faith: It is the synthesis of reason and will; it brings us to embrace what the reason sees to be true?

Instead of grounding reason in faith, we might as well reverse the process, as Young would do, who says: "Faith is

receptive, and instead of being its own ground, is grounded in perception or in reason or in conscience, and throughout in consciousness. The deep, inward, ultimate ground, understood and felt by multitudes who cannot express it in definite words, is no other than this, our perceptions, our intuitions, our consciousness must be true, because otherwise our nature is a falsehood, and our Creator a deceiver. This is the last strong refuge of faith in these primary convictions. We could believe nothing if they were not to be believed.”¹

If, then, we make it our boast that we have a religion and Christianity consistent with reason, and since we must have a philosophy of some sort, and ought to have one that may do us good service against atheism, against pantheism, and against all forms of error, let us not rest satisfied till we have a philosophy, call it by whatever name we may, that shall in the test prove not a hinderance, but a help, to true theology, and thus to true religion.

Young appreciates so well the tendency of the false doctrine in the wrong direction, and of the true in the right, that no apology is needed for concluding this Article with the following from his Province of Reason: “For one I must abide, as on the very essential ground of the moral universe, by immutable morality, revealed by conscience and common to all intelligent beings. So much the more absolutely must I cling to these, because on the principle of the Bampton lecturer, I can see nothing for man but darkness — darkness above, below, around, everywhere; darkness in this world; darkness hereafter; darkness forever and ever, — dreary, hopeless, overwhelming darkness; an eternal, intolerable agony of darkness.”²

“Between a true faith and the higher reason, intellectual and moral, the harmony is entire. Whatever is written in inspiration, whatever in external nature, whatever in spiritual providence, whatever in the depths of the soul, is distinctively from above, appeals of right to the reason and conscience, and appeals not in vain. This is it in our nature which is

¹ Province of Reason, p. 281.

² Ibid. pp. 266, 267.

constituted to take hold of the divine, which is the special organ of the divine through which we ascend to the Great Being and his thoughts, and the sense of his presence descends to enter us. To condemn the understanding and neglect its free exercise is crime; but to dishonor the higher reason, the divine faculty, the only organ through which our Maker can speak with us, and we can reach our Maker, is crime more flagrant still. 'Read within!' is the audible command of his own mind to every human being,—'Read within!' Go down to the deep place of intuitions, which own no earthly fountain; search, look, gaze, try to detect and decipher the mysterious writing on the primitive tablets of the soul, which no created hand has traced.

"Listen, also, in that profoundest, sacredest adytum, away from all outer sounds which damage and dull the organ of hearing; wait for the faintest whisperings of the holy oracle. Look and listen, wait and gaze, long, patiently, painfully. The oracle will utter itself, the hidden, holy writing will shine out, and some divine letters, words, sentences, will become legible to the eye. Nor can this do other than prompt and help the study, not less but more eager and humble and reverent of the pages of the internal inspiration. That, like another mystic shekinah will illumine the deep adytum and suffuse it with a divine glory. But whether in the first, more dim, mysterious light, or in the later, brighter, effulgence, reason is the eye of the soul which faith submissively and joyously follows. What the one describes the other accepts. The two are one, at least a harmony, if not a unity." ¹

¹ Province of Reason, pp. 302-304.

ARTICLE III.

DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE FROM INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

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RELATION OF THE QUESTION TO THE INTERPRETATION OF
THE BOOK.

THE question whether the Apocalypse was written at an early or in the very closing period of the apostolic ministration, has importance as bearing on the interpretation of the book. A true exposition depends, in no small degree, upon a knowledge of the existing condition of things at the time it was written; i.e. of the true point in history occupied by the writer, and those whom he originally addressed. The same is manifestly true of the prophecies in general; eminently so of those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel. If the book were an epistle, like that to the Romans or to the Hebrews, it might be of comparatively little importance in ascertaining its meaning, to be able to determine whether it was written at the commencement or at the very close of the apostolic era.

It is obvious that if the book itself throws any distinct light on this subject, this internal evidence, especially in the absence of reliable historical testimony, ought to be decisive. To this inquiry, therefore, this Article will be devoted. Instead of appealing to tradition or to some doubtful passage in an ancient Father, we interrogate the book itself, or we listen to what the Spirit saith that was in him who testified of these things. It will be found that no book of the New Testament more abounds in passages which clearly have respect to the time when it was written.

It is necessary only to premise that the question in regard to the authorship of the Apocalypse will be considered as settled; that is, it will be taken for granted that it was written

by the apostle John, the same who wrote the fourth Gospel, and the Epistles that bear his name.

1. EVIDENCE FROM PECULIAR IDIOM.

The peculiar idiom, so thoroughly Hebraistic, in which it is written, proves that it was the first of the books written by John, and one of the earliest of the New Testament.

The entire New Testament, it is true, is written in this Greek of the synagogue, or Hebrew-Greek. It records doctrines and precepts originally delivered in Hebrew, or in a dialect of that language, and events many of which had been predicted in the Hebrew scriptures. Moreover, the Hebrew, or this dialect, was the vernacular of the principal actors and speakers mentioned in the narrative parts. It was unavoidable that the writers of the New Testament, themselves Hebrews, in expressing these new and peculiar ideas in a foreign language, should attach new shades of meaning to many words, coin new ones, and imitate Hebrew phrases and constructions. This language or idiom had already been prepared for them, as to a considerable portion of the terms by the Septuagint translation of the scriptures. Some of the words in this Hellenistic Greek are used in senses, which, as remarked by Dr. Campbell,¹ "can be learned only from the extent of signification given to some Hebrew or Chaldaic word, corresponding to the Greek in its primitive and ordinary sense," as found in classic authors.

Now what is true of the Greek of the entire New Testament and of the LXX. is very especially true of that of the Apocalypse. We find here far more numerous instances of these changes or this extension in the meaning of words, imitations of whole phrases, analogous formations of new words, and examples of the combination of Hebrew inflections and constructions, and a predilection for the preposition, where the Greeks use only the cases. It is especially deserving of notice how the writer of the Apocalypse, when expressing in Greek a Hebrew epithet, for which no proper

¹ Preliminary Dissertation, p. 23.

representative is found in the Greek language, puts it in the nominative case where the syntax would require a genitive or a dative or an accusative, thus conforming to the Hebrew nouns he is representing, which do not admit of inflection in the oblique cases. The following are examples, chap. i. 4, 5 : ἀπὸ ὃ ὦν, καὶ ὃ ἦν, καὶ ὃ ἐρχόμενος. These words are a rendering in Greek of the word "Jehovah," which is indeclinable. The ἀπό requires the genitive ; but the writer, governed by the Hebrew, recognizes no oblique cases. He sees no room for flection in translating that name which expresses attributes belonging only to him who is the same present, past, and future. In the original it is literally from who is, and who was, and who comes. And so in the next verse, ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς, κ.τ.λ. We learn from iii. 14, that these words define the meaning of the indeclinable Hebrew noun, Amen ; Hence the *casus rectus* again.

We sometimes have in a single word an example of the manner in which John weds the Hebrew and the Greek. Thus in i. 15, in the description of the appearance of the Son of man, it is said his feet were "like unto fine brass," χαλκο-λιβάνῳ, a word which has greatly perplexed students. It is found only in this book, and was probably a word of John's own composition. The explanation which commends itself above any other is as follows : it is composed of a Greek word and a Hebrew, χαλκός, *brass*, and לבן, *to make white* ; so χαλκολίβανον means brass brought to a white heat, in an incandescent state, of a glittering whiteness. This explanation was first proposed by Bochart.¹ It has been adopted by Vitranga, Hengstenberg, and Trench. Hengstenberg says : "In the formation of this word we are presented with a small image of the innermost nature of the Apocalypse, the singular manner in which the Hebrew and the Hellenic are fused together in it."² We have perhaps another somewhat similar example in the word Νικολαῖτών, ii. 6, the best interpretation of which is that it is derived from the Greek

¹ De Animalibus, Sacr. Script. ii. 16.

² Comm. on Rev. i. p. 101, note.

words *νικᾶν τον λαόν*, which would express in a name, Nicolaus or Nicolas, what Balaam expresses in Hebrew, "destroyer of the people," and is therefore equivalent to Balaamites. As the other names in this book are predominantly mystical and symbolic, in all probability this is so as well.¹

But so conspicuous is this Hebrew idiom in the Apocalypse that it is unnecessary to multiply examples. While it is Greek in language it is Hebrew in form and spirit. It lies upon the very surface and is patent to the most cursory examination. It is admitted by all who have bestowed any attention on the subject, that it is more prominent here than in any other part of the New Testament, not excepting the other writings of John. It causes the book to bear somewhat the aspect of an elementary, initiatory work, as if it might be the fontal source of those further idiomatic changes required in the Greek of the synagogue, to adapt it to the expression of the truths of the gospel of Christ. Now what are we authorized to infer from this? Clearly, that it was one of the earliest written books of the New Testament. Beyond all question, as the New Testament contains other books written by John, this Hebrew complexion, so marked in the style of the Apocalypse, proves that the writer of it was but recently arrived among a Greek population, and that this was his first attempt at composition in Greek. At this result we have certainly arrived, that the Apocalypse, in its verbal language, bears evidence of having been written before the Gospel and Epistles of John. Tholuck says: "When we compare it [the style of the Gospel of John] with the style of the Apocalypse, the Gospel, to all appearance, must have been written at a considerably later period."² He thinks that the interval of twenty or twenty-five years would not be too great to require to account for the great diversity in their language. Of all the arguments adduced by Sir Isaac Newton, none appears more cogent to Michaelis than that which is drawn from the Hebrew style of the Revelation, from which Sir Isaac had drawn the conclusion that John

¹ See Trench on Epistles to the Seven Churches. ² Com. on Gospel, Int. § 3.

must have written the book shortly after his departure from Palestine, and before the destruction of Jerusalem.¹

2. SEVEN CHURCHES ONLY IN ASIA AT THE TIME IT WAS WRITTEN.

There appear to have been but seven churches in Asia, that is to say, in Proconsular Asia, or that part of Asia Minor lying along the western sea-board, when this book was written. It is dedicated to these seven alone, by the careful mention of them one by one by name, as if there were no others (i. 4, 11); *ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ*, to the seven churches in Asia. The expression "the seven churches," seems to imply that this constituted the whole number, and hence affords one of the most striking incidental proofs in favor of an early date. "There were but seven churches," says Dr. Tilloch, "in Asia when the Revelation was given."² If it is necessary to suppose that the church at Colosse had been already established, lying as this place did in immediate proximity to Laodicea, it may have been regarded as part and parcel of the church at the latter place. It is certain that Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians addresses these churches together as if they were closely identified, if not organically one.³ The churches at Trelles and Magnesia could not have been established until a considerable time after the Apocalypse was written. Those who contend for the later date, when there must have been a greater number of churches than seven in the region designated by the apostle, fail to give any sufficient reason for his mentioning no more than seven.⁴ That they mystically or symbolically represent others is surely not such a reason.

. 3. JUDAIZING HERETICS AND ENEMIES ACTIVE.

The epistles to the seven churches disclose that Judaizing heretics were exerting a great influence, and that there

¹ Introductory Lecture, Marsh's Translation, 1793. 8vo. Vol. iv.

² Dissertations, etc., p. 32.

³ Col. ii. 1; iv. 16.

⁴ Epistles to Seven Churches, by Abp. Trench. pp. 42, 44.

was vigorous activity on the part of Jewish enemies, such as could not have belonged to these people subsequent to the catastrophe which befel their nation. The angel of the church of Ephesus is commended (ii. 2) for having "tried them which say they are apostles, and are not." "Among the properties belonging to an apostle," says Bengel, "it was one that he should have seen the Lord Jesus Christ. So that false apostles were persons who not only broached false doctrine, but also set this forth with an apostolic air, as if they might have seen Christ, or falsely pretended to have done so." It would have been too late in the reign of Domitian, when John, who was the youngest of the apostles, and the only survivor, was nearly a hundred years old, for such a claim as this to be set up with any degree of plausibility. Those to whom John refers must be regarded as identical, if not in person, in character, with those of whom Paul complained in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, and whom he thus describes: "For such are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ," etc. (xi. 13).

Again, the church of the Ephesians is commended for hating "the deeds of the Nicolaitans" (ii. 6). The best explanation of the term "Nicolaitans" makes it symbolical, like Balaam (ii. 14), and Jezebel (ii. 20), and makes all these names apply to the false apostles or apostates before named, or the Judaizing heretics that infested the church. There are insuperable objections to the derivation of the name from a sectarian called Nicolaus, that is to a historical explanation. Balaam, according to its etymology, signifies "destroyer of the people"; and Nicolaitans, according to its etymology, is simply Balaamites in Greek. The Nicolaitans, and those mentioned afterwards as Balaamites, and the followers of the woman Jezebel, were those precisely who repeated the sins of Balaam and Jezebel by becoming tempters of the people of God. They were the same troublers to whom Paul refers (2 Cor. ii. 17; xi. 4, 5, 13; Gal. i. 7; ii. 4), and who were represented at a very early period in the apos-

tolie history, as going down from Judea (Acts xv. 1) and causing no small dissension in the churches among the Gentiles, by teaching that circumcision was still essential to salvation. It became necessary for Paul and Barnabas to go to Jerusalem and lay this matter before the apostles and elders. The council that was convened sent a written answer to Antioch and Syria and Cilicia that no greater burden was laid upon them than these necessary things, to "abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication" (Acts xv. 28, 29). Paul had warned the elders of Ephesus, when taking his leave of them (Acts xx. 29, 30), that he knew after his departure "grievous wolves" should enter in among them "not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." These words in respect to Ephesus, and several of those churches addressed in the Apocalypse, were now fulfilled. The "grievous wolves" had come; these "perverse men" had arisen.

To the church of Pergamos it is said: "I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication." And to the church of Thyatira: "I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols." The woman Jezebel, although the name is symbolical, points also, it may be, to some busy, influential female Judaizer and heretic among these disturbers of the peace and purity of the early church.

It would seem from the answer of the council at Jerusalem, that the same class of false teachers who insisted on circumcision, were disposed to encourage a dangerous license in respect to idolatrous feasts and indulgence of lascivious passions; for the same decree that declared circumcision to

be unnecessary, in express terms condemned such license. There can certainly be in such expressions as these no allusion whatever to the doctrines of those ethnicising seducers, who, at a subsequent period in the Christian church, exercised so pernicious an influence. They clearly point to an earlier period, when the assault came from quite a different quarter. In the epistle to Philadelphia the claims of the Judaizing heretics, who are distinctly described as "the synagogue of Satan which say they are Jews and are not," are annihilated as by a single stroke; "I, Christ your Saviour, have the key of David, and open and no man shutteth." Again, in the epistle to Smyrna it is said: "I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan. Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer; behold the devil shall cast some of you into prison that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days," etc. They called themselves Jews, and no doubt were by natural descent the children of Abraham. But they had a spirit so malignant that the synagogue to which they belonged might be called the synagogue of Satan. The source of this persecution, or rather the fact that the Jews were its zealous agents, points clearly to a date anterior to the great disaster which came upon the Jewish nation. The Jews, it is true, even after this catastrophe, exhibited great bitterness of spirit against Christianity; but there is greater power attributed to them here than they can be supposed to have possessed after their dispersion and extreme humiliation by reason of the overthrow of their city and temple. They were never a persecuting power subsequent to this disastrous period in their history.

4. THE JEWS STILL OCCUPYING, AS A DISTINCT PEOPLE, THEIR OWN LAND.

In chapter vii. we have what has been styled "the vision of sealing," but which is evidently a continuation of what was disclosed in the sixth seal, of which we have the opening in chapter vi. The tornado of judgments is stayed until

a process of sealing the servants of God in their foreheads could be accomplished. "And I heard," says John (vii. 4), "the number of them which were sealed, a hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel." And then the tribes are named one by one, and twelve thousand of each are sealed. The language and the manner in which the whole thing is stated could hardly more distinctly imply that the Jewish nation was still existing and occupying its own land,—a land exposed to some impending desolation, from which the sealed, the one hundred and forty-four thousand, were to be exempt. The twelve tribes are named, notwithstanding so many of them had been lost because the destruction revealed in connection with the sealing was to overtake the whole land of Judea, once the inheritance of, and partitioned among, these twelve tribes. It was a destruction that was to overtake Judea, and therefore Jewish Christians are alone selected. Bengel held very strongly that Israel is here spoken of in the natural sense and not in the figurative. "As certainly," says he, "as the tribe of Judah is that from which the victorious lion, the lamb sprung (Apoc. v. 5), so certainly are all the tribes to be literally understood." Many thousands, we know, had been converted from the Jewish to the Christian faith (see Acts ii. 41; vi. 7; xii. 24; xix. 20). According to the Saviour's own words (Matt. xxiv. 22), "the elect" were to be secured or cared for in that day of calamity. He gave them a sign, and when it should be seen they were to seek places of security.¹ These one hundred and forty-four thousand represent either symbolically or literally the number of those gathered out from among the Israelites, of whom God would never for a moment lose sight as his own, in the things that were coming on the earth, and to whom his special grace and providence would be extended. These sealed ones appear again in this prophecy (xiv. 1-5) on Mount Sion following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and are there expressly recognized as "the first-fruits unto God and the Lamb."

¹ Matthew, xxiv. 15-22.

Hengstenberg maintains that the "tribes of the children of Israel" are here mentioned in the sense that "the whole Christian church, however composed, is what is meant by them as being the legitimate continuation of ancient Israel." But it seems strange that Jewish Christians alone should be selected as representing the whole church in a writing originally addressed to churches so remote from Judea, and composed largely, if not mainly, of Gentile converts. And such a designation would only seem the more strange in a writing the date of which is referred to a period some twenty-five or thirty years subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews. But the view of Hengstenberg is further shown to be wholly inadmissible, inasmuch as immediately upon the sealing of the one hundred and forty-four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel, we have the numberless multitude¹ out of all nations set over against these sealed ones as the complete harvest, of which the sealed ones are but "the first-fruits unto God and the Lamb." The multitude which could not be numbered are put in contrast with the first-fruits, the one hundred and forty-four thousand; and the "all nations and kindreds and people and tongues," with the twelve tribes of Israel.

5. THE CITY OF JERUSALEM UNDESTROYED, AND THE TEMPLE STILL STANDING.

When the Apocalypse was written, as the book itself intimates, if it does not distinctly state, the temple was still standing undisturbed, and the city of which it was the glory undesolated (see xi. 1-13). John says there was given to him a reed, and he was directed to measure "the temple of God and the altar"; but "the court that is without the temple" he was not to measure; "for it is given unto the Gentiles, and the holy city shall they tread under foot, forty and two months." Power was to be given to "two witnesses," who should "prophesy a thousand two hundred and three score days." They should then be killed and their

¹ Chapter vii. 9.

dead bodies "lie in the street of the great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified." But their lives should be marvellously preserved, while they were working miracles, and till their prophecy was ended. Their bodies, unburied, after three days and a half should come to life, and they should ascend "to heaven in a cloud."

It is difficult to see how language could more clearly point to Jerusalem, and to Jerusalem as it was before its overthrow, where were the temple of God and the altar, where also our Lord was crucified. The prophecy in the most striking manner seems to adopt the very expression of our Lord as recorded by Luke xxi. 24, in which the destruction of Jerusalem is universally allowed to be foretold: "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles." Regarding the literal Jerusalem and the external temple and altar as named, and this particular prediction as having reference to their desolation, it follows of course that this book must have been written prior to that event. On the other hand, if we regard the whole — the city, the temple, the altar, as well as the measuring — to be symbolical, as we must if we adopt the later date, it seems very strange and altogether unnatural, that the apostle, in writing to churches so remote from Judea gathered on Gentile soil, should make use of such symbols, and that, too, when nearly or quite a generation had passed since that city with its temple had been destroyed. This interpretation indeed seems too unnatural to be admitted, especially where we have so much ground from other parts of the prophecy for the assumption that the temple and Jerusalem were still standing.

The parts symbolical in the passage are the measuring-reed and the measuring, the two olive trees, the two candlesticks, and the beast ascending out of the bottomless pit to make war against the witnesses. The parts that are literal are the temple, the altar, the court without the temple, the holy city trodden under foot by the Gentiles, the witnesses prophesying forty and two months, and the equivalent period,

a thousand two hundred and threescore days; and that there might be no doubt as to the city intended, it is described as the city "where our Lord was crucified."

The measuring-rod and the measuring are here symbolical of destruction. In previous visitations or threatenings of evil on the holy city, we find analogous figures employed. "I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria and the plummet of the house of Ahab" (2 Kings xxi. 12, 13). "Behold I will set a plumb-line in the midst of my people Israel, and the high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste," etc. (Amos vii. 8, 9; see also Isa. xxxiv. 11; Lam. ii. 8). In such passages as these, in which the very implements made use of in construction are employed as symbols of demolition, we have ample authority for the meaning attached here to the measuring-rod and the measuring. It was to be applied to the temple, the altar, and them that worship therein; that is, these holy places were to be overthrown, and the worship connected with them brought to an end. The direction to leave out and not to measure the court without the temple, may denote that this court and all that lay outside of the temple proper was not in the same sense holy; it was the court of the Gentiles to which they already had access. The consecrated temple and altar were not to be permitted to fall into the hands of the uncircumcised. God would save them from such dishonor by their destruction, and the worship peculiar to the temple would pass away never more to be re-instated. Hence we see, perhaps, the propriety of employing the implements of construction here as symbols. The destruction was in order to save consecrated things. The Roman general found it impossible, although he made the most strenuous efforts, to rescue the temple.¹ Titus now gave orders to demolish the whole city, except three towers and that portion of the wall which inclosed the city on the west side. The towers were preserved to prove to posterity how strongly fortified a city had been subdued; and the wall to

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vi. 4, §§ 6, 7.

afford a camp for the garrison he was to leave behind. The rest of the wall "was so thoroughly laid even with the ground [to use the language of Josephus, as if he had written with the very words of our Lord's prediction, Luke xix. 44, present to his mind] by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe that it had ever been inhabited."¹ The worship peculiar to the temple, the great national religious observances to which the whole people went up, passed away never more to be celebrated on Mount Zion.

As to the times or periods specified in the passages, there is no difficulty in making out in accordance with the application or interpretation suggested, a literal fulfilment. Vespasian appears to have received his commission from Nero, i.e. the war was declared² the first part of February A.D. 67; three years and six months after, namely the tenth of August A.D. 70, Jerusalem was destroyed. Here, then, we have the "forty and two months," or the equivalent period, "twelve hundred and sixty days," during which, understanding "the holy city" by a common figure of speech, as representing the entire Holy Land, that land was to be laid waste by the Gentiles. It is a striking confirmation of the literal interpretation which has been given to the temple and altar in this passage, and from which we necessarily infer the earlier date of the book, that from this point in the prophecy they entirely disappear, and no more recur in the book. Immediately upon the overthrow of the city where our Lord was crucified, the temple, in the remaining part of the prophecy, in the visions and pictures by which it is unfolded before the apostle's mind, is treated as if it had already passed away, had been transferred from earth to heaven,³ until in the final vision, that of the New Jerusalem, it disappears even there. "I saw no temple therein."⁴ This vision of the New Jeru-

¹ Bell. Jud. vii. 1, § 1.

² See Lardner, Jew. Test. § viii.

³ Chap. xi. 19; xiv. 17; xv. 5, 6, 8; xiv. 1, 17.

⁴ Chap. xxi. 22.

salem very significantly forms the bright and cheering close to a prophecy of which the earlier part relates to the destruction of the old, the earthly Jerusalem.

As to the witnesses, it is in this interpretation supposed that there were precisely two. The two were enough to perform the work to which God had called them. If we had a Christian history extant, as we have a Pagan one by Tacitus, and a Jewish one by Josephus, giving an account of what occurred within that devoted city during that awful period of its history, then we might trace out more distinctly the prophesying of the two witnesses. The great body of Christians, warned by the signs given them by their Lord according to ancient testimony, appear to have left Palestine on its invasion by the Romans. After the retreat of Gallus from Jerusalem, and the disasters he suffered at the hands of the Jews, "many of the most eminent Jews," to use the words of Josephus, "swam away from the city as from a ship when it was going to sink."¹ Perhaps John, the writer of the Apocalypse took his departure at this time. But it was the will of God that a competent number of witnesses for Christ should remain to preach the gospel to the very last moment, to their deluded, miserable countrymen. It may have been part of their work to reiterate the prophecies respecting the destruction of the city, the temple, and commonwealth.² During the time the Romans were to tread down the holy land and city, they were to prophesy. Their being clothed in sackcloth intimates the mournful character of their mission. In their designation as the two olive trees and the two candlesticks or lamps standing before God, there is an allusion to Zech. iv., where these symbols are interpreted of the two anointed ones, Joshua the high priest, and Zerubbabel the prince, founder of the second temple. The olive trees, fresh and vigorous, keep the lamps constantly supplied with oil. These witnesses, amidst the darkness which has settled round Jerusalem, give a steady and unfa-

¹ Bell. Jud. ii. 20, § 1.

² Commentaries of Daubuz, Lowman, Wetstein, and Stuart.

ing light. They possessed the power of working miracles as wonderful as any of those performed by Moses and Elijah. What is here predicted must have been fulfilled before the close of the miraculous or apostolic age. All who find here a prediction of the state of the church during the ascendancy of the papacy, or at any period subsequent to the age of the apostles, are of course under the necessity of explaining away all this language which attributes miraculous powers to the witnesses. They were at length to fall victims to the war, or to the same power that waged the war, and their bodies were to lie unburied three days and a half in the streets of the city where Christ was crucified. Their resurrection and ascension to heaven, like their death and lying without burial, must be interpreted literally; although, as in the case of the miracles they performed, there is no historical record of the events themselves. If these two prophets were the only Christians in Jerusalem, as both were killed, there was no one to make a record or report in the case, and we have here therefore an example of a prophecy which contains at the same time the only history or notice of the events by which it was fulfilled. The wave of ruin which swept over Jerusalem and wafted them up to heaven, erased or prevented every human memento of their work of faith, their patience of hope, and labor of love. The prophecy that foretold them is their only history, or the only history of the part they were to take in the closing scenes of Jerusalem. We conclude, then, that these witnesses were two of those apostles who seem to be so strangely lost to history, or of whom no authentic traces can be discovered subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem. May not James the less or the second James, in distinction from the brother of John, commonly styled the bishop of Jerusalem, have been one of them? Why should he not remain faithful to his post to the last? According to Hegesippus, a Jewish Christian historian, who wrote about the middle of the second century, his monument was still pointed out near the ruins of the temple. Hegesippus says that he was killed in the year 69,

and represents the apostle as bearing powerful testimony to the Messiahship of Jesus, and pointing to his second coming in the clouds of heaven, up to the very moment of his death. There seems to be a peculiar fitness in these witnesses for Christ, men endowed with the highest supernatural gifts, standing to the last in that forsaken city, prophesying its doom, and lamenting over what was once so dear to God.

The main, if not the only, argument of Hengstenberg against the view here presented of the passage in the eleventh chapter, in support of the later date which he advocates, is founded on what appears to be a very singular interpretation. He makes the import of the measuring to be preservation: "Where the measuring ceases, there," he says, "the line of abandoning begins." In other words what was measured, the temple, the altar, etc., were to be preserved; and what was not measured was to be destroyed. It is on the ground of an interpretation such as this, that he objects to that view of the passage which finds in it proof that the book was composed before the taking of Jerusalem. He devotes several pages to a protest which it will be seen was lost labor, when it is understood that John, by the symbol of measuring, meant destruction and not preservation. Hengstenberg, making the measuring a symbol of preservation, considers the temple as a symbol of the church, and the altar a symbol of that free-will sacrifice by which believers present themselves to him who redeemed them with his blood, and the outer court as denoting those who have not been reached, or are only superficially affected, by the spirit of the church. He makes everything symbolical. "Spiritually," he says, is to be applied not only to Egypt and Sodom, but to the expression "where also our Lord was crucified"; and that Jerusalem is here intended to denote the church as degenerate on account of the ascendancy of the world, and filled with offences, thus crucifying the Lord afresh. He makes the whole prophecy here if not "to swim in the air," to use one of his own favorite expressions, to sink out of sight; for he makes it to mean simply the preservation of the church and its worship. No

events are foretold ; it is nothing more than a re-affirmation, in highly figurative language, of the promise that God will ever have a seed to serve him.

Another interpretation makes this prediction relate to what will befall the restored temple and the rebuilt Jerusalem, for which those who adopt it are looking in the future. They hold that the Jerusalem of Palestine is yet to know a splendor and magnificence becoming the metropolis of the Christian world ; and that a third temple, surpassing the first and second, is to be erected, and the Jews are to form a sort of spiritual nobility in the church. Mr. D. N. Lord, one of the ablest of the Millenarian writers, however, adopts a view more nearly resembling that of Hengstenberg. He makes the great and peculiar truths of the scriptures proclaimed by the Reformers to be symbolized by the temple, the altar, and the offerers of worship ; and the outer court generally to be occupied by apostates. Mr. Croly and Mr. Barnes present a very similar view.

6. THE SIXTH OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS ON THE THRONE.

The book of Revelation, according to its own representation, was written or its visions seen during the reign of the sixth of the kings or emperors of Rome. In chapter xvii. there is a passage which professedly explains the mystery of the beast having seven heads and ten horns, on which sat the woman who was arrayed in purple and scarlet. "The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings, five are fallen and one is, and the other is not yet come ; and when he cometh he must continue a short space. And the beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." But see the entire passage, vs. 7-12.

That Rome is here intended, there can be no mistake. It is distinctly said that the seven heads of the beast symbolize "the seven mountains on which the woman sitteth" ; that is, the seven hills on which Rome was built. And as little room is there for mistake in the words, "And there are seven

kings; five are fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come." That the line or succession of emperors is here meant, and not the primitive kings of Rome, is certain from the connection of the "five" who have "fallen" with the one "who is," the one then reigning, and with the one who is to "come," that is, his successor. We have then only to reckon the succession of emperors, and we must arrive with certainty at the reign under which the Apocalypse was written or was seen. If we begin with Julius Caesar it stands thus: Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius; these make up the five who have fallen. "One is," Nero. The ancients, although the empire was not fully established till the time of Augustus, reckoned from Julius Caesar. He had been declared perpetual dictator, and had concentrated sovereign power in his hands. Josephus calls Augustus the second emperor of Rome, and Tiberius the third.¹ "And the other is not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a short space." Galba, who reigned seven months, makes the seventh. The context, "the beast that was, and is not, and yet is" (v. 8) strikingly describes Nero by alluding to the popular belief, that after disappearing for a time, that emperor would reappear, as if he had risen from the dead. And again in the words, "And the beast that was and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition." Had the expectation in regard to Nero, that after disappearing for a time he would come again been fulfilled, he would have been the eighth; and he might also be said to be of the seventh, as his successor Galba is generally reckoned as one of the mock emperors. This popular belief in regard to Nero was founded on a prediction of the soothsayers in the early part of his reign. Accordingly after his death several imposters appeared, professing to be Nero; and there were not wanting those who, in full expectation of his return and recovery of power, "adorned his tomb with spring and summer flowers,"² with the hope, doubtless, of thus ingratiating

¹ Antiq. xviii. 2. § 2.

² Vernis æstivisque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent. — Suet. § 57.

themselves into his favor. It appears from numerous sources, Jewish as well as Pagan, that there was a wide-spread expectation of Nero's return.¹

To harmonize this passage with the theory which refers the time of the Apocalypse to the reign of Domitian, it has been maintained that the seven kings represent the seven hills of Rome, merely to characterize them as kingly or princely hills. The ten horns are said to represent the number of sovereigns that had ruled in Rome. That five of her seven kings (which are so many magnificent hills) are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come, etc., merely represents the condition of Rome as "not having reached its acme in external greatness, but nevertheless wasting away in its internal strength." Others, who for the most part have held to the same interpretation, have departed from it in some particulars, understanding by "the beast that was, and is not, and yet is," the Roman empire, idolatrous under the heathen emperors, then ceasing to be for some time under the Christian emperors, and then becoming idolatrous again under the Roman pontiffs; and by the ten horns the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire is represented as divided after it became Christian.

"The seven hills of Rome," says Hengstenberg, "could only be pointed to as a symbol of the seven-formed worldly power." "Of the seven kings mentioned, five belong to the period already past; and of the two others one appeared at the time then present on the stage of history, and the other had still not entered on it. The five kings, or worldly kingdoms, that had already fallen at the time of the Seer, are the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece. The one that is, accordingly, must be the sixth great monarchy, the Roman, for it was this that was in existence at the time of the Seer. With the seventh phase of the ungodly power of the world, the beast goes also into perdition, the heathen state generally comes to an end."

"The scene," says Mr. Lord, "was the site of Rome. The

¹ Prof. Stuart's Commentary, ii. pp. 434 sq.

seven heights were the seven hills of the city, and they were symbols of the seven kinds of rulers who exercised the government of the ancient empire." All seem to agree that Rome is meant. But those who understand the prophecy to mean kingdoms or dynasties when it says "kings," assign no good reason for an interpretation by which they give scope to the utmost latitude of speculation in the application of the prophecy. The comparison of these interpretations with that which makes the sixth ruler, then ruling, the emperor Nero, leaves no room for choice to a mind uncommitted to some favorite theory requiring a later date.

We therefore conclude that a reader of the Apocalypse, without prepossessions as to the date, consulting the book itself as a witness on this point, could not fail to come to the conclusion that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the reign of Nero, the sixth in succession to Julius Caesar in the empire of Rome.

The precise year of our Lord, probably, cannot be ascertained. It is not easy to determine the exact time when John left Judea and took up his abode in Ephesus. We infer that he was not yet in that city when Paul was there (A.D. 58 or 59), as there is no allusion to him in the scene recorded in Acts xx. 17, which could not have been avoided had he been there. And yet afterwards, when Paul reached Jerusalem, as would appear from Acts xxi. and Gal. i. 19, he did not find John there. This may have been but a temporary absence; we however infer from all the facts that can be gathered in the case, that not long after Paul's farewell address to the elders of Ephesus, John arrived, and took up his abode in that city. He was quick to discern in the agitated state of Judea the signs of the destruction that was hastening, and no doubt under the special direction of the Holy Spirit took his departure for Asia Minor, where he had a great work to do for many years to come. He was probably one of the earliest, being one of the most pre-eminent of the disciples and apostles of the Lord, who felt the persecution which commenced under Nero (A.D. 64), when it

reached Ephesus. At some time during the four years of this persecution, while he was in Patmos, to which he seems to have been banished for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ, the visions of the Apocalypse were seen and recorded by him. If we fix upon A.D. 64 or A.D. 68, or one of the intermediate years, it makes little or no difference, as the destruction to which so considerable a portion of the prophecy relates would still be at hand, even at the doors. Or if we suppose that John did not leave Judea till after the war was declared, A.D. 67, and that he was sent to Patmos almost immediately on his arrival at Ephesus, it only brings the catastrophe he predicts still nearer. The twelve hundred and sixty days had already commenced, and on his lonely rock the banished apostle could see the lightning's flash and hear the thunders of the tempest and the trumpets of the armies gathering for the overthrow of the devoted city he loved so well. In its very title his prophecy professes to be a revelation of "things which must shortly come to pass." The fulfilment was in the immediate future. This is repeated again and again (ii. 15, 16; iii. 11; xi. 14; xvi. 15; xxii. 7, 12, 20). A very large part of the book was to be speedily fulfilled, and although a part of it related to the distant future, and some of it to scenes and events following the end of the world, yet the "shortly" and "I come quickly" never lose their appropriateness and significance as the very key of this book. The complete argument for the early date, from internal evidence, can only be found in the full exposition of the book, showing that while it has its starting-point in the state of things existing at the time it was written, it progresses in the order of history from that point until every anti-Christian power is overthrown, and the consummation is reached in the New Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven, and the new heaven and the new earth. Such an exposition would show, for example, a most remarkable coincidence between the first six seals, viewed as premonitions of the great catastrophe, and the signs of this catastrophe as foretold by our Saviour (Matt. xxiv.; Luke

xxi). And so striking an instance of scripture interpreting scripture ought not perhaps to have been omitted in that cumulative proof involved in the very nature of the question under consideration.

NO INTERNAL EVIDENCE FAVORING THE LATER DATE.

So clear is the internal evidence in favor of the earlier date of the Apocalypse. And no evidence can be drawn from any part of the book favoring the later date so commonly assigned to it. Some, it is true, have thought they had found internal marks inconsistent with the earlier date in the state of the Seven Churches of Asia, as inferred from the special epistles addressed to them contained in the Apocalypse.¹ With a considerable degree of certainty considering the inherent difficulty which belongs to the chronology of the Acts, taking the Claudian decree² in A.D. 51, requiring Jews to leave Rome, as the starting-point, we learn that Christianity was first introduced at Ephesus in A.D. 53 or 54, and that near the close of the last-named year there had been gathered there, under the labors of Paul, Aquila, and Priscilla, and Apollos, a church, "the men," or male members of which numbered twelve.³ If we suppose that John wrote the Apocalypse somewhere between A.D. 64 and A.D. 68, these churches had been in existence at least some ten or twelve years, a sufficient length of time, considering that most of them no doubt were converts from heathenism, for them to have undergone all the changes to be inferred from these epistles. The church of Smyrna is represented as troubled with false apostles. The church of Pergamos had such as held the doctrine of Balaam. The church of Thyatira had some who suffered the woman Jezebel to teach and seduce the people. And so on. Only the church of Philadelphia had nothing laid to her charge. But we find in the epistles of the other apostles the churches in general which were no older, troubled with precisely the same evils. See Paul's

¹ See Dissertation in Woodhouse's *Apocalypse Translated*.

² Acts xviii. 2.

³ Acts xviii., xix.

Epistles to the Corinthians, *passim*, and his second Epistle to Timothy, in which he sorely complains of some who were called Christians, and mentions several who were of the churches of Asia — Demas, Alexander, Hermogines, and Philetus. Peter wrote against those who held the doctrine of Balaam. Jude did the same. Lardner assigns Jude's epistle to A.D. 64 or 65. But the exhortations of Paul in his epistle to one of these seven churches, that of Ephesus,¹ to put away from them bitterness, wrath, anger, clamor, evil-speaking, malice, and even stealing, as much imply a departure from their first love, as the exhortations in the epistle to them in the Apocalypse imply such a departure. And Paul, in writing to Timothy in his first epistle, beseeches him to abide at Ephesus. And for what purpose? That he might charge some that they teach no other doctrine; and he speaks of some as having swerved from sound doctrine, and turned aside to vain jangling (1 Tim. i. 6). There is nothing in any of the epistles to the seven churches which indicates a more serious charge. Instead of these epistles affording any internal evidence unfavorable to the earlier date claimed for the Apocalypse, it has already been shown (Arg. 3) that there are features about them wholly inconsistent with referring the book to a date so late as the time of Domitian.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON'S ARGUMENT.

There is another argument which might have been included in the foregoing enumeration, showing the strong internal evidence which the Apocalypse bears in favor of the early date. It is one that was suggested by that great man — great in his reverence for God and God's word, and great in his childlike humility as a Christian, no less than for his learning and contributions to science — Sir Isaac Newton, who appears to have brought as clear an intelligence to the study of the scriptures as to the works of God's hand; to wit, that the book clearly furnishes expressions and allusions which are found in epistles known to have been written

¹ Written, according to Wieseler, A.D. 61 or 62, Chronol. p. 455.

before the destruction of Jerusalem. Sir Isaac mentions particularly the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistles of Peter. He supposes that the writers of these epistles must have read the Revelation and often made it the subject of their meditations; and that its topics furnished matter for allusion in their own inspired writings. That it is the original, and that John did not, on the other hand, find matter for allusion in these epistles, will be sufficiently evident to any one who makes the most cursory comparison. The Revelation was the fountain, the primal source of the expressions and imagery in question, where they appear in full, or carried out *in extenso*; in the epistles are mere quotations or allusions. There are figures, allusions, and even some forms of theological statement found in English literature since the publication of Paradise Lost, which were unknown to it before. If other proof were wanting, it might be made evident in regard to some contemporary author of the age of Milton, that he wrote after that great poet, by the distinct impression his writings could be shown to have derived from Milton's great work. Now it is something analogous to this which may be noticed in the relation of the epistles to the Apocalypse:

“The Apocalypse seems to be alluded to,” says Sir Isaac Newton, “in the Epistles of Peter, and that to the Hebrews, and therefore to have been written before them. Such allusions in the Epistle to the Hebrews I take to be the discourse concerning the high priest in the heavenly tabernacle; and those concerning the word of God with the sharp two-edged sword, the heavenly city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God; the cloud of witnesses; Mount Sion; the general assembly; spirits of just men made perfect; and the shaking of heaven and earth, and removing them, that the new heaven, new earth, and new kingdom, which cannot be shaken, may remain.” He says “the second Epistle of Peter from i. 19 to the end seems to be a continued commentary upon the Apocalypse. There, in writing to the churches of Asia, to whom John was commanded to send his prophecy,

he tells them they have “a more sure word of prophecy,” to be heeded by them as “a light which shineth in a dark place.” “In the second chapter he [Peter] proceeds to describe out of this sure word of prophecy how there would be false prophets or false teachers who should bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them.” In the third he goes on to describe their destruction more fully, and the future kingdom.”

Bishop Newton was satisfied that the argument founded on allusions to this prophecy pointed out by Sir Isaac in the Epistles of Peter and the Epistle to the Hebrews, were conclusive. This argument is also elaborated at great length by Dr. Alexander Tilloch in his “Dissertations Introductory to the Study of the Apocalypse.”

MAIN GROUND IN SUPPORT OF THE LATER DATE.

With all this clear evidence from the book itself in favor of an early date, it may be asked how it has happened that so many have accepted, or seemed to take for granted, the later date. It has been supposed the external testimony required it. Irenaeus, who lived so near the apostolic age, has been interpreted as declaring that the Apocalypse was seen by John near the end of the reign of Domitian. The passage occurs in a chapter of his work against heresies,¹ the object of which is to show that nothing should be affirmed rashly in interpreting the number 666, in the passage, Rev. xiii. 18, inasmuch as it may be made to agree with so many names. He has been understood in this connection as recording his opinion that the Revelation was seen near the end of Domitian's reign. The passage is as follows: *Ἡμεῖς οὖν οὐκ ἀποκινδυνεύομεν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ ἀποφαινόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς, εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τελεί τῆς Δομετιάνου ἀρχῆς.* “In regard to this name of Anti-

¹ v. 30

christ, we do not therefore run the risk of speaking positively; for, if it were necessary at present to proclaim distinctly his name, it would have been done by him who also *saw* the Apocalypse; for it is not a long time ago [he, or John himself] *was seen*, but almost in our generation near the end of the reign of Domitian."

It will be observed that *ἐώραθη* has no nominative expressed. If *Ἀποκάλυψις* is to be supplied, then it is evident that the testimony of Irenaeus is, that the Revelation was seen near the end of the reign of Domitian. But if *Ἰωάννης* is taken as the subject, then Irenaeus simply says: "For it was not a long time ago he was seen, but almost in our day, near the end of the reign of Domitian." And of course his authority cannot be adduced in support of the later date, as the assertion that John was seen, that is, was alive, near the close of Domitian's reign, does not by any means prove that this book was written at that time. It is admitted that the application of this verb to the man who had seen the vision appears somewhat unusual; and that it is used just above in the active voice, of the vision itself, which makes the transition to the seer somewhat sudden. But in the beginning of the chapter, Irenaeus, beyond all doubt, applies the same verb to John himself. His words are: *Ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου κεimένου, καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν, ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐωρακότων, κ.τ.λ.* "In all the best and oldest manuscripts this number is found, and those themselves seeing John in the face bear testimony," etc.; that is, in favor of the reading 666, in opposition to the other reading 616.

Again, the scope of the entire passage is to assign a reason why it was not necessary at the time Irenaeus wrote, for it certainly to be known who was pointed out by the number "Six hundred threescore and six." He argues that if this knowledge had been important at that time, it would have been communicated by the writer of the Apocalypse, who lived so near their own time that he might almost be said to be of their generation. There was therefore really no am-

biguity to be avoided, requiring him to use the name of John or the personal pronoun as the subject of *ἑωράθη*, the verb of sight. The scope requires this nominative, and no other.

There was, moreover, something about John, considering his great age, and the deep interest which the church had in him as surviving apostle, which makes the verb *ἑωράθη* peculiarly appropriate. To say of one "he was seen," meaning thereby he was alive at a certain time, might seem unusual, whether in Greek or English, as applied to an ordinary man. When we consider, however, how much would be thought of seeing this most aged apostle who had seen the Lord, there is nothing unnatural in the use of such an expression. In fact this verb is applied to him in precisely the same sense in the beginning of the chapter.

Wetstein understood John to be the nominative of *ἑωράθη*. The ancient translator of Irenaeus renders it *visum est*; i.e. *τὸ θῆριον*, the beast was seen; so also Storr. Guericke, in his "Introduction to the New Testament" (1843) retracts his former opinion in favor of the later date, and although he understands *Ἀποκάλυψις* as the subject of *ἑωράθη*, suggests that *Δομετιάνου*, being without the article, is not a proper name, but an adjective, belonging, in accordance with the Greek formations, not to Domitian (which would make an adjective of the form *Δομιτιανικός*), but to Domitius, which was Nero's name—Domitius Nero. This would make Irenaeus testify to the fact that the Apocalypse was written near the end of the reign of Nero. But as Irenaeus was merely assigning a reason why it was not necessary for it to be known at the time he wrote, what name was pointed out by the number in question, or it would have been communicated by John himself, it seems utterly foreign to his design to say anything respecting the time when the Apocalypse was seen or written, whether under Nero or Domitian; and entirely in furtherance of it to state that John was alive at a period so near his own time, and that of his original readers. Besides, Domitius is a very unusual appellation for Nero,

and several of the Greek fathers do not appear to have thought of any one here other than Domitian, the last of the Caesars.

Eusebius, who flourished in the early part of the fourth century, and not Irenaeus, was the first who expressly asserted that John was an exile in Patmos during the reign of Domitian; but it is to be observed that he does not ascribe the Revelation to this apostle at all; for he expressly says: "It is likely the Revelation was seen by John the elder." Lardner thinks that the argument of Dionysius of Alexandria, who wrote against the Chiliasts or Millenarians, had great weight with Eusebius. Dionysius held that the Apocalypse was written by an elder of Ephesus, whose name was John, "a holy and inspired man." He endeavored to prove from the book itself—and it was this argument which evidently influenced Eusebius—from its style, especially its alleged solecisms, *ιδιώμασι μὲν βαρβαρικοῖς*,¹ which so strikingly distinguish it from the Gospel and Epistles of the apostle that he could not have been the author. It is doubtless on the authority of Eusebius that the theory which assigns the Apocalypse to the time of Domitian mainly rests. But as he does not recognize John the apostle as the author of the Apocalypse, his opinion as to the time of his imprisonment is of little account in determining the date of this book. Jerome, and most of the other ancient authorities commonly adduced in favor of the later date, plainly depend on him. But what is stated by Jerome as true of John in the year 96, that he was so weak and infirm that he was with difficulty carried to the church, and could speak only a few words to the people;² is wholly inconsistent with this opinion. The interesting anecdote related by Eusebius as founded on what occurred after his return from exile, in his pursuit of a young robber in the fastnesses of the mountains, is equally inconsistent with fixing the time of this exile in the reign of Domitian, when the apostle was nearly one hundred years old.

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccl. vii. 25.

² Epist. ad Galat. opp. 4, c. 6.

OTHER ANCIENT TESTIMONIES.

The name of "the tyrant" upon whose death Clement of Alexandria represents John as returning to Ephesus, is not given by him.¹ But Nero, above all other Roman emperors, bore the name of "tyrant" among the early Christians. Neither does Origen, who, in commenting on Matt. xx. 22, 23, speaks of a tradition which assigns the condemnation of John to Patmos to "a king of the Romans," give the name of that king.² Epiphanius [fl. A.D. 366] dated the Apocalypse in the reign preceding that of Nero. He is, however, admitted to have been an inaccurate writer. Andreas, a bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, near the close of the fifth century, in a commentary on the Apocalypse, says it was understood to have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Arethas, one of his successors, in the next century, assigns to it the same date. In the Syriac version this book is entitled: "The Revelation which was made by God to John the evangelist in the island Patmos, into which he was thrown by Nero Caesar." And Theophylact, in the eleventh century, places the origin of the Apocalypse during the reign of Nero.

COMPARATIVE VALUE OF THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ARGUMENT.

The external evidence seems, on the whole, to be of comparatively little value in deciding the true date of the Apocalypse. The main reliance, it is clear, must be upon the argument from internal evidence. When it has been made to appear that Irenaeus says nothing respecting the time when the book of Revelation was written, and that Eusebius ascribes its authorship to another John than the apostle, it is sufficiently evident that the remaining testimony of antiquity, conflicting as it is, or about evenly balanced between the earlier and later date, is of little account in deciding the question. And when we open the book itself, and find in-

¹ Quis Dives, 42, and Euseb. iii. 23.

² Opp. iii. p. 720.

scribed on its very pages evidence that at the time it was written Jewish enemies were still arrogant and active, and the city in which our Lord was crucified, and the temple and altar in it were still standing, we need no date from early antiquity, nor even from the hand of the author himself, to inform us that he wrote before that great historical event and prophetic epoch, the destruction of Jerusalem.

ARTICLE IV.

THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, AND THE MARGINAL READINGS.

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THE history both of the ancient, and of the modern versions of the Greek Testament, is deeply interesting. It furnishes us with new views of "the grace of God that bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men," and teaches us to admire the ways of the Providence of Him "who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." After the Gospel had been proclaimed in lands in which other languages than the Greek prevailed, various translations of the New Testament were successively made, in order to supply a want which the believing heart deeply felt. Similar causes rendered a translation into the English language absolutely necessary. It is true that Popery almost invariably placed impediments in the way of a translation of the Holy Scriptures into a modern language; but a higher power defeated its unholy plans, and the work of translating the Bible into various tongues is still continued with wonderful success.

All those who have attempted to produce a faithful translation of the Scriptures in a modern language, have complained of the extraordinary difficulties which they en-

countered, far surpassing those with which the translator of a Latin or Greek classic author must contend. These embarrassments of the translators of the Old or New Testament are well known, and need here no special statement. But the position of the later translators presented advantages which their predecessors could not possibly enjoy. When, for instance, the German version of the New Testament, now in common use, and published at Wittenberg in 1522, was made by Luther, he struggled with difficulties, of which some had ceased to be equally formidable, and others had almost entirely disappeared, eighty-nine years afterwards, when, in 1611, our present "Authorized Version" first appeared. A comparison of the text of the latter with that of Tyndale's first edition of 1526 discloses the fact that the grammatical structure and other features of the English language had, during the intervening eighty-five years, acquired a stability and wealth which time and unusually propitious circumstances alone could furnish.

The English translators of the reign of king James were also fortunate in other respects. The ancient languages were studied with unusual success in their day, and many eminent scholars afforded them substantial aid. They had, moreover, the "former translations," mentioned on their title-page, before them in their own language, and thereby found their labors greatly facilitated. Nevertheless, they were often embarrassed in deciding on the rendering of a Hebrew or Greek word or phrase, not so much by the "Instructions" which king James had given them for their guidance, as by philological, exegetical, and other obscurities, which they could not remove, and which have not even yet been removed in every case. One of the expedients to which they sometimes resorted when such circumstances occurred, was to assign a position in the text to one word, and place the other rendering in the margin, although the king's instructions, to which we shall advert below, did not expressly grant this privilege. These "marginal readings" are of far greater importance than many ordinary readers of the Bible might possibly sup-

pose them to be. They were formerly omitted in the common editions of the English Bible. But our noble American Bible Society now furnishes various correct and cheap editions in which they are faithfully inserted, so that the number of those whose attention is directed to them is increasing.

There are several classes of these marginal notes. Some refer to the different versions of which a word or phrase is capable, sometimes introduced by the word "or," e.g. Gen. ii. 7; sometimes by "Heb." or "Gr." e.g. Gen. i. 20; Matt. i. 20. The latter mode of designation is adopted, when a word, for any particular reason, does not admit of a direct or literal translation, e.g. Gen. i. 4; Matt. v. 15. Various readings in the case of the text of the Greek Testament, are rarely noted by the introduction of Greek letters, as in Acts xiii. 18; usually, the various reading is thus indicated: "Some—Some copies—read," etc., e.g. Matt. i. 11; James ii. 18. The Hebrew is reproduced in English characters, e.g. Gen. ii. 23; iii. 20. Uncertainty with respect to the grammatical construction is noted, e.g. 2 Cor. iii. 18 generally introduced by "or." Sometimes the original word is translated, or explained, or other information is given, e.g. Gen. iv. 1; v. 21; Matt. i. 21. Many of the marginal notes refer to chronological points, e.g. Matt. i. 16.

We propose to illustrate the general subject by selecting some one book of the New Testament, and noticing not all (for which we would not have space), but the more important marginal readings, and we take the Epistle to the Romans for this purpose, as it will, as far as we can judge, shed light on the subject as fairly as any other.

Dr. Trench remarks that, while a revision of the English version "ought to come," nevertheless, "we are not as yet in any respect prepared for it" (On the Authorized Version of the New Testament, etc., chap. i.). He proceeds in the chapters which follow, to exhibit numerous imperfections of the version, and unquestionably demonstrates that certain inaccuracies may be found in it. Others, before his day, and

many of his contemporaries, have demanded such a revision. All attempts, however, to meet the demand have hitherto been at least partial failures, and Trench's hope that the day of the proposed revision will long be deferred, is no doubt entertained by the large majority of British and American theologians. The criticism to which our English Bible has been subjected, might weaken our confidence in the ability of the venerable translators appointed by king James, and diminish the reverence with which we read it. But a careful examination of the whole subject must produce the conviction in every unprejudiced mind, that our translators were not only very faithful and conscientious men, but were also possessed of eminent philological ability. They were subjected to many perplexities, the painful character of which none but a professed translator or reviser can understand; they could not act with entire independence, as their work did not consist in furnishing a new translation; they were required to perform the far more unpleasant work of revising and correcting a version, or rather several versions, which already existed, and which were not to be altered without weighty reasons. An examination of the marginal readings which any one should institute, would, as we believe, result in increasing his admiration of these men, and in giving him additional confidence and enjoyment when he reads their version.

Let us take a view of the position which they occupied. With all the perplexities to which they were subjected, as we have just remarked, they were, at the same time, far more highly favored than the authors of the German version now commonly received, and of the earlier English versions. The German language in the days of Luther was, as it is well known, in a comparatively rude and undeveloped state; German scholars concur in according to him the honor of having been the first who understood the capacities of that language, and developed and demonstrated them by his version.¹ A familiar illustration of the somewhat uncouth,

¹ E. Reuss, one of the most eminent and accomplished critics of our day, remarks: "Luther's Bible, with all the faults which, in special cases, have since

heavy, and obscure German of his day, may be found in the German Preface of the Augsburg Confession (1530), in which the Protestants address themselves to Charles V., while Melanchthon's Latin text exhibits all the elegance for which his diction is distinguished. At that period Henry VIII. occupied the throne of England; during his reign Tyndale, the first publisher of an English version of the Bible, died as a martyr. Henry was succeeded by Edward VI.; it was in his reign that the English Liturgy, to which our religious language owes much of its precision, was completed and established by act of Parliament. After the dark period of the reign of "bloody Mary," Elizabeth ascended the throne. During her reign (1558-1603), Shakspeare, Ben. Jonson, Spencer, and Buchanan, flourished as poets, Camden as an historian. Then, too, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, R. Hooker, Carey, Earl of Monmouth, and Napier, the inventor of logarithms, also distinguished themselves. After the queen's death, James I. succeeded to the throne. When, therefore, the translators were appointed by him, they found already a comparatively rich English literature in existence, and this circumstance will in part explain the admirable diction which they were enabled to employ in their version.

The critical apparatus to which they had access was also comparatively ample. They say in their preface: "Neither did we think much to consult the translators or commentators, Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greek, or Latin; no, nor the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch; neither did we disdain to revise that which we had done, and to bring back to the anvil that which we had hammered." Selden says: "At their meetings one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or

been set forth, was nevertheless a miracle of science for that age. Its language, which successfully struggled to rise above the old German coarseness, was the best which Luther ever employed, and was surpassed by that of none of his contemporaries. Its tones were like those of a prophecy of a golden age of literature; and in manly power and the unction of the Holy Ghost it is a model which has never been equalled." — *Gesch. d. h. S. N. T.* § 471.

French, Spanish, Italian, etc." (Table-Talk, article *Bible*.) The "Dutch" version of which the translators speak, was the *German* version of Luther in particular, to which they were pre-eminently indebted in deciding on appropriate terms, when the original presented difficulties. Trench remarks: "Till late in the seventeenth century 'Dutch' (deutsch or teutsch, theotiscus), meant generally 'German,' and a 'Dutchman,' a native of Germany, while what we should now term a Dutchman would have been named then a Hollander" (Select Glossary, article *Dutch*). He then quotes from Howell and Fuller, in order to substantiate his assertion. The former says in the preface to his *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, published in 1660: "Though the root of the English language be *Dutch*, yet she may be said to have been inoculated afterwards upon a French stock." Trench recurs to the same subject in another work (English Past and Present, Lect. vii.), and there furnishes additional evidence, that "Dutch" was the designation, in the age of the translators, of those who spoke the *German* (High-Dutch), as contradistinguished from Hollanders who used the Low-Dutch language. (On these subjects the reader will find some interesting statements in Prof. Whitney's recent work, *Language and the Study of Language*, pp. 164, 210.)

Besides these aids in other languages, our translators had as guides, the "former translations," mentioned on the title-page of every ordinary edition of the English Bible. To these the king directed their special attention in his instructions, which we shall afterwards quote. A rapid survey of the versions or editions mentioned by him, and of several others, will enable us to form a clear judgment respecting the true character of the "marginal readings."

Various portions of the Scriptures had been translated into the language employed in England, both before and after the Norman conquest. Similar efforts continued to be made during the transition-period, which terminated in the adoption of the present idiom. Several manuscripts of this character are preserved in the British Museum, and in the

libraries of other institutions in England. It has been ascertained that while these remains possess great historical and philological value, they afford little or no aid in the department of Biblical Criticism. The corypheus of English translators of the whole Bible, was unquestionably JOHN WICLIF (Wickliffe, Wicklif, Wycliffe, Wyclef, etc.), who was born in 1324, and received his name from that of a small village in Yorkshire. Very careful investigations of the history of his version fully demonstrate that he was the first who translated the *entire* Bible into English. The date assigned by some to his New Testament is, A.D. 1378; by others, A.D. 1380. He translated from the Latin Vulgate, and faithfully adhered to that version as he found it. But its text was far from being settled at that comparatively early period, which preceded the invention of printing. The copies varied considerably, and Wiclif's Latin manuscript doubtless exhibited corruptions of the text, like many others. Hence his version does not correspond in all cases to the present text of the Vulgate, as found in any modern reprint of the Clementine or normal edition of the year 1593. It would have been impossible for Wiclif to produce a version directly from the Greek New Testament at a period when he would probably not have found access to any Greek or Hebrew manuscript, even if he had acquired a knowledge of these languages. His version, accordingly, with all its other merits, could not possess the character of a critical authority in the eyes of our translators, when they arranged the marginal readings. As it does not appear to have exercised any influence on the subsequent English versions, although it is given in Bagster's Hexapla, we have not quoted from it in the illustrations furnished below from the Epistle to the Romans. His New Testament performed good service, however, in a dark age. That it was extensively circulated in manuscript (not having been printed before 1731), is attested by facts still preserved in history; the spread of the doctrines of Wiclif, or Lollardism (a term of reproach imported from the continent), caused many of the papists to tremble. Providence

had raised up this great and good man at a time when popish superstition and ignorance threatened to destroy all traces of the truth. He, at least, if not other translators, was allowed to die in peace. He suffered no harm from the exhumation and burning of his bones many years afterwards, by order of the same unholy council of Constance, which condemned Huss and Jerome of Prague to a cruel death.

A new era opened on Europe when the art of printing was invented.¹ Thereby divine Providence furnished new facilities for the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the language of the people. But before England availed itself of these facilities, several versions in different languages had been printed on the continent. A bright period commenced in England when WILLIAM TYNDALE (Tindal) was raised up to do a good and glorious work. He was born about the year 1484; the precise date of his birth, and the names of his parents have not been definitely determined. His labors, his success, and his sufferings, render him one of the most interesting personages in the history of the Christian Church. If it were appropriate to furnish biographical details in this Article, it would be an easy and delightful task to exhibit his singular merit. He surveyed with profound interest the work which Luther had commenced, adopted the principles of the Reformation, and, at length, proceeded to London, where he hoped to find facilities in performing the great work which he had contemplated — a translation of the Scriptures into English. He had already at that time had considerable experience as a translator, having rendered large portions of the Greek classic writers into the vernacular. His learned friend, John Frith (Fryth), who was burned as a heretic in Smithfield, 1552, had been led to open his eyes to the light of the Gospel by the study of the New Testament (the Greek

¹ The dates which Anderson (*Annals of the English Bible*) presents in his Introduction, are probably not strictly correct. The first printed Bible, which was the Vulgate, did not appear until the year 1462, at Mentz or Mayence (Mainz, Maguntiacum). — Herzog, *Encyk.* xvii. p. 439.

edition of Erasmus) ; he greatly encouraged Tyndale's heart, and, in connection with their common friend, Humphrey Monmouth, furnished him with pecuniary means. According to some accounts (Herzog, Encyk. xix. 508), he afterwards assisted Tyndale, at Antwerp, in completing the version. The latter was thus enabled to proceed to Hamburg in the early part of the year 1524. From that place he went, according to some earlier accounts, to Wittenberg, where he met Luther. This interesting fact is stated by the able writer of the Introduction to Bagster's Hexapla, p. 29. The same authorities on which he relies, further state that Tyndale's first edition was printed in 1526, at Wittenberg (Herzog, Encyk. iv. pp. 36, 55). Luther's own version had been published in the same place four years previously, September, 1522. The stern silence which history observes on so many subjects, is maintained also in this case. The general fact is reported, but no details respecting the personal intercourse of these two remarkable men seem to have been preserved.

This "common tradition" of Tyndale's visit to Luther is regarded as unfounded in fact by Anderson (Annals of the English Bible, Book i. sect. ii.) and by Westcott, the most recent writer on the subject (General View of the History of the English Bible, London and Cambridge, 1868, p. 36). According to these two writers, who, however, differ widely on several other points, Tyndale went from Hamburg to Cologne in 1525, and there began to print his first edition of the New Testament. From this place he was driven by popish machinations and escaped to Worms, where, four years previously (in 1521), Luther had borne witness before the emperor. During these four years this city had, according to the writers quoted by Anderson (Cochlaeus and Seckendorf), "become wholly Lutheran." Here, as it is alleged, Tyndale remained till the year 1527, and was enabled to prepare two editions of his New Testament. But the "common tradition," as Westcott terms it, of the personal intercourse of two men like Luther and Tyndale, so con-

genial in spirit, and so earnestly laboring in precisely the same work, seems to have some foundation in fact, especially when we consider the geographical proximity of the two men. Westcott, who says that "Luther's name was indeed at the time identified with the idea of vernacular versions of scripture," admits (p. 172) that Luther's version was "*possibly* accessible to Tyndale." Further, Westcott says: "The famous Prologue [of Tyndale] to the Romans (1526), is, as is well known, for the most part a paraphrase of a translation of Luther's Preface. Like the Preface to the New Testament, this writing of Luther had been translated into Latin (1523); Tyndale's version seems at one time to follow the German and at another time the Latin text" (p. 194). All this shows, as Westcott adds, that "Tyndale could not have been unacquainted with the German" (p. 195). The same writer makes the following statement on the next page: "The coincidences between Tyndale's exposition of the Sermon on the Mount and that of Luther, though fewer, are even more worthy of notice. Luther's expository sermons were delivered in 1530 and printed in 1532, but they were not translated into Latin till 1533. On the other hand, Tyndale's exposition was printed in 1532. He must, then, have used the German edition of Luther, or perhaps even notes taken by some friend or by himself," Westcott, who concedes the probability of a personal meeting of Luther and Tyndale by the words "or by himself," next exhibits in parallel columns the German of Luther and the English of Tyndale.

Anderson remarks (Book i. sect. vi.) that in the year 1529, or, at most only three years after the publication of Tyndale's first edition, Frith, his friend, published an English translation from the German of a small work, entitled, "The Revelation of Antichrist." It was printed, he says, "at Malbrough, in the land of Hesse, the 12th day of July, 1529, by me Hans Luft." Now it is well known that Hans (diminutive of Johannes) Luft (Lufft), who established a printing-office at Wittenberg in 1525, distinguished himself as the printer

of various works of Luther. The latter frequently mentions him in his letters as his "chalcographus" (de Wette, Luther's Briefe, ii. 42, 506, 530; v. 712); he informs Melancthon and Spalatin of Luft's serious illness and subsequent recovery (de Wette, iii. 189, 193), and states in a letter to Chancellor Brück, written in September, 1539 (de Wette, vi. 248), that Luft had informed him that he was now ready to commence the printing of a new edition of the German Bible, in a superior style.¹ The text of this edition had been carefully revised by Luther, with the assistance of Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Cruciger, and Aurogallus. It was issued in 1541 in two volumes, folio. The title-page says, in German: "Biblia, that is, the entire Holy Scripture, German, prepared anew. D[oct]. Mart. Luth., etc. Printed by Hans Lufft at Wittenberg, 1541" (M. Meurer: Luther's Leben, etc. 1861, p. 285). This employment by Frith of Luther's printer, is another link in the chain of evidence that the first German and the first English translator of the Holy Scriptures were at least not strangers to each other.

Much internal evidence of Tyndale's acquaintance with Luther's version may be obtained by comparing their respective productions with the original Greek. If it is no discredit to Luther that he carefully consulted the Septuagint

¹ Luft died in the year 1584. He was well known in his day as the "Bible-printer." It is said that in the period of about fifty years, nearly 100,000 copies of the Scriptures were issued from his office. While he was still a journeyman, he was repeatedly sent by his employer to other towns, in order to attend to the printing of manuscripts of limited extent. He may have adopted the same course with some of his journeymen, when he had established himself as a printer. It is only in this way that we can explain the circumstance mentioned above, as quoted from Anderson, that he was the printer of Frith's book. There is no German town or city named "Malborow;" possibly *Marburg* is meant, the place in which the celebrated interview of Luther and Zwingli took place, Oct. 1-3, 1529, for that city *did* belong to the "land of Hesse." Luft acquired wealth and distinction, and was invested in 1563, with the office of Burgomaster of Wittenberg. Zeltner published in 1727 an account of Luther's publications, and there furnished a biographical sketch of Luft, from which the above details are taken. We have before us a folio, tolerably well preserved — a copy of Luther's German Bible, printed about fourteen years before the death of the great Reformer. The lower part of the title-page exhibits the following: "Wittenberg. Gedruckt durch (printed by) Hans Lufft. 1532."

and the Vulgate when he prepared the German version, it can as little be discreditable to Tyndale, himself an accomplished scholar, that, in addition to the same ancient versions, he consulted also the eminently successful translation of Luther. Our space allows us to furnish only one illustration, derived from the beginning of the Epistle, to which we shall revert below, in examining the "marginal readings" of our present English version. The instance will also show that, if our translators at all adopted the principle of submitting a different version in the margin, they could with propriety have more frequently observed it than they have done. In Rom. i. 4, Luther translates ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν thus: "Seit der Zeit er auferstanden ist von den Todten" [since the time when he arose from the dead]. Robinson also (Lex. N. T. p. 223) regards ἐξ as here referring to *time*, and translates, "after"; and Stuart (Com. *ad loc.*) adduces many passages in which this preposition is equivalent to *after*. Now Tyndale, both in the first edition of 1526, and also in that of 1534, strictly followed Luther in translating this, exegetically considered, somewhat difficult phrase, and exhibited the following: "sence the tyme that Jesus Christ oure Lorde rose agayne from deeth." The Cranmer Bible of 1539 exhibits the same version; the Geneva of 1557 has, "sence that he rose agayne from the dead." Rheim's, of 1582, on the other hand, presents precisely the rendering which the authorized version subsequently adopted, namely "by the resurrection," etc.

But even if the place in which Tyndale's first edition appeared is doubtful, it is certain that the correct date of it is the year 1526. Copies of it were at once transmitted from the continent to England in such numbers and with such marked effect, that towards the close of the year, Bishop Tonstall (Tunstal), at the instigation of Cardinal Wolsey, and with the approbation of the chancellor, Sir Thomas More, publicly and officially prohibited the importation of additional copies, and commanded that the "maintainers of Luther's sect" and all others who had obtained copies,

should (like the *traditores* at the beginning of the fourth century) surrender them to the ecclesiastical authorities. Some of the copies were collected and burned at St. Paul's Cross in the year 1528; but many more were retained by faithful men, and industriously circulated. The demand for the Scriptures was so great that two surreptitious editions were printed in Holland in 1527 and 1528, as a mere business speculation. During the succeeding years, Tyndale, who remained on the continent, was occupied with the translation of the Old Testament; in this work he was aided, according to some accounts, by Myles Coverdale.

In the early part of the year 1534, while Tyndale was the guest of an English merchant who resided in Antwerp, he carefully revised his translation of the New Testament, and, besides correcting errors which had crept into the editions published in Holland, he also materially improved the style. This revised translation was published in 1534. When the printers of Holland, who had previously issued several editions, ascertained that Tyndale intended to publish one under his own personal supervision, they resolved to anticipate him. They applied to an English refugee named George Joye, who had already published a translation of Isaiah from the Latin. This man, whose knowledge of the dead languages seems to have been confined to the Latin, after making many strange and unwarrantable alterations of Tyndale's text, suggested chiefly by the Vulgate, but never by the original Greek, was sufficiently dishonest to publish his edition under the name of that venerable man. In answer to Tyndale's complaints, Joye published an unsatisfactory apology. His own productions were deservedly discarded by the public.

After Tyndale had thus accomplished the great work, for the successful performance of which divine Providence had singularly qualified him, the time of his departure was at hand. Bigotry and treachery induced the authorities of Brussels to arrest and condemn him to death as a heretic. After having been confined for some time at Vilvord (Vil-

vorden, Villefort), about seven miles distant from that city, he was led forth from his dungeon to the place of execution. After being first strangled, his corpse was consigned to the flames, towards the close of the year 1536. Even his adversary, the Procurator-General of the emperor Charles V., who had a personal knowledge of him, said : *Homo fuit doctus, pius, et bonus.*

The man whom Providence employed to continue the great work of translating and circulating the Scriptures in English, which had been so nobly commenced by Tyndale, was MYLES COVERDALE. He was born in Yorkshire, 1488, was an eminently learned and devout man, was enlightened by the truth of the Gospel, which he diligently studied, and was ardent in the performance of his duties. Religious persecution compelled him to proceed as an exile to the continent; according to some accounts he found Tyndale in Hamburg, and was temporarily his companion and fellow-laborer. About this period, or soon afterwards, two men, Cranmer (ultimately archbishop of Canterbury) and Cromwell (Crumwell) who had been Wolsey's secretary, who were both friends of the principles of the Reformation, and advocates of the diffusion of the Scriptures, assumed a prominent position. Their agreement with Henry VIII., not only in the matter of his divorce from queen Catharine, but generally, in his opposition to the arrogance of the pope, had secured for them a high degree of political influence, and they were powerfully aided by the new queen, Anne Boleyn (Bullen),¹ who was an ardent friend of the Reformation. Her death in May, 1536, was regarded

¹ Shakspeare represents Cardinal Wolsey as speaking of the queen and Cranmer in the following terms :

“ What though I know her virtuous,
And well deserving, yet I know her for
A spleeny Lutheran ; and not wholesome to
Our cause, that she should lie i' the bosom of
Our hard-rul'd king. Again, there is sprung up
An heretic, an arch one, Cranmer ; one
Hath crawl'd into the favor of the king,
And is his oracle.” — (King Henry VIII., Act III. Sc. II).

as a serious calamity by those who were friendly to the circulation of the Scriptures. A happier state of things, at least in this respect, existed when her daughter Elizabeth ascended the throne.

Cranmer brought the subject of the publication of the Scriptures before his clergy (Dec. 19, 1534), but the concessions which they made, virtually prohibited the use of the English version already in existence. Still, these proceedings were, comparatively speaking, so favorable, that after Tyndale's imprisonment had commenced, Coverdale resolved to prepare a new version for the press, probably during the year 1535. The labors of his great predecessor, Tyndale, the aid afforded by the German version, which Coverdale gratefully acknowledges (Coverdale's Remains, p. 12), as well as by the Zurich (Swiss-German) version (Westcott, p. 212 sq.), his familiarity with the work, his own abilities, and, above all, the aid which divine grace afforded, enabled him to complete his task, as it is said, in the space of eleven months. Without such advantages the stupendous work (although it was not a new and independent version) could not have been performed in such a brief period. The version was printed in October, 1535.

It has not been satisfactorily determined in what place Coverdale's Bible was printed; Zurich, Frankfort, and Cologne have been suggested, but the evidence which has been adduced is conflicting, and no solution of the historical problem has been found. The volume was a small folio. The text of the Pentateuch, the Book of Job, etc., was that of Tyndale, carefully revised, and the same remark applies to that of the New Testament. In the case of the latter, Coverdale sometimes followed the edition of 1526, sometimes that of 1534, and in other instances deviated from both. That he proceeded in a somewhat independent manner, will appear from the following cases. Tyndale translated Matt. iii. 2, in 1526, thus: "Repent, the kyngdome of heven is at honde." Coverdale, in 1535, translates: "Amende your selves, the kyngdome of heven is at hande." The former

renders verse 8: "Brynge forthe therefore the frutes belongynge to repentaunce"; the latter; "Beuarre, bringe forth due frutes of pennaunce." The former renders Mark vi. 12 thus: "And they went out and preached that they shulde repent"; Coverdale exhibits: "And they went forthe and preached that men should amende themselves."

Coverdale's version was doubtless made with a constant reference to the original languages, with the assistance of "five sundry interpreters," whose names, however, he does not furnish. On this obscure point, Westcott, the latest writer, remarks: "In the main his [Coverdale's] version is based on the Swiss-German version of Zwingli and Leo Juda [Judæ], Zurich (1524-29, 1539, etc.), and on the Latin of Pagninus. He made use also of Luther and the Vulgate. His fifth version may have been the Worms German Bible of 1529, or the Latin Bible of Rudelius with marginal renderings from the Hebrew (1527, 1529), or (as is most likely), for he does not specify that his "five interpreters" are all Latin or German, the published English translations of Tyndale, to which he elsewhere refers" (Westcott, General View, etc., p. 213, 214).¹

Coverdale's version, whatever its "basis," or rather *bases*, may have been, was soon conveyed to England, and was at first favorably received by Henry VIII. A contemporary writer, the learned antiquarian Camden, states that, "through the intercession of queen Anne, the king at last granted that English Bibles might be printed and placed in every church where the people might read them."

Coverdale's Bible was, however, subjected to the charge of containing numerous errors; and many of the bishops, directly or indirectly, sustained the charge. This circum-

¹ It is not here necessary to refer to the occasional crudities in Westcott's new work. He *guesses*, for instance, that Coverdale may have used the Latin Bible of the papist Rudelius, but does not inquire and ascertain that this translation is substantially a mere reprint of the translation made from the original by the Protestant, Andreas Osiander, which was published in 1522 and 1523. See the very instructive Article of O. F. Fritzsche, "*Vulgata*," in Herzog, *Encyk.* Vol. xvii.

stance, in addition to others, led Archbishop Cranmer to project a new translation, which he proposed to make with the assistance of his brother prelates. But before his active personal efforts were crowned with success, a new English Bible was published (1537) with his approbation, and under the royal sanction, known as "Matthew's Bible." It seems to have been intended to meet the immediate and urgent demand for the English Scriptures, until a more perfect version could be prepared. It is now almost unanimously stated that it issued from a German press; but the place in which it was printed (Hamburg, Marburg, Lubec, Antwerp) is not positively known. The text of the Old Testament is partly a new version, partly that of Tyndale, partly that of Coverdale, while the New Testament is a reprint of the last edition published by Tyndale; the whole work is said to have been superintended by John Rogers the martyr (burned alive at Smithfield, January 4th, 1555, during the reign of "bloody Mary"). The name "Thomas Matthew," which this Bible bears on the title-page, has been supposed by some to be a fictitious appellation, adopted by Rogers from prudential considerations. Anderson (p. 238) concedes the possibility of the existence of a Thomas Matthew, "at whose instance, *perhaps*, the undertaking may have commenced." Westcott (pp. 88, 223) is disposed to believe that he was a real personage, and defrayed the expenses of the publication. But he does not furnish any important facts corroborative of his opinion.

Copies of Matthew's Bible reached England in August 1537. The book was favorably received by Cranmer, who declared that "he liked it better than any other translation heretofore made." It was chiefly through Cromwell's influence that the public sale of the copies was allowed. This book was afterwards reprinted in England, and acquired such popularity as to supersede the version of Coverdale. But the latter, who had zealously continued his labors, now published (1538) a new version, or a revision of the former text of the New Testament. It differed from the text of

1535, and more decidedly conformed to the Vulgate. The numerous typographical and other inaccuracies which characterized this edition and its reprints, concur in assigning a very subordinate rank to it.

Matthew's Bible contained prologues and notes which were offensive to many of the clergy, who, while they conceded the general principle of the free circulation of the Scriptures, had not yet seen any edition which fully corresponded to their expectations. A new version was accordingly ordered by Henry VIII., and, through Cromwell's influence, the editorship was assigned to Coverdale. The basis was Matthew's Bible, which Coverdale, with characteristic self-abnegation, consented to take in place of his own. Of this circumstance, it must however be added, the evidence is not decisive. As Paris then excelled in the typographical facilities which it afforded, it was chosen as the place of publication.¹ The Inquisition, however, interfered, as the book was in a language which *the people* of England understood; when the printing had been nearly finished the great mass of the printed work was consigned to the flames. Still certain portions were rescued, the presses, types, and even the workmen, were transported to England with a degree of energy that claims all our admiration, and the volume was actually completed in April, 1540. In the course of that year and the next six editions were published.

This Bible — a goodly folio, furnished with a prologue written by Cranmer, and known as the "Great Bible" — was a revision of Matthew's Bible, but exhibited many variations, preferring, for instance, in some cases, the renderings of

¹ The Stephens family of printers at Paris, occupied a high rank during the sixteenth-century, and the earlier decades of the seventeenth. The successive heads of the family were eminent not only for their skill as printers, but also for their classical learning. Robert Estienne (latinized *Stephanus*, and anglicized *Stephens*), the French king's printer at Paris, while still a youth, in 1523, printed and corrected the proofs of a Latin New Testament. The typographical facilities which these enterprising and learned printers gradually introduced, fully justified the choice of Paris as the place of publication of the English Bible.

Tyndale's edition of 1534, and, in others, those of Coverdale's earlier revision. Although this edition with its immediate reprints is often called "Cranmer's Bible," there is no evidence whatever to be found that the Archbishop was personally connected with the preparation of the text itself. It is also to be carefully distinguished from another Bible also dated April, 1540, but printed by Petyt and Redman, and not by Grafton or Whitchurch; little is now known of it.

While this "Great Bible" was in the course of preparation at Paris, "Taverner's Bible," that is, his "recognition" of the English Bible, was issued from the London press (1539). This singular man sustained many different characters; he was a learned Greek scholar, a courtier, a clerk or lawyer, a lay preacher, a licensed preacher, a justice of the peace, and, ultimately, a high sheriff. His Bible was simply a revision of that of Thomas Matthew. It was reprinted several times, but its publication ceased after the year 1549, when it fell into complete neglect. It is not regarded as possessing any critical value, and does not appear to have exercised any influence whatever on the later revisions.

The text of a new edition of the "Great Bible," published also in 1540, varied in some passages from that of the former edition, and the entire work of revision was probably superintended by Cranmer himself. This edition is the true "Cranmer's Bible." It was reprinted in the course of the following year, together with Cranmer's prologue. Indeed, careful investigations show that four editions of this large folio Bible exhibited 1541 as the date of their appearance.

The inaccuracies which still marred the English text, and the continued opposition of the Papists to all existing translations of the Bible in the vernacular, had the effect of maintaining a strong desire that a new version should be prepared which would not be liable to reproach. A want of unanimity as to the details of the work, as well as the vacillation of Henry VIII., long defeated the wishes of the friends of the Bible. But the land was delivered from the tyranny of this king, January 28th, 1547, and all classes hailed with

joy the accession of the youthful Edward to the throne. During his brief reign of six years and five months, the "Great Bible" continued to be the authorized version. At least thirty-five editions of the New Testament, and fourteen of the whole Bible were published during that period; these numbers, however, include reprints of the Bibles of Coverdale, Taverner, Matthew, and Cranmer.

But the gloomy period of "bloody Mary's" reign of somewhat more than five years now commenced, Edward VI. having died July 6, 1553. No English Bibles were printed during her reign, and those who had aided in the preparation and publication of any edition were mercilessly persecuted, cast into dungeons, or burned alive at the stake. Before the death of Mary, which occurred November 17th, 1558, some friends of the Bible, who lived as exiles in Geneva, continued the good work of supplying their countrymen with the word of God in their own language. After having taken the "Great Bible" as a basis, and carefully consulted several Latin versions (Erasmus, Beza, Chastillon, better known by his Latinized name, Castalio, etc.) they first published the New Testament in 1557, and then the whole Bible in 1560, a little more than a year after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, November, 1558. The former, the "Genevan (Anglo-Genevese) New Testament," was confessedly prepared by only one person, although his name is not known with absolute certainty. It is quite possible, however, that it was William Whittingham, who was one of the chief translators, in addition to Anthony Gilby and Thomas Sampson, by whom the edition of the whole Bible of 1560 was prepared. This conjecture is supported by the fact that Calvin (whose sister Catharine was married to Whittingham, then pastor of the English congregation at Geneva) furnished an introductory Epistle as a preface for the volume. The text has greater claims to be considered as an original one than any of the preceding versions since Tyndale's, for these were all, to a greater or less extent, revisions of his text. Still, it is not a new and independent version; while Tyndale's version

exercised considerable influence on it, the terms employed in Cranmer's Bible are often preferred. There is one feature of this Geneva New Testament which is specially interesting — it was the first in which all words supplied by the translators, in order to complete the sense, appear in a peculiar type. This feature has been retained in all of our English Bibles. The italics used in the latter are said to have been first employed by Arias Montanus, who died in 1598; but the original idea is usually credited to Aldo Manuzio, who died in 1516.

The labors of the exiles at Geneva were fully appreciated in England, and their version became very popular. It was indeed reprinted several times, even after king James's version had been published and "authorized," and retained its popularity during a period of nearly eighty years. But after Elizabeth commenced to reign, Cranmer's Bible was reinstated in its former dignity, as the authorized version. New editions of it were accordingly published in 1562, 1566, and 1568, while the several versions of Tyndale, Coverdale, etc., continued also to be printed. Still, no party was perfectly satisfied. The Puritans preferred the Geneva Bible, the translators of which (among whom was John Knox, according to some accounts) were known as having been warmly attached to Calvin's doctrinal system; the dignitaries and clergy of the established church objected to all of the existing versions, as exhibiting many inaccuracies; all judicious men deplored the fact that so many different English texts were simultaneously used, which occasioned inconvenience and confusion. A new authorized version which could meet the just expectations of all parties was imperatively demanded, if the preparation of precisely such a text was at all possible. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, undertook to forward the work. The Old Testament and the Apocrypha were divided into eleven parts, which were assigned to eminent and learned men, among whom were at least eight bishops of the established church. A similar distribution was made of the portions into which the New

Testament was divided. After the several translators had completed their respective tasks, the whole work was carefully revised by Parker, with the assistance of other learned men, and was then authoritatively pronounced to have been successfully performed. This Bible was variously termed the "Great English Bible," "Parker's Bible," and also the "Bishops' Bible," as the dignitaries of the church had performed a principal part in preparing it. It was first published in 1568, in a volume which was magnificent for that age, and was furnished with numerous marginal notes and references, many useful tables, engravings, wood-cuts, and maps. The revisers or authors of this Bible departed as little as possible from the text of the "Great Bible," sometimes availing themselves of terms found in the Geneva Bible, and often dropping or altering words which the former translations had taken from the Vulgate. Several editions were subsequently published without important alterations of the text, except in that of 1572, which slightly altered the renderings in some cases. It is this edition which was specially denominated "Matthew Parker's Bible." This Bible, however, never became very popular, nor was it, like Cranmer's Bible, specially appointed "to be read in churches." The Geneva version retained its place in the household and the closet.

A new edition of the Geneva New Testament was published in 1576 by Lawrence Tomson. He followed the Geneva version of 1560, but altered the text in some passages by conforming them to the Latin translation of Beza, while in many other cases he discarded the peculiar renderings of the latter.

As the Protestant exiles at Geneva in the reign of Mary provided a version of the Scriptures for their fellow-countrymen, so the popish exiles at Rheims (Reims, Rhemes—the ancient capital of the Remi of Caesar's age) produced a version for English-speaking papists, in the reign of Elizabeth. The principal persons engaged in this work were Gregory Martin, William (afterwards cardinal) Allen, and Richard

Bristow ; of these the first two were especially distinguished for their learning. The New Testament was first printed at "Rhemes" in 1582. The Rhemists, however, did not allow the Greek text to influence their work, but adhered strictly to the Latin of the Vulgate, which they represented in their preface as being almost faultless ; they attempt to prove that it is as good as the original Greek text of the inspired writers, and, indeed, preferable to it. Such was the popish doctrine as fixed by one of the decrees of the Council of Trent, passed at the fourth session (1546), according to which the Vulgate, although the texts of the existing manuscripts confessedly abounded at that time in errors, was made the authoritative and sole standard of faith and morals, to the neglect of the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. The boastful language of the Rhemish translators respecting the almost immaculate purity of the Latin text was put to shame only a few years afterwards. Pope Sixtus V. issued in 1590 his professedly correct edition ; but this publication was found by his successor, Clement VIII., to be marred by so many errors that it was suppressed, and a new and again professedly correct edition appeared with the papal sanction in 1592. The two texts vary in numerous cases, and exhibit many contradictions ; nevertheless, each is declared by "infallible" authority to be correct. The Rhemists, from whom this translation was extorted by the numerous issues of Protestant versions, and for which it was intended to be the antidote, have succeeded in making many passages perfectly unintelligible, both by the introduction of words unknown to the mere English reader, such as *impudicitie*, *ebrieties*, *commessations* (Gal. v. 19-21), and by transferring Greek words without any necessity, such as *parasceue*, *azumes*. Further, they sometimes translate so literally as to become obscure. They render 2 Cor. i. 17-20 thus : "Vvercas then I vvas thus minded, did I vse lighteness? Or the things that I minde, do I minde according to the flesh, that there be vvith me *It is* and *It is not*? But God is faithful, because our preaching vvich vvas to you, there is not in it, *It is*, and

It is not. For the Sonne of God Jesus Christ, vvho by vs vvas preached among you by me and Syluanus and Timothee, vvas not, *It is*, and *It is not*, but *It is*; vvas in him. For al the promises of God that are, in him *It is*; therefore also by him, Amen to God, vnto our glorie." The original is: τὸ ναὶ ναί, καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ . . . ναὶ καὶ οὐ, etc. It is true that Wiclif (1380) also translated "it is . . . it is not, etc.," but the Rhemists cannot be suspected of entertaining any reverence for him. The Vulgate gave: *Est et Non*. Luther, with his admirable tact, skill, and conscientiousness, gave: *Ja Ja, und Nein ist Nein*. Tyndale (1526 and 1534) imitated his example (*ye ye, and naye naye*) as well as Cranmer (1539): "yee, yee, and naye naye." Geneva of 1557 exhibits: "Yea Yea, and Nay, Nay."

So, too, the Rhemists translate: "do penance," instead of "repent" (μετανοέω), e.g. Matt. iii. 2; Mark vi. 12; Acts xxvi. 20; Rev. iii. 19. If they vary in Mark i. 15 and translate, "be penitent," they are careful to prevent the reader from supposing that *penitence* is a process in the heart, and not a mere outward mechanical act, by appending the explanatory note: "He (John the Baptist) doth not preach belief, or faith only, but penance also." (The decrees of the Council of Trent on the subject of "the sacrament of Penance," were adopted at the fourteenth session, Nov. 25, 1551.) The Rhemish translators did not publish the Old Testament in English until the year 1609, when it was printed at Douay (Doway, Douai — formerly belonging to Flanders, but since 1714 to France), and hence their complete version is called the "Douay Bible." The editors state in their preface to the New Testament, in this edition, that they had adapted the text to the Clementine revision. Their New Testament is important on account of the fact that it furnished a large proportion of the Latin words which King James's translators adopted. These papists, however, had not the candor to express their obligations to the earlier English versions, which really furnished the ground-work of their own version.

Soon after James I. ascended the throne, he received with

much interest and favor the requests which were addressed to him, that he would authorize the preparation of a new version — a standard English Bible. Even after all the revisions of the earlier versions, the English text still retained various erroneous renderings, and none of the editions that had hitherto appeared were satisfactory to all. The king ultimately resolved to employ in this great work all the talent and learning which the bench of bishops, the universities, and the clergy in general, could supply. The result of the labors of his translators demonstrates that the king (whose personal character, especially since the appearance of some of the “Waverly novels,” is not greatly admired) was eminently successful in the selection and appointment of the divines to whom the work was entrusted. The biographical details of these venerable men are, in many cases, very meagre. The researches of A. W. McClure (“The Translators Revived; a biographical memoir of the authors of the English Version,” etc.) furnish us with the fullest information respecting their personal history, to which we have had access.

It is usually represented that James I. gave the translators *fourteen* rules or “Instructions” which they were required to observe. Anderson (Book iii. sect. iv.) speaks with some doubt of the historical accuracy of this statement, but furnishes no decisive evidence that the usual opinion on this subject is unfounded. If an account of the work was given to the Synod of Dort (November 20th, 1618), and the number of the rules “ultimately prescribed” was stated to have been “only seven,” some alterations in the details may have virtually reduced the number. Indeed, the obscurities, contradictions, and inconsistencies which we have found in the several authors whom we have consulted in preparing this Article, have sometimes made us feel as if we were treating of persons and events belonging to a mythical or pre-historic period.

Among the “Instructions” which the king gave to the translators (assuming the historical truth of the usual ac-

count), were the following: "1. The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit. 3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept; as the word *church* not to be translated *congregation*, etc. 6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text. 7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one scripture to another. 14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible; namely, Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, Whitchurch's, Geneva."

The fourteenth or last of these "Instructions," directs the attention of the translators to several of the Bibles described above, and also mentions "Whitchurch's," by which is meant simply Cranmer's Bible. The title-page of the first edition of it, 1539, exhibited the following at the bottom: "Prynted by Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." The title-page of the edition of 1540 sets forth that "Richard Grafton" was the printer. But the reprint of Cranmer's Bible of the year 1541, besides stating that this Bible had been "oversene and perused" by Cuthbert and Nicolas,¹ respectively the bishops of Duresme (Durham) and Rochester, adds also that the printer was "Edward Whitchurch." Possibly the superior typographical beauty or accuracy of this edition of Cranmer's Bible, may have permanently connected the printer's name with the version itself.

It is obvious from the king's "Instructions" that they do not give full and unrestricted liberty of translation; still, they are so framed as not to embarrass seriously a competent

¹ That is, Cuthbert Tonstal and Nicolas Heath. — *Duresme* is not a Norman-French name. Antiquarians like Camden (whose first publication on the subject of British Antiquities appeared in 1586), inform us that Durham derives its name from its situation; the term is a corruption of two combined Saxon words, *dur*, a hill, and *holme*, a river-island. By the Latins, observes Camden, "it is called Dunelmus; and by the common people, Durham or Duresme."

and conscientious man. Now all those who were honored with an appointment to aid in the great work, besides the forty-seven who were originally commissioned by the king, seem to have been both eminently competent and strictly conscientious.¹ The work which they performed was of such magnitude, the details of the history of it are so numerous and important, and the general facts are now so widely known, that we cannot, in justice to the subject, repeat them here, without exceeding all due limits of this Article. These venerable men probably commenced their labors before the year 1607, and the Bible was at length issued from the press of R. Barker in 1611. The book professes "to be newly translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised, by his Majesty's special command." A part of this announcement appears on the title-page of every edition of the American Bible Society. While they found many facilities which had been inaccessible to their predecessors, and while too the occasional inaccuracies and infelicities of expression in their version are not denied, it must be conceded that the result of their labors is truly wonderful, and that they have honestly earned all the praise which scholars and devout men of all classes have bestowed upon them.

The "Instructions" of the king authorized the translators to employ the margin in certain cases. They wisely gave a liberal interpretation to the terms in which this privilege was conferred. Their marginal readings or renderings, which are often overlooked, are not usually better than the terms employed in the text, but are nevertheless highly interesting. We select the first of the Pauline Epistles for the purpose of illustrating the subject, but shall omit such renderings as

¹ All the information respecting them as individuals, that is now accessible, appears to have been collected by A. W. McClure, in the work to which we have referred above. Trench (*On the Authorized Version of the New Test.* chap. x.) declares that the charge of a "Calvinistic leaning as against Arminian," is entirely without foundation, and is, indeed, unfounded, if his explanation be accepted as satisfactory. The charge refers chiefly to the version of Acts ii. 47, and Heb. x. 38.

are of minor interest or importance; our space does not allow a more extended survey. We omit Wiclif's version which is furnished in Bagster's Hexapla, but exhibit the readings of some of the other "former translations," including the Bishops' Bible, which that Hexapla fails to introduce; we combine with these the commonly received Latin (Vulgate), German (Luther) and French (Martin and Ostervald) versions. The editions of Tyndale of 1534, Cranmer of 1539, Geneva of 1557, Rheims of 1582, and of one of the earliest black-letter editions of the Bishops' Bible, are those from which we generally quote.

Romans. i. 4: *ὁρισθέντος*; Vulg. *prædestinatus* (The Vulgate here appears from the prefix *præ-* to have been influenced by an inferior *var. lect.*, *προορισθέντος*, which is found in some Greek fathers and some cursive manuscripts; other Greek fathers, some of the Latins (*destinatus*) and the uncial manuscripts, including Cod. Sin.¹ sustain the reading of the *textus receptus*); English version, *declared* — marginal reading, "Gr. *determined*"; German, *erwiesen* (equivalent to *shown, evinced*); Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Bishops', *declared*; Rheims, *who was predestinate*; Erasmus, *declaratus*; Martin and Ostervald, *déclaré*. The original word occurs eight times in the New Testament, and is translated *determined* (Luke xxii. 22; Acts xi. 29; xvii. 26), *determinate* (Acts ii. 23), *ordained* (Acts x. 42; xvii. 31), *declared* (Rom. i. 4), *limiteth* (*ὀρίξει*, Heb. iv. 7). Several of these renderings are unfortunate, inasmuch as *prædestinatus, declaratus*, etc., might be applicable to an ordinary mortal, such as John the Baptist or Paul, to whom a special office was assigned, but would not be so appropriate in the case of Him who was the eternal "Son of God." The same objection applies to the word "decreed" which Stuart (Comment.), after an elaborate discussion prefers. Chrysostom, who is high authority

¹ When Dr. Schaff, in 1865, commenced the publication of the English translation of Lange's Commentary, the proposed designation of *Codex Sinaiticus* by *Σ*, had not been unanimously admitted. But Tischendorf has decided to employ Aleph, and it is, accordingly, found in the eighth edition of his Greek New Testament now in the course of publication. — Lange, Vol. i. p. 567.

in such a case, takes the word as equivalent to *δειχθέντος*, that is, *shown, manifested*. Theophylact gives three equivalent terms: *ἀποδειχθέντος, βεβαιωθέντος, κριθέντος*. Lange translates *festgestellt (established)*. He remarks that the term does not refer to the Son of God, as such absolutely, but to the Son of God who was exalted to celestial majesty. If we understand him correctly, he holds that this expression, like the Lord's own words in Matt. xxviii. 18, or those of Paul in Eph. i. 20–23, refers to the exaltation of Christ's *human* nature, and its participation in the exercise of the attributes of his divine nature, seeing that the two natures are indissolubly united in one Person. The word admits of different interpretations. But as the “resurrection from the dead” (ver. 4) refers to the Saviour's human nature, it may be assumed that Paul's meaning is the following: He who was from all eternity the Son of God, the *Λόγος*, and who, on assuming human nature (John i. 14; Heb. ii. 14), appeared on earth as a man (1 Tim. ii. 5), and who was God-man, was *marked out, declared* (so Robinson, Lex.) or *manifestly shown* as being the Son of God (two natures, one Person), the circumstances attending and following the resurrection furnishing the evidence. If this is a correct view the textual is preferable to the marginal rendering.

Romans i. 5: *εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως*; Vulg. *ad obediendum fidei*; E. V., *for obedience to the faith* — margin, *to the obedience of faith*; Germ., *den Gehorsam des Glaubens*. (In the English text *πίστις* is taken in an objective sense, as the form of doctrine or creed of Christians, or the *εὐαγγέλιον*, as the object — see Robinson's Lex. *ad. verb.* ii. 4.) The margin and the German version take *πίστις* in a subjective sense, that is, the obedience which a true and living faith produces. (On the important distinction between *Genitivus objecti*, and *Gen. subjecti*, see Winer, Gram. New Test. § 30. 1); Tynd., *should obey to the faith which is in his name* (1526); *unto the obedience of the faith that is in his name* (1534 — both subjective, like the margin, and Luther); Cranm., Gen., *that obedience might be given unto the faith in his name*; Rheims, *for obedi-*

ence to the faith (adopted in the English text); Erasmus, *ut obediatur fidei*; Martin, *afin de porter tous les Gentils à croire en son nom*; Ostervald, *afin d'amener tous les Gentils à l'obéissance de la foi en son nom*. The question to be decided is, whether *πίστις* here means *fides quae creditur* (objective, E. V.) or *fides quâ creditur* (subjective, margin). De Wette, who says that *εἰς* before *ὑπακ.* designates the purpose, object, or end, namely, to produce faith, maintains that we have here not a *Gen. subj.* (as if faith produced obedience), but a *Gen. obj.* (namely that obedience conforms to the faith, i.e. creed). Thus *πίστις*, he continues, in Acts vi. 7 is to be understood objectively. He accordingly sustains the English textual reading. Fritzsche, who takes the same view, refers to 2 Cor. x. 5, and 1 Pet. i. 22, where *ὑπακοή* is confessedly followed by a *Gen. obj.* Tholuck, on the contrary, is inclined to adopt the view of Chrysostom, who takes *πίστις* in a subjective sense. Stuart, who concurs, and thus adopts the marginal rendering, thinks it "probable that the apostle meant to designate the *obedience of faith* as contradistinguished from *legal obedience*." Like him, Olshausen takes *πίστις* here in the sense of *Glaubenszustand*, not in that of *Glaubenslehre*, that is, in a subjective sense—a state or condition which faith produces, not the particular Christian form or system of doctrine. The latest important commentator, Lange, after carefully examining the two views and admitting that *πίστις* can here be taken subjectively in a good sense, concludes ultimately (in opposition to Meyer, who holds that the word always occurs in a subjective sense in the New Testament) that here it ought to be understood objectively, that is, according to the text of the E. V. This statement will sufficiently explain the reason for which our translators appended a marginal rendering; in a case of such importance they would not decide absolutely.

Romans i. 19: *ἐν αὐτοῖς*; Vulg. and Erasim. *in illis*; E. V., *in them*—margin, *to them*; Germ. *ihnen* (i.e. to them); Tynd., Cranm., Bish., *among*; Gen., Rheims, *unto*; Mart., *en eux* (in them); Osterv., *parmi eux* (among them). The

textual version is somewhat indefinite, unless, as Stuart and others understand the phrase, it is equivalent to, *in their minds, hearts, or consciences*. The other interpretation of ἐν, namely *among*, as de Wette prefers, is sustained by the obvious meaning of ἐν in v. 6 of the same chapter (Matt. ii. 6; Acts iv. 12; 1 Cor. xi. 19), that is, “manifest among them, or generally known.” The marginal interpretation, *to them*, assumes that ἐν αὐτοῖς is equivalent to a dative of the person, or to αὐτοῖς. Winer decidedly rejects this view; he will not admit that ἐν ἐμοί in 1 Cor. xiv. 11 is simply a dative (Gram. New Test. § 31. 8; § 48 a.). Nevertheless in that passage the simple dative τῷ λαλοῦντι seems to demand imperatively that ἐν ἐμοί in the latter part of the verse should be understood correlatively as equivalent to a simple dative. If this is correct, then the apostle says in the passage before us, *manifest to them*, and the simple αὐτοῖς follows in the next clause of the same verse, with a conjugate verb in the same sense. In that case the marginal rendering is the more exact.

Romans i. 20: εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους; Vulg., *ita ut sint*; Erasm., *in hoc ut sint*; E. V., *so that they are*—margin, *that they may be*; Germ., *also dass sie keine Entschuldigung haben* (so that they have no excuse); Tynd., Cranm., Rheims, Bish., *so that they are*; Geneva, *to the intent that they should be*; Mart. and Osterv., *de sorte qu'ils sont* (inso-much that they are). A very grave doctrinal question is here presented. “*Alii Dei consilium declarari consent—alii, rei eventum*” (Fritzsche). If we adopt the interpretation as set forth by Beza, the Geneva version, and our marginal rendering, then the apostle teaches that the object of God in manifesting himself to the heathen in the works of creation was that they might be inexcusable; that is, their inexcusableness was the end for which God manifested himself. But the most recent commentator, Lange (Bibelwerk), says that such an interpretation leads to a conception of the design or end of the creation that is “monstrous.” According to him the sin consists in “holding the truth in unrighteousness” (v. 18). This sin renders them inexcusable; the reason for

which (διότι) they are inexcusable is specially stated in v. 21. Lange, accordingly, with most commentators, denies that the formula εἰς τό with the infinitive is here to be taken in a *telic* sense, and regards it as *ecbatic*, like the English textual version, the German, and the French. (For εἰς τό in a *telic* sense see Rom. iv. 10. The distinction between the *telic* and the *ecbatic* usage is illustrated by Winer (§ 44. 8 ; 53. 6) and by Robinson (Lex. art. ἵνα, I. τελικῶς II. ἐκβατικῶς, with the "Note") ; the elaborate article of Wahl (Lex. ἵνα) also deserves attention.) Tholuck, who here takes εἰς τό as equivalent to ὥστε (in an *ecbatic* sense), explains that God taught men by his works, not by any means for the purpose of depriving them of all excuse, but in order that they might thus learn to know him. Winer (§ 44. 6) refers to the Greek idiom, according to which a preposition with the article in any oblique case often precedes the infinitive, and remarks (note 3) that of the several prepositions illustrated, εἰς is used to designate as well the effect or *result* as the end or *design*. Of this twofold use of εἰς many illustrations may be found in Robinson's Lexicon (εἰς, 3 a. and d.). In 1 Cor. x. 6, εἰς τό is rendered *to the intent* (*telic*), but in 2 Cor. viii. 6 it is unquestionably found in an *ecbatic* sense, namely *insomuch that*, or is equivalent to ὥστε. According to this view of the passage, which is generally entertained, the marginal rendering misrepresents the apostle's meaning, which the textual version alone correctly expresses.

Romans i. 28 : οὐκ ἔδοκίμασαν τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει ; Vulg., *non probaverunt Deum habere in notitia* (Cod. Amiatinus, *in notitiam*) ; E. V., *they did not like to retain God in their knowledge* — margin, *they did not like to acknowledge God* ; Germ., *gleichwie sie nicht geachtet haben, dass sie Gott erkannten* ; Tynd., *it seemed not good unto them to be aknown of God* ; Cranm., Gen., Bish., *they regarded not to know God* ; Rheims, *they liked not to have God in knowledge* ; Erasm., *non probaverunt ut Deum agnoscereat* ; Mart. and Osterv., *ils ne se sont pas souciés de connaître Dieu* (lit. they did not care to know God). What was it that they declined to do?

Did they deliberately and consciously refrain from doing it? The reader will observe a considerable diversity of opinions manifested in these several versions. Lange takes δοκιμάζειν as equivalent to δόκιμον ἡγεῖσθαι, and holds that ἐχ. ἐν ἐπιγ. is stronger than the simple γινώσκειν; he translates: "They did not regard God as worthy to appropriate him to themselves in knowledge." Some interpreters, however, hold that δοκιμάζω may here be taken as essentially equivalent to the phrase, *to think it worth while* (fere i.q. *operae pretium non duxerunt*. Wahl. Lex.), and so Seiler and van Ess translate (der Muehe werth) much as the two French versions do; a contemptuous indifference on their part is, in that case, indicated by the apostle. Tyndale's version implies a judgment of the mind rather than a corrupt feeling of the heart. The marginal rendering obviously leans on that of Erasmus. We might be uncertain whether his *agnosco* is here equivalent to the simple *nosco*, or to the compound *cognosco*, or whether he uses the word in its etymological sense, as equivalent to *ad se noscere*, that is, to know an object in its relation to us; but his own comment, which Tholuck quotes with approbation, explains the sense in which he uses the word, namely *non visum est illis deum quem cognoscebant, agnoscere et venerari*. He assumes apparently that they *did* know God, but would not acknowledge (own, recognize) and revere him. Still this interpretation is not perfectly satisfactory. The persons who are meant are "men who hold the truth in unrighteousness" (v. 18). Gentiles are usually assumed to be indicated, in contra distinction from the Jews. The English version, text, agrees with Erasmus in assuming that the Gentiles *did* have a knowledge of God, but would not retain it. But ἔχειν with a verb like δοκιμάζω, may be taken in a desiderative sense, indicating a desire to have or obtain that which was lost, as well as to "retain" that which is still held. In the former sense, the Gentiles had already lost the knowledge of the true God ("who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways," Acts xiv. 16); now, although they had a certain consciousness of having sustained such a

loss, yet after "their foolish heart was darkened" (v. 21) they had not the inclination, the sense, or the judgment, to seek to *regain* that knowledge. Herein their sin consisted — a stupid indifference, inexcusable for the reasons stated in v. 20. Therefore, "God gave them over," etc. (v. 28). Neither the textual nor the marginal rendering seems to be successful. It will be observed that our English version partially adopts the phraseology of Rheims, rejecting that of the other "former translations."

Romans i. 28: εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν; Vulg., *in reprobum sensum*; E. V., *a reprobate mind* — margin, *a mind void of judgment*; Germ., *in verkehrten Sinn* (i.e. a perverted mind); Tynd., Cranm., Gen., Bish., *a lewd mind*; Rheims, *a reprobate sense*; Erasm., *in reprobam mentem*; Mart., *à un esprit dépourvu de tout jugement* (a mind, spirit, void of all judgment); Osterv., *à un esprit dépravé* (a depraved mind). Some of these versions, such as the margin, and Martin, soften the force of ἀδόκιμον. So Beza renders *judicii expers*; like the margin, which adopts his terms, he virtually assigns an active sense to the word, equivalent to *qui judicare nequit*. Calvin paraphrases, *perversam mentem, quae nihil jam probare posset*. Lange gives to the expression the force only of a *mean* or *base* or *worthless mind*. Stuart, who agrees with de Wette, assigns to the word a decidedly passive sense, namely *rejectaneus*, or, that which is to be rejected, unapproved; "the meaning is, *wicked* or *vile*, deserving of condemnation or execration." There is a great difference between the softened version of the margin and that of the text, if "reprobate" be taken in the sense of *abandoned*, *depraved*, *hardened*. In six of the eight passages in which the Greek word occurs in the New Testament, it is translated *reprobate*, once *castaway* (1 Cor. ix. 27), and once *rejected* (Heb. vi. 8). If, as some commentators assume, Paul here intentionally introduced a paronomasia (ἐδοκίμασαν, ἀδόκιμον), and if the one, the verb, is equivalent simply to, "they did not think fit, did not desire to, had not the sense to," etc., then ἀδόκιμον must, according to a familiar hermeneu-

tical principle, be equivalent to *senseless, foolish, worthless, mens inconsulta*. This view is sustained by the Septuagint, in which, besides Prov. xxv. 4, adduced by Robinson (Greek Lex.), the word occurs also in Isa. i. 22. In both places it represents the Hebrew word סִיגִיָּם, that is, *scoriae, dross*, in the English version. If this interpretation be admitted, the marginal rendering is preferable to that of the text.

Romans i. 32: συνευδοκοῦσι; Vulg., *consentiunt*; E. V., *have pleasure in them* — margin, *consent with them*; Germ., *haben Gefallen an* (i.e. have pleasure in, are pleased with); Tynd., Cranm., Bish., *have pleasure in*; Gen., *favor them*; Rheims, *consent to*; Erasm., *assentiuntur*; Mart., *ils favorisent ceux*; Osterv., *approuvent encore ceux*. There is unquestionably a great difference between an *assent* or *consent* to a certain course of action on the one hand, and, on the other, the *pleasure* or *favor* with which such a course is regarded. Robinson is undecided (Lex.), and hence defines the original in this passage, “to approve, to assent to,” the former definition sustaining the English text, the latter the margin. The different degrees of turpitude ascribed to the persons here meant, which commentators, in addition to the versions above, discover in Paul’s expression, are such as these: Tholuck, *billigen* (to allow or approve); de Wette and Lange, *Beifall geben* (a more decided approbation); Stuart, *commend* (not only approve, but also encourage); Olshausen, *Wohlgefallen haben*. This last version, which fully agrees with the text of the English Version, very probably reproduces the emphatic remark which Paul here intended to make, and is hence a better version than the softened term found in the margin.

Romans ii. 9, 10: “Ελληνος,” Ελληνι; Vulg. and Erasm., *Graeci, Graeco*; E. V., *Gentile* — margin, “Gr. Greek”; Germ., *Griechen*; Tynd., Cranm., *Gentile*; Wiclif, Gen., Bish., Rheims, *Greek*; Mart., Osterv., *Grec*. In the Old Testament גוֹיִם, signifying *nations* (e.g. Gen. x. 32; xiv. 1; 1 Sam. viii. 5, and frequently) was also employed emphatically in the sense of non-Israelites (e.g. Gen. x. 5; Judg. iv. 2, and frequently),

that is, pagan or heathen nations (E. V., *Gentiles*), and this *usus loquendi* reappears in ἔθνος in the New Testament. Our translators usually render this word (in the plural) *nations*, only when it was not possible to find even a remote allusion to the distinction between Jews and pagans, (e.g. Matt. xxiv. 9, 14); elsewhere, the same word is reproduced as *Gentiles*, e.g. Matt. vi. 32, and very frequently. But they are singularly inconsistent with themselves, not only in the Hebrew (e.g. Gen. x. 5, 32, just adduced), but also in rendering the word Ἕλλην, even when a distinction is obviously made between Jews and pagans. Thus, in Acts xiv. 1; xviii. 4; xix. 10, 17; xx. 21; Rom. i. 16; x. 12; 1 Cor. i. 24; Gal. iii. 28; Col. iii. 11, in which Ἰουδαῖος and Ἕλλην are both mentioned, the latter is translated *Greek*, whereas in Rom. ii. 9, 10; iii. 9; 1 Cor. x. 32; xii. 13, where the same names also occur in juxtaposition, the latter is translated *Gentile*. This inconsistency had previously appeared in the Vulgate, in the same juxtaposition of the two names; Ἕλλην is *Graecus* in Acts xiv. 1; xviii. 4; Rom. i. 16; ii. 9, 10; iii. 9; x. 12; 1 Cor. i. 24; Gal. iii. 28, while the word *Gentilis* is used in precisely the same formula in Acts-xix. 10, 17; xx. 21; 1 Cor. x. 32; xii. 13; Col. iii. 11. The translators would have been more consistent if they had in the present passage and elsewhere adhered to the Bishops' Bible, and inserted "Greek" in the text.

Romans ii. 15: μεταξύ; Vulg., *inter se invicem*; E. V., *the mean while* — margin., *between themselves*; Germ., *sich unter einander* (i.e. among themselves); Tynd., Cranm., Gen., Bish., *their thoughts accusing one another or excusing*; Rheims, *among themselves mutually their thoughts accusing, or also defending*; Erasm., *inter se*; Mart., *leurs pensées s'accusant entre elles, ou aussi s'excusant*; Osterv., *leurs pensées les accusent ou les défendent*. The question here is, whether μεταξύ (occurring nine times in the New Testament) is in this passage an adverb of time equivalent to *the mean while* of the English text (compare John iv. 31; Acts xiii. 42), or is a preposition governing the Genitive, of which instances

occur in Matt. xviii. 15; xxiii. 35; Luke xi. 51; Acts xv. 9, with or without the article. The English text treats the word as an adverb of time; the margin and the other versions, with Robinson (Lex.), obviously regard it as a preposition governing ἀλλήλων. Stuart concurs, and translates μετ. ἀλλ. *alternately* (between each other). Olshausen, *unter einander* (i.e. among themselves). E. Köllner had, in his Commentary on the Romans, published in 1834, like the English text, taken μεταξύ in the sense of *während dem* (i.e. while, during, in the mean time); de Wette rejects this version, and renders the word in connection with ἀλλήλων *unter einander* (i.e. among themselves). Tholuck, who adopts the exegesis of the Vulgate, and holds that μεταξύ is here equivalent to ἐναλλάξ (i.e. alternately), regards the apostle as meaning that before the tribunal of the individual's conscience (*eleganter, per prosopopoeiam*, says Fritzsche, *ad loc.*) an accusation is brought by the one party, which the other endeavors to repel. He, too, sustains the marginal English version. The most recent commentator, Lange, translates μετ. ἀλλ. *zwischen ihnen wechselsweise* (i.e. between themselves alternately). In this case the weight of authority is decidedly in favor of the marginal rendering, and the words in the English text obviously detract from the force of the apostle's words.

Romans ii. 18: δοκιμάζεις τὰ διαφέροντα; Vulg., *probas utiliora*; E. V., *thou approvest the things that are more excellent*—margin, *thou triest the things that differ*; Germ., *du prüfest was das Beste zu thun sei* (i.e. thou provest, triest what it is best to do); Tynd., *hast experience of good and bad*; Cranm., Bish., *allowest the things that be excellent*; Gen., *allowest the things that are excellent*; Rheims, *approvest the more profitable things*; Erasm., *probas eximia*; Calvin, *probas eximia* (in the translation), but *probas utilia* (in the commentary); Mart., and Osterv., *tu sais discerner ce qui est contraire*. There is a striking resemblance between this French translation and the German of Lange (Bibelwerk): *du beurtheilest die widerstreitenden Dinge* (thou judgest—

formest a judgment respecting — the conflicting things ; French, that which is contrary). This version may be traced to the exposition of Theodoret, quoted by de Wette : *ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις, δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν*. With the present passage we combine Phil. i. 10, in which precisely the same Greek words occur, namely *εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα* ; Vulg., *ut probetis potiora* ; E. V., *that ye may approve things that are excellent* — margin, *that ye may try things that differ*. It is obvious that very great diversities of opinion respecting the true meaning of Paul's words, or at least the degree of emphasis with which he employs them, are presented by these several versions. It is true that in this case both the English text and the margin may appeal successfully for support to the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament ; for not only is *τὰ διαφέροντα* a *vox polysήμαντος*, as Fritzsche observes (*ad loc.*), but the other term also is of the same character. *Δοκιμάζω*, (a) to distinguish, try, examine, *discerno*, *non confundo*, Luke xii. 56 ; xiv. 19 ; 1 Cor. xi. 28 ; 1 Thess. v. 21 ; 1 John iv. 1 ; (b) to approve, commend, *probo*, 1 Cor. xvi. 3 ; 1 Thess. ii. 4. *Διαφέροντα* ; (a) things different, *quae differunt, quae discrepant*, 1 Cor. xv. 41 ; Gal. ii. 6 ; (b) things eminent, better, *praestantia, meliora*, Matt. vi. 26 ; x. 31 ; xii. 12 ; Luke xii. 7.

This statement shows that on merely philological grounds, both the version of the text and that of the margin, with the other versions which they respectively represent, may be sustained. Under these circumstances we are compelled to decide between the two solely on exegetical grounds. Now in Rom. ii. 17–20, Paul freely admits the high value of the law as claimed by the Jew — it made the latter acquainted with the divine will ; its instructions (v. 18) enabled him, not only, as the margin says, somewhat unmeaningly, to “try the things that differ,” but the law, as vs. 19, 20 show, also enabled the Jew to discern that knowledge is better than ignorance, and wisdom more to be desired than folly. Hence the terms before us must mean : Thou art in a position which enables thee to choose of two things that one which is really of superior value.

In the other passage (Phil. i. 10) Paul specifies the spiritual gifts which he besought God to grant to the Philippians, namely a more intelligent love (vs. 9), and that wisdom which would enable them to prefer the better to the worse, in spiritual things.

Calvin's admirable remarks on the passage before us (Rom. ii. 18), claim a special notice. "*Nosti voluntatem, et probas utilia.* Paul now concedes [to the Jews] the understanding of the divine will, and the approval of useful things, for which they were indebted to the teaching of the law. But there is a twofold approval; the one is that of the [actual] choice, namely when we adopt that good thing of which we approve; the other is that [merely] of the judgment, when we indeed discern the difference between an evil and a good thing, but do not in practice at all attempt to attain the latter. Thus the Jews were instructed in the law, so that they could form a judgment on points relating to morals; but they exhibited little solicitude to conform their conduct to that judgment" (Tholuck's edition v. 29). According to this view, the correctness of which does not seem to be successfully denied by any later commentator, the translation in the text of the English Version is far superior, in point of significance and harmony with the context, to that which we find in the margin.

Romans iii. 9: *προητιασάμεθα*; Vulg. (as usually printed), *causati sumus* (Some manuscripts exhibit *praecausati*; the form *causati* depends on a various reading, *ἡτιασάμεθα*, found in D G, some minuscules and Greek Fathers, but not sanctioned by the uncial manuscripts, including Cod. Sin.); E. V., *we have before proved*—margin, *we have before charged*; Germ., *wir haben droben bewiesen* (i.e. *we have proved above*, taking the preposition in the sense of *supra*, as Fritzsche does, *supra argui*); Tynd., Cranm., Gen., *proved*; Bish., *accused*; Rheims, *argued*; Erasm., *ante causis redditus ostendimus*; Mart., *nous avous ci-devant convaincu* (we have before this established); Osterv. *nous avous déjà fait voir* (we have already shown). It is obvious that a mere *charge*, which the

margin represents Paul as saying that he had made, is very different from the assertion of the textual rendering, stating that he had actually furnished the proof. The reader will observe the want of agreement in the several versions exhibited above. Luther, Tynd., Cranm., Gen., Erasm., Mart., and Osterv., sustain the English text; the Vulg. (*causor*, to plead, accuse, defend), Bish., Rheims, seem to prefer the less positive statement which the margin furnishes. The decision depends on two points: first, does the preposition *πρό* here assert its usual force in compounds (place, time), or is it pleonastic (Passow, Lex. art. *πρό*, iii. 5 Herm., Vig., p. 860, note 417)? We shall doubtless not err by claiming for the preposition in this case its temporal force. Secondly, what is the force of the simple verb? Now it means even in its most emphatic use, simply *to charge*, *to accuse*, and the compound cannot imply more than a *previous* charge or accusation. The simple verb does not occur at all in the New Testament, with the exception of the *var. lectio* in the present passage as mentioned above, and the compound also is found only here. Robinson assigns to it the meaning *to accuse or charge beforehand*, and here *to have already accused or charged*, referring to the two preceding chapters of the Epistle, or rather to i. 24; ii. 24. Wahl's definition is somewhat stronger than Robinson's; *ante arguo*, *argumentis supra allatis doceo et evinco*; but he produces no authority for this augmented force of the word (*evinco* sustaining the English textual version), and only refers to ii. 1-5, 17-29. Bretschneider (Lex. Man. Nov. Test.) furnishes an exegetical definition, *antea accuso*; aor. 1 *supra* i.e. in antecedentibus *accusavi seu argui*, referring, like Wahl, to chapter ii. Grotius assigns to the word the meaning *charge* or *accuse*, rather than that of *prove*; *accusationem praestruximus*, nempe i. 17, de gentibus; ii. 9, et deinceps de Judaeis; Tholuck, on the contrary, prefers the explanation of Ambrose, namely, *probare*. Stuart hesitates; on the one hand, he declares that he cannot find any evidence in the best lexicons that the Greek word in question means directly *to prove*, and

accordingly translates in his commentary, “we have already made the charge.” But, on the other hand, he adds that *προητιασάμεθα* may here mean, and probably does mean, *we have shown reason why*, or, *we have supported the charge that*, etc., and in his translation of the entire Epistle appended to the commentary, he renders, “we have already made good the charge”; such a version scarcely differs, except in words, from “we have proved.” De Wette, *wir haben angeklagt* (accused); Lange, *wir haben vorhin . . . der Schuld geziehen* (we have before accused . . . of being guilty). Here, too, Calvin appears to have been successful in fixing the sense of the original word with precision. He translates it, *ante constitimus*, because, as he remarks, the word *αἰτιᾶσθαι* is, strictly speaking, a judicial term. “An accuser,” he adds, “is said *crimen in actione constituere* [to present or frame an indictment] which he is prepared to establish by testimony and other proofs. But the apostle had summoned the whole human race to appear before the tribunal of God, so that one and the same sentence of condemnation might comprehend the whole race. It is in vain to object that the apostle here does not merely *accuse*, but that he rather *proves*,” etc. Undoubtedly, any declaration of the inspired apostle is already *per se* a proof, for he is the medium or the agent through whom the unerring God addresses us. It is not, however, probable that Paul here specially refers to his previous statements in chapters i. and ii., when unsupported by any facts or testimony at the same time adduced by him as being *per se* equivalent to a demonstration. His object in the present passage is to state that he concedes no higher degree of moral purity to the Jews than to the Gentiles, for, adds he, we have in the foregoing statements charged “that they are all under sin.” If we have here correctly understood him, our translators, who adopted *proved* from some of the earlier versions, have placed a better word — *charged* — in the margin.

Romans iii. 25: *προέθετο*; Vulg. and Erasm., *proposuit*; E. V. *set forth* — margin, *fore-ordained*; Germ., *hat vorgestellt* (substantially the same as *set forth*); Tynd., *whom God*

hath made; Cranm., Gen., Bish., *set forth*; Rheims, *proposed*; Mart., *lequel Dieu a établi* (not *established*, but *set up*, *set forth*); Osterv., *que Dieu avait destiné* (*designed*, *intended* to be, rather than *destined* or *decreed*); Olshausen adopts Luther's word, prefixing "to men," but does not specially explain it. Tholuck regards *exhibere* as by far the most appropriate definition of the original word, while Fritzsche prefers *esse voluit*, in the sense of *destinavit*. Stuart, who adopts *set forth* (in medium proferre) in his translation, exhibits the classical usage of the word as presented by Passow, and then adds: "In the New Testament *προτίθημι* is sometimes used in the sense of *purposing*, *decreeing*, *constituting*; e.g. Rom. i. 13; Eph. i. 9." But his word "sometimes" might be understood to imply that the original term occurs elsewhere, besides the two passages to which he here refers, and the other which is at present under review, whereas that term occurs only in these three passages. Harless (Eph. i. 9) doubts whether the Greek word ever means *præfinire*, *ante constituere*, certainly not so in Rom. i. 13 and iii. 25, and least of all in Eph. i. 9. Here he assigns to it the meaning *to purpose to one's self*, *to resolve on*, *sich vornehmen*. Lange (see his Com. *ad loc.*) prefers the translation *to set forth publicly*, not only on account of its affinity with classic usage, but also on account of the correlative phrase in the same verse, *εἰς ἔνδειξιν*. Undoubtedly the marginal version *fore-ordained*, at least in the sense of *predestinated*, is unsupported by any good authority. The English word "fore-ordain," occurs only once in the text of the English version, namely, 1 Pet. i. 20, where it represents a different Greek word, *προγινώσκω*. This latter word is elsewhere (Acts xxvi. 5; Rom. viii. 29; xi. 2; 2 Pet. iii. 17) translated simply to *know*, *foreknow*, *know before*. Under these circumstances the marginal version is here to be unconditionally rejected.

Romans v. 11: An interesting question is here presented respecting the precise meaning of one of the *termini technici* employed in reference to the work of Christ, — *καταλλαγὴν*;

Vulg. and Erasm., *reconciliationem*; E. V., *atonement* — margin, *reconciliation*; Germ., *Versöhnung* (reconciliation); Tynd., Cranm., Gen., Bish., *atonement*; Rheims, *reconciliation*; Mart. and Osterv., *réconciliation*. The Greek word occurs four times in the New Testament; in two cases (2 Cor. v. 18, 19) it is rendered *reconciliation*; in one (Rom. xi. 15) *reconciling*, and only once, in the passage before us, *atonement*. The verb *καταλλάσσω* occurs six times, and is uniformly rendered *to reconcile*. Our translators seem here to have been somewhat unduly influenced by the “former translations,” which, as we have just seen, adopt the word “atonement.” Now *καταλλαγή*, as Liddon observes in his recent Bampton Lectures (2d ed., p. 478, note *n.*), “presupposes the existence of an enmity between God and man, which is done away,” etc. It means “*reconciliation*, specially, restoration to the divine favor” (Rob. Lex.). “The fundamental conception connected with the word is that of an *enmity* which is removed” (Olsh. Com., Rom. iii. 24, 25). But the word “atonement” is at present frequently employed to designate an *expiation* or a *satisfaction* for an offence, or an act intended to make it good by undergoing a penalty, or making a payment in any form that satisfactorily corresponds to the offence. In this sense it refers to a certain act of the offender, without directly expressing the effect thereby produced on the state of feeling of the offended party. Here, however, a very satisfactory explanation of the apparent inaccuracy of our translators may be given. Whether or not the word to “atone” be originally derived from *at one*, that is, to set *at one*, or to *unite*, *reconcile* two parties, it is certain that “when our translation was made it [*atonement*] signified, as innumerable examples prove, *reconciliation*, or the making up of a foregoing enmity — ‘atonement’ is ‘at-one-ment’” (Trench, Synonyms, etc., Second Part, § xxvii.). Trench furnishes the evidence in his “Select Glossary” by quoting from several of the earlier English writers. Fuller, for instance, remarks that Moses designed “to *atone* two Israelites at variance.” Hence the *marginal* rendering, not

virtually differing from the textual, but more conformable to modern usage, is sustained not only by the Latin, German, and French versions, but also by irresistible philological evidence. We may yet add that the conjugate verb and participle, occurring in the preceding verse, had already been translated *reconciled*; consistency would require that the noun should be rendered *reconciliation*. The apostle, accordingly, does not here imply by *καταλ.* the *whole* mediatorial work of Christ, but exhibits the latter only in one aspect; namely, "We had been enemies but are now reconciled to God (v. 10); we can now joy in God since our *reconciliation* to God has been effected through the death of his Son."¹

Romans v. 12: ἐφ' ᾧ; Vulg., *in quo*; E. V., *for that*—margin, *in whom*; Germ., *dieweil* (because, inasmuch as); Tynd., *in so much that*; Cranm., Gen., Bish., *in so much as*; Rheims, *in which*; Erasm., *quatenus*; Mart. and Osterv., *parce que*. This case is of special importance, as it was precisely here that Augustine found the main proof of his doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin. Before any doctrinal influence is allowed to act, the philological question ought to be answered, whether the relative ᾧ, which constitutes a part of the phrase refers to ἀνθρώπου as the antecedent, or whether the two words, the preposition and the relative pronoun, virtually constitute one word or express one thought like διότι, καθό, ἀνθ' ὧν, etc. If we first of all investigate the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament, ἐφ' ᾧ is used in the sense of *because* or *for that* in 2 Cor. v. 4; Phil. iii. 12 (E. V.) even by the confession of the Vulgate (*eo quod*); 2 Cor. v. 4 (Winer, § 48 c. ἐπὶ, d. *weshalb, weil*. Rob. Lex. ἐπὶ ii. sq.). Fritzsche quotes a number of Greek classic writers, who employ the term in the sense of *propter id quod*. Tholuck, like almost all commentators, regards the phrase

¹ On Titmann's alleged distinction in sense between διαλλάσσειν and καταλλάσσειν, as well as on the whole passage, vs. 10, 11, Fritzsche's elaborate article (Pauli ad Rom. Ep. recensuit, etc.), presents, as usual, a vast amount of philological learning. He furnished Winer with very valuable materials for the earlier editions of the invaluable Grammar of the latter.

as one of a comparatively large class, to which ἀνθ' ὧν, δι' ὧν, etc. belong, and takes it in the sense of "because" or "in so far as" (deshalb weil, insofern als) for reasons which he states in full. Stuart, who fully adopts Tholuck's view, and translates *because that*, remarks in his extended philological investigation of the term, that ἐφ' ᾧ does not mean *in whom* (Vulg., *in quo*); for if that had been Paul's thought he would naturally have said ἐν ᾧ; he adds that *in quo* of Augustine and some other Fathers "appears to be the result of their *theology* rather than of their *philology*." Even Calvin translates ἐφ' ᾧ by *quandoquidem* (forasmuch as, because) in the text, and by *quoniam* (since that, because) in the commentary. He explains the words "all have sinned" as referring, not to the actual sins of men, but to their inherited or con-nate corruption or natural depravity, that is, original sin, which is in truth sin in the sight of God, meriting, as he adds, a divine punishment. Here, too, the version of the English text is decidedly better sustained than that of the margin.

Romans vi. 7: δεδικαιώται; Vulg. and Erasm., *justificatus est*; E. V., *freed*—margin, "Gr. *justified*"; Germ., *gerechtfertiget* (justified); Tynd., Cranm., Rheims, Bish., *justified*; Gen., *freed*; Mart., *est quitte* (free, clear from); Osterv., *est affranchi* (freed, delivered from). It is generally conceded that δικαιόω, in its passive form, is not here employed in the special Pauline sense, *to declare or treat any one as righteous*, but rather in the sense, *to absolve, clear from*. Tholuck, who refers to 1 Pet. iv. 1, Stuart, etc., regard the word as here equivalent to ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, which occurs in v. 18 below. So too, Lange, in his translation gives as an equivalent term *losgesprochen* (acquitted, absolved, released). Δικαιόω is found nearly forty times in the New Testament, and is uniformly translated *to justify*, except in this passage and Rev. xxii. 11. As justification by faith is not meant here, our translators are fully sustained in preferring *freed* of the Genevese translation to *justified* of the other "former translations." See Lange on the whole passage.

Romans vi. 13: ὅπλα; Vulg. and Erasm., *arma*; E. V.,

instruments—margin, “Gr. *arms* or *weapons*”; Germ., *Waffen* (arms, weapons); Tynd., Cranm., Rheims, Bish., *instruments*; Gen., *weapons*; Mart. and Osterv., *instrumens*. This case shows very satisfactorily that our translators who in vi. 7 retained the rendering of Geneva, but here reject it, exercised their own independent judgment. The original word ὄπλον, by no means refers originally or specifically to a *weapon*, but designates in general any object which is used as an instrument or means, e.g. the ropes, sails, etc., of a ship, the tools of a mechanic, etc. It is true that the word was most frequently, but not exclusively, applied to the instruments or weapons used by a soldier. Now as Paul does not here prominently introduce the figure of a contest, and as παριστάνετε (*yield*, E. V.) is here equivalent simply to the word *present* or *exhibit* (Vulg. *exhibeatis*), the translators were eminently happy in adopting the word which they inserted in the text; but it must at the same time be conceded that eminent authorities have preferred the rendering *weapons*.

Romans vii. 5: παθήματα; Vulg., *passiones*; E. V., *motions*—margin, *passions*; Germ., *Lüste* (lusts. But the German *Lust* in the singular, although the case is somewhat different in the plural, as here, does not, like the modern English *Lust*, indicate at once an irregular, carnal, etc., desire. The German says, for instance, that he has a *Lust* to take a walk, to sing, etc. So Luther renders Phil. i. 23 *I have “Lust” to depart*, etc.); Tynd., Cranm., Bish., *Lusts*; Gen., *motions*; Rheims, *passions*; Erasm., *affectus*; Mart., *affections*; Osterv., *passions*. The original word occurs sixteen times in the New Testament; in eleven cases it is translated *suffering* (sing. and plur.); in three *afflictions*; once (Gal. v. 24) *affections*, and only in this verse *motions*. The Greek noun is passive in its form or character, or is like other nouns in -μα (Winer, § 16. 2), expressing mostly a result produced, or a condition; *motions*, on the contrary is active. The definition assigned by Robinson to the word here and in Gal. v. 24, is “passion, an affection of mind;

emotion." Olshausen takes it in the sense of *Triebe* (impulses, tendencies), but like de Wette, Tholuck, and Lange, translates *Leidenschaften* (passions); Stuart also, *passions*. Fritzsche translates with Erasmus, *affectus*, but paraphrases *appetitus peccata gignentis*. The translators had the choice of one of four words, presented by the several versions which they had before them: *passions*, *affections* (as in Gal. v. 24), *lusts*, and *motions*. The one which they decided to employ in the text obviously fails to reproduce with entire precision the thought which Paul connected with the word chosen by him.

Romans vii. 6: ἀποθανόντος (*text. rec.; var. lect. ἀποθάνοντες*); Vulg., *soluti sumus a lege mortis* (in accordance with Beza's reading, τοῦ θανάτου; this word is found in some uncial manuscripts (D E F G); but others of greater antiquity (A B C K L, and now Cod. Sin.), exhibit the nom. pl. of the participle, in place of Beza's word); E. V., *that being dead* (gen. sing.) — margin, *being dead to that* (nom. plur.). The gen. sing. is not adopted even by Calvin, *sumus: . . . mortui*. The nom. plur. is represented in the following versions: Germ., *wir sind . . . ihm abgestorben* (Luther here follows the reading of Erasmus, from whose second edition, 1519, his version was originally made). Tynd., Cranm., Bish., *now are we . . . dead*; Gen., *we . . . being dead*; Mart. and Osterv., *nous . . . étant morts*. But Rheims, depending on the Vulgate, as a matter of course, exhibits, *we are loosed from the law of death*. Wiclif, governed by the same authority, translated (A.D. 1380) thus: *now we ben unbounden from the lawe of deeth*. The nom. pl. is now generally preferred by editors and commentators, both on account of the superior manuscript authority adduced in its favor, and of the grammatical aptness with which it appears in the Greek text. Hence our translators, who followed an inferior reading, placed in this case the better version in the margin.

Romans vii. 7: ἐπιθυμίαν; Vulg. and Erasm., *concupiscenciam*; E. V., *lust* — margin, *concupiscence*; Germ., *Lust*; Tynd., Cranm., Gen., Bish., *lust*; Rheims, *concupiscence*;

Mart. and Osterv., *convoitise* (always in a more or less unfavorable sense). Our translators have not here observed the law of uniformity, and have been in this respect specially unfortunate in their rendering of the original word. It is not indeed always (comp. Phil. i. 23, and see above on chap. vii. 5) but usually (Rob. Lex.) employed in the New Testament in an unfavorable sense, as *prava cupiditas* in the thirty-seven cases in which it occurs, indicating, like the French word chosen by Martin and retained by Ostervald, an irregular, inordinate, or morally evil desire. Such is the force of the verb in the Septuagint, Exod. xx. 17: *οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις* (Decalogue). Our translators render it thirty times, *lust*, *lusts*; thrice *desire*; thrice *concupiscence* (Rom. vii. 8; Col. iii. 5; 1 Thess. iv. 5). Now in the verse before us the English reader finds *lust* in the text, but in the very next verse *concupiscence*, while in both cases Paul employed the same word. So, on the other hand, *ἡδονή* in two out of five cases, is rendered *lusts* (plural — elsewhere *pleasures*); *ὀρεξίς*, found only in Rom. i. 27, is again *lust*. *Πάθος* appears as *affection* in Rom. i. 26; Col. iii. 5; but as it is intimately united with the word before us in 1 Thess. iv. 5 (*ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας*), it is now rendered, “the *lust* of concupiscence.” The concurrent testimony of the former non-Catholic versions probably aided in influencing them to insert *lust* in the text of the passage before us.

Romans viii. 3: *περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινε*; Vulg., *de peccato, damnavit* (Cod. Amiatinus, however, exhibits *propter peccatum*); E. V., *for sin, condemned* — margin, *by a sacrifice for sin, condemned*; Germ., *verdammete die Sünde — durch Sünde*; Tynd., Cranm., *by sin damned*; Gen., *for sin condemned*; Rheims, *of sin damned*; Bish., *by sin, condemned*; Erasm., *de peccato condemnavit*; Mart., *pour le péché, a condamné*; Osterv., *et pour le péché, et il a condamné*. This verse presents several difficulties connected both with its punctuation and with its exegesis. It will be observed that our English version follows Gen. and Bish. by placing a comma before the verb. Independently of the general punc-

tuation and exegesis of the entire verse, which points are not germane to the matter of this Article, the marginal rendering of *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* is specially noteworthy, on account of the very decided exegetical character which it assumes. The two Greek words may, according to Tholuck, mean either *on account of*, *in reference to*, *sin*, or else, taking *ἁμαρτίας* here in the sense of *sin-offering*, *sacrifice for sin*, they mean *for a sacrifice for sin*, that is, God sent his Son for, or, in order to be (*περὶ*) a sacrifice for sin. This interpretation is as old at least as Origen, who, according to Rufinus, understood the word in the sense of *piaculare sacrificium*. Tholuck prefers the former meaning, in accordance with the exegesis of Theophylact and Oecumenius, both of whom understood *περὶ* in the sense of *ἐνεκα*, although eminent commentators (Augustine, Calvin, Melancthon, etc.) prefer the second or metonymical sense as expressed in the margin. Tholuck admits that *ἁμαρτίαν* bears this metonymical sense in 2 Cor. v. 21, where our translators give simply “sin,” without any marginal note. He adds, first, that Philo, when he employs the phrase *περὶ ἁμαρ.*, which is now before us, really means *ἡ θυσία περὶ ἁμ.* (comp. Heb. v. 1); and secondly, that the Septuagint translates *עֲוֹן* by *περὶ ἁμ.* This Hebrew word undoubtedly does mean in various passages, a sacrifice for fault or guilt, E. V., a trespass-offering (Rob. Heb. Lex., p. 95), and, accordingly, one of the definitions of *ἁμαρτία* given by Schleusner (Nov. Thes. sive Lex. in LXX) is *sacrificium piaculare*. We find, for instance, in Isa. liii. 10, that this Hebrew word is employed according to some interpreters, not in its primitive sense of *fault*, *guilt*, as in Gen. xxvi. 10, but in that of *piaculum*, that is, *a sacrifice by which an expiation is made for a sin*. Rosenmüller (Scolia in Vet. Test. ii. 697, *ad loc.*) says: Nomen *עֲוֹן* proprie *delictum*, *culpam* notare constat, hinc *sacrificium quo delictum expiatur*, *piaculum*, etc. Hence the English version renders it there *an offering for sin*, but in the margin simply *an offering*; the Sept. *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*; Vulg., *pro peccato*; Germ., *Schuldopfer*, which in English is *trespass-offering*.

Stuart regards the phrase *περὶ ἁμ.* as equivalent to the fuller form *προσφορά περὶ ἁμ.* (found in Heb. x. 18), and as corresponding to the Hebrew *חַטָּאת*, *sin-offering*; so it is rendered in Exod. xxix. 14, 36 in the English version, while the Sept. gives only *ἁμαρτία*, Vulg., *pro peccato*. The same word in Lev. v. 7 is again translated *sin-offering* (following Luther's *Sündopfer*), but the Sept. now renders *περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, while the Vulg. adheres to *pro peccato*. But the *trespass-offering* of Tholuck and the *sin-offering* of Stuart are very carefully distinguished in the Mosaic law (see the passages in Rob. Lex. *חַטָּאת*), so that the terms cannot be used interchangeably. (On this interesting and somewhat obscure subject, see Keil: *Handb. d. Bibl. Archæol.* § 45 sqq.; J. H. Kurtz: *Alttest. Opfercultus*, §§ 93-105; Kliefoth: *Gottesdienst-Ordnung* i. 47 sqq., 70 sqq., and the references in Herzog, *Encyk.* xxii. 350, 370, Schuldopfer, Sündopfer.) When Stuart prepared the second edition of his Commentary he found great difficulty in determining the sense of the preposition *περὶ*, and ultimately concluded, after modifying his former statement, to translate simply "on account of sin, condemned." Calvin translates *de peccato*, but explains the Greek as being used *pro expiatrix victima, quae חַטָּאת dicitur Hebraeis*; he takes *περὶ* in a causal sense. To his view Olshausen decidedly objects; he translates *on account of sin*, that is, sin was the cause or occasion. He says that *ἁμαρτία* cannot possibly be shown to be equivalent to *חַטָּאת*, and holds that the apostle here sets forth in unequivocal terms the vicarious and atoning death of Christ. Lange, who quotes the opinions of various commentators, translates like Olshausen, *um der Sünde willen* (on account of him). Here de Wette substantially agrees with them, and translates *wegen der Sünde*, understanding, however, this phrase (on account of sin) to mean, "namely, in order to free men from sin." In view of the doubtful interpretation of *ἁμαρτία* here in any other than the usual sense, our translators have wisely retained in the text the simple translation "sin."

Romans viii. 22: *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις*; Vulg. and Erasm., *omnis*

creatura; E. V., *the whole creation* — margin, *every creature*; Germ., *alle Creatur*; Tynd., Cranm., Gen., Rheims, Bish., *every creature*; Mart. and Osterv., *toutes les créatures* (plur. *all creatures*). This passage is certainly one of the most difficult which can be found in the Pauline writings, mainly on account of the word *κτίσις*, which occurs *four* times in vs. 19–22. Our translators were obviously embarrassed in this case. They rendered the word thrice (vs. 19–21) by *creature*; but in v. 22 they find *πᾶσα* with the article prefixed to it, and now we read *creation*.¹ Undoubtedly in such a case *πᾶς* may be taken as equivalent to *ὅλος*. In Matt. xvi. 26 we read *τὸν κόσμον ὅλον*; in 1 John ii. 2, *ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου*; in both cases the English version renders *the whole world*; but in Matt. viii. 32, the *whole* herd, for *πᾶσα ἡ ἀγέλη*. In the present case our translators depart in the text not only from all the “former translations,” but also from their own rendering of *κτίσις* in the preceding three verses. They were doubtless perplexed by the vast variety of interpretations given to the word. We have no room to recapitulate these; indeed, nearly all of the more recent commentators (Thol., Ols., Stu., Lange, etc.) have performed that task. We state simply, in order to furnish an illustration of the uncommonly wide divergence of views, even where no doctrinal system is directly involved, that while *κτίσις*, according to Stuart, means exclusively *mankind in general*, *gens humana*, it means, according to de Wette, precisely the opposite, namely, animate and inanimate nature, *exclusive of the human race*. Robinson (Lex.) assigns to the word in the four connected verses the meaning *creation* in general, the universe. We are probably not wrong in wishing that our translators had reversed the positions assigned respectively to the textual and the marginal renderings.

¹ Trench (On the Authorized Version, etc., chap. iv. ult.), gives a list of several Greek *verbs*, for which respectively the translators have given many English equivalents. On the same subject, see Angus's Hand-Book, § 118. We may here add that in the nineteen cases in which *κτίσις* occurs in the N. T., it is rendered *creation* six times, *creature* eleven times, *building* once (Heb. ix. 11), and *ordinance* once (1 Pet. ii. 13).

Romans ix. 3 : ἀνάθεμα ; Vulg. and Erasm., *anathema* ; E. V., *accursed* — margin, *separated* ; Germ., *verbannet* ; Tynd., Cranm., Bish., *cursed* ; Gen., *separate* ; Rheims, *anathema* ; Mart. *séparé* ; Osterv., *anathème à cause de Christ*. Calvin exhibits in his Latin version *anathema esse a Christo*, and explains : allusit ad nomen anathematis, quum dixit, A Christo : nam a segregando dictum est. He understands Paul as here expressing a willingness to suffer even “eternal death” if he could thereby secure the salvation of his kinsmen according to the flesh. But as Paul, according to Calvin’s own statement here, already knew that his salvation was established on the election of God, which could in no wise fail or be annulled (*salutem suam Dei electione fundatam esse noverat*), the actual meaning of Paul is not satisfactorily explained by Calvin. Tholuck demonstrates the great extent of his philological and patristic learning, in an elaborate investigation of the sense of this passage ; the result is found in his version, *geschieden* (*separated*). Fritzschke, who expended even more time and labor on this passage than Tholuck, and who exhibits the immense wealth of his learning in examining it, gives the following as the result : Hoc igitur Paulus dicit : nempe optarem me ipsum (*non solum alium quempiam Judaeorum amicum*, quo voto non summum erga Judaeos amorem declararem) hominem esse divinae irae subjectum et a Christo avulsum *in hominum qui mihi fratrum loco sunt emolumentum*, i.e. *ut popularibus meis prodessem*. Olshausen translates *verflucht* (*cursed*). Stuart translates ἀνάθεμα by *devoted to destruction by Christ*. His extended remarks on the passage are founded mainly on the matter presented by Calvin and Tholuck. De Wette, who explains the passage in his usual terse but lucid manner, supposes that Paul here understood “destruction (bodily and spiritual) afar from Christ.” Lange, whose Commentary deserves special attention here, translates : “I did (at one time) make the vow to be a devoted one (or, accursed, *Verbannter*).” The passage undoubtedly admits of a great diversity of interpretations, and for exegetical purposes the

various readings connected with the whole verse ought to be consulted. Our translators, who rendered ἀνάθεμα *accursed* in 1 Cor. xii. 3; Gal. i. 8, 9, retain this word in the present case, and assigned the weaker *separated* to the margin.

Romans ix. 4: διαθήκαι; Vulg., *testamentum* (but some manuscripts, followed by Erasm., exhibit *testamenta*); E. V., *covenants* — margin, *testaments*; Germ., *der Bund* (the covenant. Luther here followed the reading of B D E F J, namely, διαθήκη, and Lachmann retained it, but Tischendorf and other editors, influenced by A C K and now by Cod., Sin., exhibit the plural); Tynd., Cranm., Gen., Bish., *covenants*; Rheims, *testament*; Mart. and Osterv., *les alliances* (but we find the word “pactions” in an earlier revision of the French Bible, which was printed by Robert Estienne in 1553, and with which Calvin is said to have been connected). The Greek word appears to have embarrassed the translators as much as the Hebrew שְׁאוֹל. The latter they often translated “hell” (e.g. Job xxvi. 6; Isa. v. 14), whereas the all-devouring *Sheol* is the “grave” in 1 Sam. ii. 6; 1 Kings ii. 9; Prov. i. 12; xxx. 16; but in Numb. xvi. 30, 33; Job xvii. 16, it is the “pit.” In many of these cases no marginal version gives a choice to the reader. In Ps. xlix. 15, *grave* appears in the text, but *hell* in the margin. In Hos. xiii. 14, on the other hand, we read *grave* twice, without any indication that a different version is possible; but when this passage is quoted in 1 Cor. xv. 55, while *grave* occurs in the text for the corresponding Greek word ᾗδης, *hell* is exhibited in the margin. In an analogous case, Ps. xvi. 10, and Acts ii. 27, 31, the margin exhibits no various rendering. The word διαθήκη is treated nearly in the same manner. It occurs (sing. and plur.) thirty-three times in the New Testament; in thirteen passages it is translated *testament*, in twenty it appears in the character of a *covenant*. The embarrassment of the translators is strikingly exhibited in Heb. vii. 22 and viii. 6, in both of which passages precisely the same words occur, namely κρείττονος διαθήκης. In the former the phrase is rendered *better testament*; in the latter we find a

better covenant, but now the margin offers *testament*. There can be little doubt that while a *testament*, in the sense of a person's "will respecting the disposition of his property after death," is very different from a "covenant between two parties," the rendering of *διαθήκη* in the New Testament as a *covenant*, corresponding to the usual sense of *בְּרִית* (for instance, in Exod. xxiv. 7), is exegetically admissible in every case in which it occurs in the New Testament, except, as some interpreters believe, in Heb. ix. 16, 17. It is here only that Wahl assigns to the word the meaning of *testamentum*, while he elsewhere takes the word as equivalent to *foedus*, and Robinson adopts the same course. The classic *usus loquendi* has no more right to determine the *Christian* sense of the word, than it has to inform us of the apostolical meaning of words like *πίστις*, *ζωή*, *μετάνοια*, etc. Tholuck, Stuart, Lange, etc., translate in Rom. ix. 4 *covenants*. Ebrard (continuation of Olshausen) follows several earlier commentators in recognizing only *covenant* as the true translation even in Heb. ix. 16, 17 (on the whole passage, ix. 15-23), and adduces strong evidence to show that no other than this usual sense can consistently be found in it. The objections of Moll (Lange's Bibelwerk) to the results of Ebrard's renewed investigation, do not seem to invalidate the arguments of the latter; at least, even while the word *διαθέμενος* is not entirely cleared from difficulty by Ebrard's exegesis, at least Moll leaves several of Ebrard's positions in all their strength. The circumstance that the Vulgate exhibits *testamentum* instead of *foedus* has no force here, inasmuch as it habitually so renders the Greek word, even where no necessity for it existed, e.g. Acts vii. 8; Gal. iv. 24; Heb. ix. 4. Our translators have doubtless decided wisely by placing *testaments* in the margin, at least in the passage before us.

Romans xii. 16: *τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαρόμενοι*; Vulg., *humilibus consentientes*; E. V., *condescend to men of low estate* — margin, *be contented with mean things*; Germ., *haltet euch herunter zu den Niedrigen* (keep yourselves down with, or, attach yourselves to, lowly persons); Tynd., Cranm., Gen.,

Bish., *make yourselves equal to them of the lower sort* ; Rheims, *consenting to the humble* ; Mart., *vous accommodant aux choses basses* (things) ; Osterv., *marchez avec les humbles* (persons). The point here is, whether, on the one hand, ταπεινοῖς is a neuter adjective like ὑψηλά in the same verse, as Robinson decides ("led away by lowly things") and Martin translates ; or whether, on the other hand, it is an adjective of the masculine gender, as most interpreters and the text of the English version determine. The difficulty attending the interpretation is increased by the circumstance that it is doubtful whether συναπαγ. is here used in a favorable or an unfavorable sense ; the latter is the case in the other two passages in which the word occurs (Gal. ii. 13 ; 2 Pet. iii. 17). This difficulty is evaded, but not overcome, by those commentators who take the word in the sense of συμπορεύομαι. Some who take ταπ. as a neut. adj. (Calv., de Wette, Stuart, etc.) are led to do so by the preceding apparently antithetic ὑψηλά. But Lange, who translates *dem zug der Gerungen hingeben* (yielding or submitting to the drawing of the lowly) very successfully destroys the force of this argument, by observing that the introduction of an entirely different word, συναπ., which does not correspond to φρονούντες, at least modifies the supposed antithesis, so that the correspondence assumed to exist between the two adjectives, does not really exist. If he is right *men* in the English text is better than *things* in the margin, even if neither *condescend* in the former nor *be contented* in the latter, should precisely represent the true meaning of the original term.

We had originally intended to introduce *all* the marginal renderings of at least one Epistle, for the purpose of illustrating the general subject ; but the large space which this plan would require made it necessary for us to exclude several of the less important renderings which the margin exhibits. Our object will be fully attained if this Article should happily influence any reader to give renewed attention to this interesting subject.

ARTICLE V.

MOUNT LEBANON.

BY REV. T. LAURIE, D.D., FORMERLY MISSIONARY THERE.

OUR knowledge of Mount Lebanon has improved very much within a few years. Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (1860) gave a much more valuable account of it than Dr. Kitto's Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature, published fifteen years previously, and the recent edition of this last work edited by Dr. William Lindsay Alexander of Edinburgh gives a still better article, from the pen of the same writer who prepared the one in Dr. Smith's Dictionary — Rev. J. L. Porter, formerly missionary in Damascus. The following Article is a contribution toward a more full account of this interesting mountain, gathered from all sources—and especially the most recent authorities now accessible to the writer.

ANCIENT PHOENICIA.

Ancient history centres around the Mediterranean Sea, that focus of population and of all human activities. Its central portion is rich in relics of classic greatness, but its eastern end is associated with an older antiquity and more sacred things. There is the home of the Bible and of Bible races. Syria is not only associated with the chosen people, but with those nations most intimately connected with their history. Among these none are more prominent than the ancient Phoenicians; and just as the rocky steeps of Lebanon rise out of the plain of Phoenicia at their base, so must a scholarly knowledge of that goodly mountain rise out of an acquaintance with its relations to that ancient kingdom. Scattered over Lebanon are the foundations of temples whose bevelled stones point to Phoenician architects as their original builders. Some of the lonely sarcophagi met unexpectedly by the wayside or in groups, mingled with foundations of

walls and ancient cisterns, may mark the graves of some of the merchant princes of that ancient people, men famous in their own generation, but without a name to-day. Their massive lids, presenting a rough surface identical in appearance with the weather-worn rocks around them, suggest thoughts of Phœnician rather than Greek or Roman occupants, though these also have lain down beside them in their last sleep, just as they have builded on their old foundations. It was most likely a Phœnician aqueduct that conveyed the waters from "the highest perennial source of the Zaherany"¹ to ancient Sidon, and the strong fortress Kul'at esh-Shukîf was originally a Phœnician garrison designed to keep open the passage from the coast to their corn lands in the upper valley of the Jordan. Did the rich harvests of the Bukâ'a find their way along the same road to the same emporium?

In the grey dawn of history, while yet too dark to read the date of their erection, the massive walls of Sidon heralded approaching day. From her busy wharves ships sailed to Sevastopol and Trebizond. Vessels hailing from under the shadow of Lebanon anchored at the foot of the Causasus, and Phœnician sailors passed boldly beyond the Straits of Gibraltar.

Tyre, on the main land, a daughter of Sidon, born 2267 B.C., reigned queen of the seas till destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, 572 B.C. During that long life of almost seventeen hundred years, what bold enterprises were undertaken? What brilliant achievements were won? What luxurious summer retreats on Lebanon were built and enjoyed? and what dark tragedies took place in connection with human victims offered on its high places, the records of which shall not be read till the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed.

Who shall write the history of Arvad, that rock only eight hundred yards in extreme length² and hardly a mile in circumference—Dr. W. M. Thomson³ says fifteen hundred paces

¹ Robinson's *Biblical Researches* (1856), p. 45.

² Allen's *Dead Sea*, etc., ii. p. 178.

³ *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), Vol. v. p. 251.

—lying two miles from the shore near the northern end of Lebanon?

As far back as 710 B.C., or two thousand five hundred and eighty years ago, Isaiah (xxxvii. 13) asks “where is the king of Hamath and the king of Arphad?” And one hundred and ten years later Jeremiah (xlix. 23) cries, “Hamath is confounded and Arphad, for they have heard evil tidings, they are faint-hearted, there is sorrow on the sea, it cannot be quiet”;¹ now her walls twenty feet thick, and, though in ruins, still forty feet in height, look mournfully into the watery mirror, as if searching for the picture once reflected there, and three hundred cisterns thirty feet deep still honeycomb the island.² Dr. W. M. Thomson found there two thousand inhabitants in 1836.³ Who shall record the annals of Tripoli—the triple city—from the day when the three little colonies from Sidon, Tyre, and Arvad first settled on the inviting shore?⁴

These seas witnessed the defeat of the combined fleets of Assyria and the rest of Phoenicia by the Tyrians just before Shalmanezzer besieged Tyre (721 B.C.) for five years in vain. Up there in the northeast, a narrow pass between Mount Amanus (Jawur Dagħ) and the gulf of Scanderoon (Issus) furnished the first battle-field between Alexander and Darius (333 B.C.). Nearly fifteen hundred years previously (1800 B.C.), on that narrow plain at the foot of Lebanon, letters first gave compactness and permanence to the expression of human thought. 1010 B.C., these waters bore the rafts of

¹ Mr. George Grove in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, s. v. Arpad, denies this identification of Arphad, and the Targum Jerus. identifies Arvad in Gen. x. 18, with Antaradus on the shore; but may not Antaradus and Ruad have formed but one city? the island serving as the citadel in time of war, and the city on the shore, so indispensable to commerce with the mainland that it could not well have been under a separate jurisdiction. As the undoubted seaport of Hamath, it was perfectly natural for both Isaiah and Jeremiah to mention the two together.

² Bibliotheca Sacra (1848), Vol. v. p. 252.

³ Missionary Herald, 1837, p. 98.

⁴ Giant Cities of Bashan, p. 286; Diod. Sic. Hist. xvi. 41; Pliny, Hist. Nat. v. 20; Strabo, Geog. xvi.

cedar trees¹ from Lebanon to Joppa for the building of the temple and the other works of Solomon in Jerusalem. From 1000–550 B.C., they were crossed and recrossed by “ships of Tarshish” planting Phoenician colonies, and bearing Phoenician civilization to the ends of the earth.

Ezekiel (xxvii. 1–25) gives us a vivid picture of the prosperity of Tyre when she monopolized the commerce of the world. The men of her sister cities garrisoned her forts and manned her ships, but both were officered by her own citizens. Her builders perfected the beauty of her private dwellings and public edifices, her warehouses, palaces, and temples, besides the massive walls that protected all. The fir trees of Hermon formed “her wooden walls”; the cedars of Lebanon furnished her masts and spars; Bashan paid tribute of her oaks, and the farthest shores of the Mediterranean supplied boxwood to be inlaid with ivory, while the naval architects of Jebail moulded the whole into forms of beauty for distant voyages. Egypt contributed flaxen canvas for her sails, and the isles of Greece her purple awnings. Soldiers from extremest Persia and Egypt recruited her armies, Judah and Israel furnished her bread; the Arabs supplied her markets with meat. Lead, iron, and silver from Spain; tin from Siberia, if not from Cornwall; copper from Asia Minor and from Russia, and gold from Sheba and Arabia, were heaped together in her storehouses. Merchants from Assyria and the Persian Gulf, who came in caravans, bringing rich apparel in chests of cedar wood “bound with cords,” as the Katurjees of Turkey and the Macaeries of Syria bind their loads to-day, met in her streets merchants who had come from western Europe by sea; and horse-dealers from Armenia jostled the men of distant isles who had brought ivory and ebony from their sunny climes.

Now her crowded wharves have disappeared. The song of her sailors is hushed, and she weeps over the stones of her palaces dragged from the grave of centuries only to be used in building other cities along the coast. No mailed sentinel

¹ 1 Kings v. 9; 2 Chron. ii. 16.

paces the grass-grown ramparts of Ornithonpolis, no processions of white-robed priests throng the fanes of Marathus; and from many a bold headland the crumbling ruins of ancient castles look out in vain for the waving banner and prancing steeds that used to herald the coming of their warrior chiefs.

In sailing over these seas at night one hears voices of the past in every ripple of the waters. The citizen of old Tyre, though he might search in vain for her ancient glory, would still find the same shore with its graceful curves and golden sands, and the same bright sky looks down on us that lifted upward the thoughtful mind of other days.

It is difficult to give an idea of the splendor of an Eastern sky. It does not look like our northern firmament, nor can we recognize it, till we fix the eye on some well-known constellation amid the unusual brightness. The stars seem not fixed in the arch above us, but suspended beneath it. It is as if an angel had brushed off the dust of six thousand years, that we might see how beautiful the heavens were when God first pronounced them good.

Now see day dawn on the brow of Lebanon. Like nature's battlement the lofty mass reclines against the sky. Its outline at first shadowy grows clearer, a faint light glitters on its crest of snow, and now it glitters a coronet of diamonds, till the flood of glory pours down the western steeps, lighting up crag and peak, and far down castle and convent are bathed in its radiance, while the deep hollows seem full of darkness.

Dr. W. M. Thomson thus describes it: "From the moment when the advanced rays begin to paint the blush upon the cheek of night, till the king of day comes forth in the majesty of his rising, there is an incessant change from glory to glory. The whole horizon glows like burnished gold, revealing the crags and pinnacles of Lebanon throughout its whole extent; every point seems touched with liquid fire, while the western slope falling into the dark shadow of the summit, lies in deepest contrast to the living light above. It is God's own

temple, and yonder comes his bright messenger to call a world to worship.”¹

GEOGRAPHICAL CONNECTIONS OF LEBANON ON THE NORTH.

Lebanon is the highest part of the mountain range which at various altitudes and with very slight interruptions extends from Mount Taurus to the Red Sea. Leaving the southern edge of “the plateau of Iran” at Durdun Dagħ, southwest of Marash and northwest of the ancient “Sinus Issicus,” this range is first known as Mount Amanus, now Jawur Dagħ, from five thousand to six thousand feet high. The continuation of this to Ras Khanzir (Hog Cape) the ancient Rhossicus Scopulus, is about the same altitude, and was formerly called Mount Rhosus, now Alma Dagħ (Apple Mountain). The pass of Beilan, through which the direct road passes from Aleppo to Scanderoon, divides these two at an elevation of fifteen hundred and thirty feet, in about lat. $36^{\circ} 30'$, and long. east from London $36^{\circ} 15'$. The range is then broken through by the Orontes, which rising near the village of Lebweh in the northern part of the Bukâ'a, and having its principal source in the celebrated Ain el-'Asy (Fountain of the Rebel) flows northward, passing the cities of Riblah, Hums (Emesa), Hamah (Epiphania, or more anciently Hamath), and Kulat Mudyûk (Apamea) till after turning to the west near Jisr Hadeed (Iron Bridge) it receives the Kara Sû (Black Water), the outlet of the Lake of Antioch, and leaving Antioch on its southern bank, flows between high precipices in a southwestern direction to the sea. Its mouth is a few miles south of the ruined port of Seleucia, and about the same distance from the modern town of Suadîeh.²

Rising rapidly from the precipices behind Antioch, the range attains in Mount Casius (Jebel Akra) an elevation of

¹ Missionary Herald, 1841, p. 29.

² For the lower portion of the Orontes or el-'Asy (the Rebel) as the Arabs call it, see map of Cilicia and Northern Syria from Beaufort, Chesney, and Fischer, in Wm. Burckhardt Barker's “Lares and Penates.” London. 1853.

five thousand three hundred and eighteen feet. To the height of fifteen hundred feet it abounds in myrtle. This is succeeded by forests of oak, which in turn give place to pine, till, at the height of three thousand five hundred feet, open glades of birch and occasionally wild pears, apples, quinces, and medlars occur. The summit is bare limestone.¹ South of this it was known in former times as Mount Bargylus. The natives call it *Jebel Ansairîyeh*, because it is the home of the wild and lawless *Ansairiyeh*, a people whose religious tenets are less understood than even those of the *Drûzes*, for circumstances have not exposed their books to the eyes of the uninitiated, as the plunder of their *Khalwees* did those of their more southern neighbors, and neither persuasion nor force can induce an *Ansairîyeh* to give the least information on the subject.

Jebel Ansairîyeh ends in the latitude of *Kul'at el-Husn* ($34^{\circ} 45'$), which stands two thousand four hundred and twelve feet high on its southern face. Here the ancient *Eleutheros*, now *Nahr el-Kabîr* (Great River), flows from the western edge of the plain of the *Orontes* to the sea.

THE ENTRANCE INTO HAMATH.

The valley through which it flows is the famous "Entrance of Hamath" (*Num.* xxxiv. 8) or "entering into Hamath" (*Jos.* xiii. 5) rendered also "the entering in of Hamath" (*Judg.* iii. 3) which was the northern boundary of the promised land. *Solomon* (*1 Kings* viii. 65) assembled all Israel from this valley to the river of Egypt at the dedication of the temple, and *Jeroboam* the son of *Joash* king of Israel "restored the coast of Israel from the entering in of Hamath to the sea of the plain" (*2 Kings* xiv. 25) after it had been lost by his predecessors. As *Dr. Alexander Keith* has labored strenuously in his "Land of Israel" to force this "entrance into Hamath" as far north as the mouth of the *Orontes*, before this valley was known to modern travellers, and in his map has drawn a lofty mountain range across its

¹ *Lares and Penates*, p. 273.

eastern end, it may be well to consider the reasons for locating it here. Scripture (Josh. xiii. 5 ; Judg. iii. 3) speaks of "Lebanon from Mount Baal-Hermon unto the entering in of Hamath," and Robinson says that this, with the scriptures already quoted, "show clearly that it was at the northern extremity of Lebanon, and that this became a geographical name for the great interval or depression between the northern end of Lebanon and the Ansairîyeh mountains."¹

Rev. J. L. Porter says : "Standing on the top of the ruined citadel [of Emesa] I saw on the western side of the plain a great opening through the mountains. On its southern side the ridge of Lebanon rises abruptly to a height of ten thousand feet, and on its northern, the lower ridge of Bargylus terminates in a bluff promontory. Between the two lies the only opening from the land of Hamath to the Mediterranean. This is unquestionably the entrance into Hamath. Afterwards both sailing along the coast, and standing on the plain of Phœnicia, I saw with still more distinctness this remarkable pass. I saw then how graphic was the description of Moses. He states that 'the western border of the land was the great sea' (Mediterranean). 'From the great sea ye shall point out for you Mount Hor.' Hebrew, הֹר הָהָר, the mountain of the mountain, i.e. the great mountain. It was there before me, the majestic northern peak of Lebanon, the loftiest mountain in Syria, its glittering crown encircled by a halo of silvery clouds."²

This valley, he adds, "is called to this day by the people of Tripoli 'Bab Hamah' (the door of Hamath), and well they may; for that city is, so to speak, just round the corner from Kul'at el-Husn, while a long and circuitous journey must be taken to reach it by way of Antioch, which no man would ever do who knew of this shorter route.

If anything was needed to confirm this identification, it would be found in the near vicinity of two at least of the other places mentioned in connection with the northern

¹ Biblical Researches (1856), p. 568.

² Giant Cities of Bashan, p. 309.

boundary of the land (Num. xxxiv. 8), viz. Ziphron identified with the present village of Ziph-rûn, about an hour east of Rustan, ancient Arethusa.¹ The "three miles east" in the latter, is exactly the same with "an hour east" in the other; for an hour's journey in the East is three miles. And Zedad, which is found by both these writers in the village of Sûdûd; in this, Dr. Keith agrees with them.²

"Riblah also on the east side of Ain" (Numb. xxxiv. 11) is recognized in the present town of the same name a little to the north of east from the "Ain el-'Asy" near Deir Maron, which well deserves to be a landmark in any description of the surrounding region. Its water, clear and cold, rushes out from under the cliff on the east side of the stream, changing its slender current into a rushing river about fifty feet wide and four feet in depth. The fountain, however, is neither so large, nor does it so impress the spectator, as Ain Fijeh, the source of the Barada in Anti-Lebanon.³

NAME AND GENERAL OUTLINE.

In Hebrew the mountain is called הַלְבָנוֹן, *the Lebanon* though in poetry it is sometimes without the article. It is equivalent to "the White Mountain" just as elsewhere the highest mountains are called by that name. So in New England we have our White Mountains and Switzerland has its Mont Blanc. If with Stanley,⁴ Gesenius,⁵ and J. L. Porter,⁶ we derive the name from the snow that glitters on its crest during most of the year, we can then point to Ben Nevis in Scotland, Snowdon in Wales, to the Sierra Nevada in Spain and California, and even to the far-famed Himalaya — for in

¹ W. M. Thomson, *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), Vol. v. p. 684, and J. L. Porter's *Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 307.

² *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), Vol. v. p. 692; *Giant Cities of Bashan*, pp. 310, 317; and Map in Keith's *Land of Israel*.

³ W. M. Thomson, in *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), Vol. v. p. 698; Robinson's *Biblical Researches* (1856), p. 538; J. L. Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. p. 326; V. de Velde, *Narrative*, ii. p. 477.

⁴ *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 395.

⁵ *Thesaurus*, p. 741.

⁶ Dr. Alexander's *Kitto*, s. v. *Lebanon*.

Sanscrit that name has the same meaning, — as parallel cases. But Winer¹ and Robinson² attribute the name to the whitish aspect of the limestone in the sunshine. It may be asked, however: Why assign one cause to the exclusion of the other? True, one of them may have first suggested the title; but names do not grow up in a day, and more than one cause may contribute to their adoption by the people, and in this case some may have been influenced more by the snow and others by the limestone, even as these learned writers are differently impressed by them now.

As to form, Lebanon is not, as some suppose, a lofty peak rising far above the clouds in solitary grandeur. It is a long range, or rather a number of parallel ranges, running in the general direction of northeast and southwest. Its northern boundary we have already found in the entrance into Hamath in latitude $34^{\circ} 40'$. About its southern boundary there is more difference of opinion. Some, with the ancient classical geographers,³ place it at the mouth of the Kasimiyeh, which is the name of the lower part of the Leontes, in latitude $33^{\circ} 20'$, and others carry it down as far as the parallel of 33° , in the vicinity of Safed. Rev. J. L. Porter in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, s. v. Lebanon, makes it end at the Kasimiyeh, and calls it ninety miles in length. In his "Giant Cities of Bashan," p. 281, he says: "From the green meadows of Esdraelon rise in graceful undulations the wooded hills of Galilee. The hills of Galilee swell up into the picturesque mountains of Naphtali, and these again stretch across the sublime valley of the Leontes, and tower into the majestic ridge of Lebanon"; but in Dr. W. L. Alexander's edition of Kitto, s. v. Lebanon, he says that it "sinks into the plain of Acre and the low hills of Galilee in latitude 30° , and makes its extreme length one hundred and ten miles.

This, then, is his latest view, and the fact that the Leontes

¹ Realwörterbuch, s. v. Lebanon.

² Robinson's Gesenius, p. 518, and Biblical Researches iii. 1841, p. 439.

³ See Smith's Dictionary of Geography, s. v. Libanus, also Pliny, Hist. Nat. v. 20, quoted in Robinson's Biblical Researches iii. 1841, p. 430.

flows through a fissure in the rocks rather than through a valley would seem to justify it; and yet the very fact that the deep gorge of the Litany is cut like a groove in the rock hundreds of feet in depth, makes it the more exact boundary, and then, making that the limit brings out one of the beautiful uniformities of nature; for if we fold the map of Syria across the parallel of $34^{\circ} 40'$, we shall find the Ansairiyeh mountains lie almost conformably, as the geologists would say, over Lebanon, and the Orontes sweeps round Mount Casius in a line, that, in that position, would correspond very nearly with the course of the Litany round "Belad esh-Shukîf." Robinson says, with his usual accuracy: "The chain of Mount Lebanon, or at least its higher ridges, may be said to terminate where it is broken through by the Litany, but a lower mountainous tract to the south may properly be regarded as its prolongation."¹ Rev. J. L. Porter² says that the greatest height of this last scarcely exceeds three thousand feet. The most of it, however, is much less than that; even Mount Tabor is only nineteen hundred and ninety-five according to Allen, and V. de Velde puts it at eighteen hundred and sixty-five feet.

The breadth of Lebanon varies from fifteen to twenty-five miles, with an average of twenty. It is broadest between Ras esh-Shûkâh and Ainat, or on a line passing from Tripoli through the cedars, and narrowest between the bay of Jûneh and the eastern slope beyond Afka, or between St. George's Bay and the declivities of Niha.

By far the greater part of Lebanon lies on its western side. The deep side valleys there are occupied by rivers that often cut through the intervening ridges, so as to give the greatest possible variety and grandeur of scenery. The eastern slope is one monotonous steep, very bare, and affording very few locations for villages except in the vicinity of Zahleh; besides, the height of the plain at its base cuts off at least three thousand feet from the apparent altitude of that side of the mountain.

¹ Biblical Researches, 1841, iii. p. 345.

² Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 801.

The glory of Lebanon lies in its lofty summits and western declivities. Sometimes high side ridges run out into the sea. The waves dash high up their western face, and not even a goat can pass around their beetling cliffs. Such is the famous Ras esh-Shûkâh, south of Tripoli, visible far and near along the coast. It so impressed the ancient Greek navigators who sailed along its magnificent steeps, that they named it Theoprosopon, "the face of God." Such too is that Thermopylae of Syria, the precipitous headland at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb. Hosea (xiv. 5) must have had these and similar promontories in mind, when he spoke of Israel "casting forth his roots like Lebanon." More commonly a narrow plain, seldom so wide as two miles, though in places it may attain to three, intervenes between the mountain and the sea.

An imaginative geographer might distinguish a central amphitheatre facing the sea, with Ras esh-Shûkâh for one extremity, and — not Beirût, for that is comparatively low, but — Ras Damur for the other, and having its centre in the deep bay of Jûneh; and this again might be regarded as flanked by smaller curves, formed by Ras Natûr and el-Mina on the north, and Ras Jedrah and Rumeileh on the south; but these would help rather to form an ideal contour of this goodly mountain than be strictly accurate in detail.

Sometimes, as opposite the plain of Beirût, we find several ridges, each rising higher as we approach the crest, but these never extend far before they are lost in irregularities of surface that defy classification. In this case leaving out the lower peaks of Beshamon and Scrahmole, there is first the lofty ridge from Aaleih to Abeih, or from Nahr Beirût to the Damûr, rising to the height of three thousand two hundred and twenty-five feet above Ain Kesûr, and three thousand two hundred and fifty-five east of Aaleih. Then a shorter one behind Bhamdûn running southwest toward the Jisr el-Kady is four thousand three hundred and thirty-four feet at its northeastern extremity, and last of all, the central crest, called by the Arabs Dohr Libnan, "the back bone of

Lebanon," lies directly east of this, and, near Khan Mudaerej immediately south of Jebel Kineesch, attains the height of seven thousand two hundred and thirty-two feet.¹ The correctness of this last measurement may be doubted, for this point does not appear so high as Jebel Kineesch, which it puts down as only six thousand six hundred and sixty-six. While V. de Velde² following Major Scott³ makes it six thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, which is the height as stated by J. L. Porter.⁴ V. de Velde also mentions von Wildenbruch's observation with hygrometer, seven thousand two hundred and forty-five, which is followed by Petermann.⁵

In order to gain a more vivid idea of Lebanon, let us follow the line of its highest crest, noting the altitude, and stopping here and there to take a view of the scenery from these lofty summits. The most southern altitude that I find recorded is that of the peak of Nebby Sejûd on the eastern border of Belad esh-Shukif in latitude 33° 27'. This is on the ridge

¹ These measurements are from the English Admiralty Chart of 1860. It is marked "Sheet 2," "Markhab to Ras el-Nakûra." "Surveyed under the direction of Commander A. L. Mansell, R. N., H. M. S. Firefly," and "published at the Admiralty, Sept. 15, 1863, under the superintendence of Rear Admiral Washington, F. R. S." My copy is marked "corrections, April, 1864"; and was kindly loaned to me by Mr. G. C. Hunter, formerly of Beirût.

² Memoir, p. 171.

³ He prepared a map, in three sheets, under the following title: "Map of Syria, constructed from the Surveys and Sketches of Majors F. H. Robe, 87th Fusileers, and R. Wilbraham, 7th Fusileers, and Lieut. J. F. A. Symonds, Royal Engineers, by Major R. Rochport Scott, Royal Staff Corps, under whose general direction the work was undertaken." The middle sheet is inserted in Col. Churchill's Mount Lebanon (3 vols. London, 1853). See V. de Velde, Memoir, p. 5, who speaks very highly of the labors of Lieut. Symonds.

⁴ Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 801.

⁵ See Robinson's Biblical Researches (1856), p. 547.

Since writing the above I have received a letter from Rev. S. H. Calhoun, in which he says: "As to altitudes, I am decidedly of opinion that we have not as exact information yet as we could wish. Mansell and V. de Velde do not agree. Neither do the observations of Mansell, who is considered as the best authority, agree with our opinions here. He makes Jebel Kenîseh lower by several hundred feet than some of the peaks to the south of it. Judging from the snow, and from repeated *eye* observations, I cannot agree with him. Dr. Thomson is as confident as I am, that Jebel Kenîseh is the highest of all the summits to the south of *Sunnîn*."

east of the peak near Jurjua, whence V. de Velde¹ describes a magnificent view, including the sea of Tiberias, the vapor from which dimmed the mountains of Moab behind, the castles of Lebanon, Tyre, and the promontory of Ras el-Abyad beyond. Even Cyprus, distant more than one hundred and twenty miles, was visible at sunset. He says: "Immediately before us lay Belad esh-Shukif, its hills like ant heaps, with one here and there taller than the rest, and a winding glen deeper than its fellows breaking the uniformity of the swell and fall of the surface. All near us was green with growing grain, and the more remote surface yellow with ripening crops."

"I have travelled in no part of the world where I have seen such a variety of glorious mountain scenes in so small a compass. Not the luxurious Java, not the richly wooded Borneo, not the majestic Sumatra or Celebes, not the paradise-like Ceylon, far less the grand but naked mountains of South Africa are to be compared to these. In those lands all is green, or all is bare. One wishes in vain to see the monotonous forest and jungle of an Indian landscape diversified by rocky cliffs or with towns and villages. In the bare tablelands of the Cape colony, one sees nothing but rocky cliffs; but here are woods and mountains, streams and villages, bold rocks and green cultivated fields, land and sea views, in one word, all that the eye could desire to see on earth. The whole of northern Canaan lies at our feet. Is not this Sidon? Are not those Sarepta and Tyre? I see also the castle of Shukif, the gorge of the Leontes, and the hills of Safed, and hundreds of villages between us and the shore."

This extract is from his Narrative.² In the same volume³ he describes another view from the top of the pass immediately south of "Tomat Niha" (Twins of Niha),⁴ which he

¹ Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, p. 397.

² Van de Velde, Narrative, ii. p. 488.

³ *Ib.* p. 445.

⁴ These the Admiralty Chart already quoted makes five thousand six hundred and twenty feet high; but V. de Velde (Memoir, p. 173) estimates them at six thousand five hundred.

calls "a view, magnificent beyond description, over all the length and breadth of Palestine,"⁴ and including, as before, the distant coasts of Cyprus. These views themselves are grand, but the transparent atmosphere of Lebanon presents them to the eye with a distinctness unknown in our northern clime. Strangers continually under-estimate the distances of places that seem to be close at hand. Dr. W. M. Thomson,² from a peak in the north of Cyprus, saw the upper half of Lebanon like a large snow bank drifted up against the sky, while from across the strait toward Cilicia the glaciers of Taurus flashed back the rays of the setting sun. In such an atmosphere could not Moses, even without a miracle, have seen the whole of the promised land from the top of Pisgah? (Deut. xxxiv. 1-3.)

Southeast of El-Barûk is one peak marked six thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, and northeast another seven thousand and fifty-four. East of Ain Dura the crest is seven thousand two hundred and ninety. All these altitudes are from the Admiralty chart. Then beyond Jebel Kineeseh the peak El-Sunnîn is marked eight thousand one hundred and sixty-two. Marshal Marmont, however,³ gives it as eight thousand two hundred and eighty-three, and V. de Velde⁴ adopts the measurement of Major Scott, eight thousand five hundred and fifty-four. J. L. Porter⁵ says eight thousand five hundred. This peak is the most conspicuous of all from the coast, both north and south of Beirût, and from that city presents the aspect of a huge wall built up against the sky, and for more than half the year is draped in the purest snow. It might be tedious to try to describe the view from its summit, but it may be of service merely to enumerate the objects which it includes, besides the view already described to the southwest. The Bukâ'a on the east, with its variegated carpet of ploughed lands and green fields, seems to ask the spectator to step down upon its inviting surface. The silver

¹ Van de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 154.

² *Land and Book*, i. p. 18.

³ *Voyage du Duc de Raguse, etc.* ii. p. 225.

⁴ *Memoir*, p. 172.

⁵ Dr. Alexander's *Kitto*, ii. p. 801.

thread of the Litany runs irregularly through it. The whole range of Anti-Lebanon shows distinctly on its eastern border, from the low hills to the north of Baalbek, down to Jebel esh-Sheikh on the southeast, "wearing its cap of snow in very presence of the regal sun." Beyond it, appears a glimpse of the land of Galilee and the mountains farther south, though neither Lake Huleh nor the Sea of Galilee are visible from this peak. Turning back to the northeast the indefinite roughness of the desert stretches away in confused outlines, and on the west one looks right down into the deep, multiform, and sharply defined valleys of western Lebanon, as he would look down from a steeple on the roofs and streets of the city below. The harbor, or rather roadstead, of Beirût, crowded with vessels of all kinds, is conspicuous on the north side of the city, close under the shadow of Lebanon, and beyond the glittering surface of the Mediterranean stretches far into the distance.

To the northeast from Jebel Sunnîn Lebanon culminates in Jebel el-Mukhmel, nine thousand nine hundred and ninety six feet, and Dohr el-Khodib or Jebel Arneto, ten thousand and sixty-one, which V. de Velde¹ puts at ten thousand and fifty-one, the measurement of Major Scott. It is pleasant to find the English Admiralty map here agreeing so nearly with the accurate V. de Velde. If other altitudes agreed as well, we should feel much more certain of their correctness than we do; but it is discouraging, after searching through several volumes for an altitude and deeming it settled, to find another authority unsettle it again, and leave us just where we began. One cause of this inaccuracy is doubtless imperfection in the instruments used. Another has been that different observers measured the height of different points in the same village, and a third has been the want of corresponding simultaneous observations at a given station on the shore.² A reliable list of altitudes in Lebanon is still a desideratum.³

¹ Memoir, p. 170.

² V. de Velde, Memoir, p. 167.

³ A letter of Rev. S. H. Calhoun, dated April 3, 1869, says: "Mansell makes

Lebanon has different names in different parts of the range. The northern extremity is known as *Jebel Akkar*. In the vicinity of the cedars it is *Jebel el-Arz* (Cedar Mountain) or *El-Miskiyeh* (the Waterer). The name *Jebel Lebnan* is sometimes given, especially to that part of the range between the cedars and *Jebel Kineeseh*. From there, south it is called *Jebel ed-Druze*, and the southern extremity *Jebel er-Rihan* (Myrtle Mountain). On Robinson's map of 1841 *Jebel er-Rihan* is put by mistake north of *Jebel el-Baruk*, which is a name given to its northern part.

V. de Velde says: "*Jebel Rihan* is the best wooded part of Lebanon, and hence its beauty is truly exquisite."¹ He also says of the extreme northeastern part of Lebanon that "it assumes such a truly Alpine aspect and character, that, with the omission of chalets, one may almost imagine himself wandering through the splendid mountains of Switzerland or Savoy."²

ANTI-LEBANON.

Some account of Anti-Lebanon is indispensable to a correct knowledge of Lebanon proper. It is a parallel range, separated from it by the Valley of Coelo-Syria. In scripture it is sometimes called Lebanon, as in *Judg. iii. 3*; once it is called "Lebanon toward the sun-rising" (*Jos. xiii. 5*), and sometimes the two are distinguished as in *Ps. xxix. 6*, "*Lebanon and Sirion*." The Arabs call Lebanon *Jebel el-Gharby*, or "the west mountain," and Anti-Lebanon *Jebel esh-Shurky*, or "the east mountain," though this is usually applied to the northern part of it.

In length and general direction the two ranges correspond, but Lebanon is the higher of the two. Opposite its highest peak, *Jebel esh-Shurky* does not rise above five thousand

'*Dohr el-Kodhib*' ten thousand and sixty-one feet and *Jebel esh-Sheikh* only nine thousand and fifty-three, and yet I was told by the Damascus brethren last summer that they had been assured that from the top of 'esh-Sheikh' the summit of 'Kodhib' appeared *below* the horizon of the Mediterranean, which would make it lower than *Jebel esh-Sheikh*."

¹ *Memoir*, p. 274.

² *Memoir*, p. 161.

feet,¹ and sinks down gradually into the plain of Hamath, eight miles east from Riblah and sixteen south from Hums.² Advancing south it encloses the fertile and well-watered plain of Zebdâny, the western wall not being higher than three thousand six hundred feet, or one thousand above the Bukâ'a, while the highest points of the other are nearly six thousand.³ V. de Velde,⁴ however, gives Mr. Porter as his authority for putting down the highest peak of the eastern wall near Ain Hawar at seven thousand, who seems to acknowledge the correctness of the quotation by quoting V. de Velde, in Dr. Alexander's Kitto, as his authority for the same statement. Fuerst's Hebrew Lexicon identifies this part of Anti-Lebanon as the Amana of Cant. iv. 8. The fact too that "Anti-Lebanon is but thinly peopled by man, while the lower animals, both birds and beasts, inhabit it in vast numbers," among which are wild boars, bears, and "a species of panther"⁵ shows that Solomon's description of it as the mountains of the leopard's and the lion's dens is still appropriate.

Between the plain of Zebdâny and Hermon, Anti-Lebanon does not rise above four thousand five hundred feet. But the latter towers up to nine thousand and fifty-three, according to the English admiralty chart. V. de Velde,⁶ says Russegger,⁷ estimated it at ten thousand one hundred and twenty-five, but he adopts the measurement of Major Scott, nine thousand three hundred and seventy-six feet. This is the famous Hermon of the Psalms (lxxxix. 12), which name Mr. Porter identifies with the Arabic خرم^{٥٠} (Hhûrmûn) "prominens montis vertex."⁸ Fuerst renders Hermon in his

¹ V. de Velde, Memoir, p. 175.

² J. L. Porter, in Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 803.

³ J. L. Porter's Five Years in Damascus, i. p. 19.

⁴ Memoir, p. 175.

⁵ J. L. Porter's Five Years in Damascus, ii. pp. 315, 316.

⁶ Memoir, p. 176.

⁷ J. L. Porter quotes Russegger, nine thousand five hundred Paris feet (Five Years in Damascus, i. p. 300 note).

⁸ Freytag, Arabic Lexicon.

Hebrew Lexicon "a prominent rugged mountain." The Phoenicians called it Sirion, and the Amorites Shenir or Senir (Deut. iii. 9), both of which terms Gesenius renders "breastplate,"¹ names doubtless derived from its coat of snow glittering in the sun. Fuerst, however, renders Shenir "a projecting peak, a snow mountain." It was also called Sion or "the lofty," which may guide us to the understanding of Ps. cxxxiii. 3: "As the dew of Hermon that descended upon the mountains of Sion."² In this connection we may add, that during summer fleecy clouds hang round the top of Hermon when the rest of the sky is cloudless. The dew on and around the mountain is very abundant. One of its southern spurs is called "Abu Nady," "the father of dew." In the Spring of 1857 Rev. J. L. Porter camped two nights at its base, and his tent was as wet as if there had been a heavy rain.³

The mountain has three summits, undistinguishable however, from below. This triple peak may explain Ps. xlii. 6: "Therefore will I remember thee from the land of the Hermonites," — Hebrew "the Hermons."⁴ Its modern names are Jebel esh-Sheikh, "the mountain of the old man," or "of the tribal chief," and Jebel et-Telj, "snow mountain." It is visible from every prominent point in Palestine, and is very conspicuous from the mountains and sea of Galilee.

Besides Jebel esh-Shurky on the north, and Jebel Heish, which passes south on the east of the Jordan, several other ranges radiate from it on the east. One of these passes through Helbon to Yabrud, and another north of Damascus toward Jebel el-Kaus, with smaller ones between; but these are outside of Lebanon, and for information about them the reader is referred to Rev. J. L. Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, which is rich in information concerning this whole region.

¹ Robinson's Gesenius, pp. 1024, 1099.

² See Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 285.

³ Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 286.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, (1844), Vol. i. p. 13.

Hermon occupies a very central position in the geography of Syria. From its southern base flows the Jordan, fed by its eternal snows. In its deep glens on the east rise the head waters of the Pharpar, now called el-Awaj, "the crooked." And from the lofty peaks around Zebdâny proceed on the east the sources of the Barada (ancient Abana), and on the west both the fountains of the Litany and the Orontes. Ritter says that "Anti-Lebanon is a fruitful blessing to central and southern Syria. Its high southern end favors Palestine. The lands near it are supplied with constant moisture, while the more distant plains are parched with drought. It makes the Holy Land an oasis in the desert. Lebanon once blessed all Palestine and covered it with streams."¹

It is noticeable that the ancient kingdoms of Bashan, Damascus, Phoenicia, and Israel, all converged at Hermon.² It was also a centre of idolatrous worship before Israel entered Canaan. Ritter identifies the Baal-Gad under Lebanon (Josh. xi. 17) with "Panium or more probably Hasbeiya."³ On the middle summit toward the east, Rev. J. L. Porter discovered the foundations of an ancient wall about sixty yards in diameter, composed of large stones encircling the rock which forms the peak. The lower part of the walls of a more modern temple with heaps of bevelled stones are within the circle, and in the centre of it an excavation eight feet deep.⁴ Was this one of the high places of Baal (Bamoth Baal), and the pit one of the sites where children were made to pass through the fire to the idols of Canaan? Jerome, in his *Onomasticon*, writes (s. v. Aërmon): "*Diciturque esse in vertice ejus insigne templum, quod ab ethnicis cultui habetur e regione Pancadis et Libani.*" Is this the ruins of that temple? Mr. Porter says: "As we stood in the centre of that ring and looked westward over mountain and hill,

¹ Palestine and Syria, (Rev. W. L. Gage's translation), ii. p. 19.

² Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 285.

³ Palestine and Syria, (Rev. W. L. Gage's translation), ii. p. 161.

⁴ Five Years in Damascus, i. p. 293.

and far away beyond, along that line of burnished gold which gleamed on the surface of the water, to the bright orb whose departing splendor illumined sea and sky, we could scarcely wonder that men unenlightened by inspiration should have adored such an object. And while we gazed at this picture in the west, that on the east was not less beautiful. The shadow of the mountain fell on the plain like a great pyramid; larger and larger it grew, till its apex touched the horizon; then it raised its head aloft, as distinctly figured on the sky as it had been on the earth; and at last as the sun touched the water it stood up a vast aerial pyramid, with its broad base on the earth and its top in the heavens."¹

Besides the places mentioned as visible from near Jurjua (p. 554) and Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, with Coelo-Syria between, this view includes the picturesque hills of Gilead, and the elevated plateau of the land of Bashan, a broad plain covered with verdure at the eastern base of Anti-Lebanon, and a bright speck just visible in its centre, which is Damascus, the oldest city in the world.

The probability that Hermon was the scene of the transfiguration of our Lord invests it with a sacred interest. The ruins on the top of Mount Tabor, which must have been inhabited during the life of Christ, prove that the event could not have occurred there. The last place mentioned in the Gospels before the transfiguration was Caesarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27), the modern Banias at the foot of Hermon; and if it was from thence or from an adjacent town (Mark viii. 27) that the Saviour took Peter and James and John and led them up into a high mountain apart (Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2), what mountain so high, so grandly apart, and so appropriate for such a scene as the top of Her-

¹ Porter's *Five Years in Damascus*, i. p. 295. Dr. De Forest witnessed a similar sight from the summit of Jebel Sunnin. He says (*Journal of American Oriental Society*, iii. p. 354): "I stood upon the ruin of an ancient high place, nine thousand feet above the sea, at sunrise, and gazed with great delight at the immense shadow of the tall cone beneath my feet, which was thrown across the sea towards Cyprus, and at its gradual contraction as the sun rose higher."

mon? Was it not fitting that the spot which for ages had been the centre of a cruel idolatry should witness the glory of the great deliverer? that the darkness so often lurid with the flames of human sacrifice should be radiant with the "brightness of the Father's glory," and that the rocks which once echoed the shrieks of helpless victims and their merciless murderers, should hear the heavenly conversation about the "decease in Jerusalem" that was to be the ransom for us all.

THE BUKA'A.

Between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon lies a valley now known as El-Bukâ'a **ال بقعة**, Heb. **בִּקְעָה**. The Greeks called it Coelo-Syria, or hollow Syria; Strabo¹ called it Marsyas. It is about seventy miles long, and from three to seven in width, averaging about six. Its broadest part is opposite the southern end of Jebel Sunnîn, and its narrowest is at the fountain of the Orontes and at its southern end. The surface is generally flat, and its soil is exceedingly rich, so that in the wet season it is very muddy, and in early summer is one sea of verdure dotted with mounds, like islets, most of which are crowned with villages.

This fertile plain was the ancient home of idolatry. The prophet Amos (i. 5) calls it very appropriately "the valley of idols." Its borders are studded with ruined temples. Rev. J. L. Porter visited fourteen of them, and reports that those of Baalbek, Mejdél, Niha, and Hibbariyeh are of great size and splendor.²

As it is impossible in this connection to do justice to Baalbek, the reader is referred to the large folio of Wood and Dawkins, London, 1757. The plans, plates, and detailed descriptions there furnish an exhaustive account of these celebrated ruins. Any one who makes himself familiar with

¹ Geog. xvi.

² Dr. Alexander's Kitto, s. v. Bukâ'a. For the temple in Mejdél see Robinson's Biblical Researches (1856), p. 493, and "Five Years in Damascus," i. p. 12; comp. also *The Land and the Book*, i. pp. 349, 350.

it will need no guide when he visits them, and will appreciate their former grandeur. Those who have not access to that, will find a good *résumé* in that Thesaurus of information on Syria, Robinson's Biblical Researches.¹ Fisher's Views of Syria² give very correct steel engravings of the ruins. The plates in volume three are called Views of the Great Temple, by mistake. They represent the small one.

J. L. Porter³ gives the average elevation of the Bukâ'a at three thousand feet, on the authority of V. de Velde,⁴ but after giving Dr. De Forest's elevation of the base of the Kamûa of Hurmel at the northern end of the Bukâ'a as two thousand four hundred and seven, and the water-shed between the Leontes and Orontes as three thousand one hundred and twenty-seven, the accurate V. de Velde deems them "too low by several hundred feet," and having made Baalbek, on the authority of Russegger, three thousand seven hundred and twenty-six, he infers that the water-shed is about four thousand. Dr. E. Robinson also says the water-shed cannot be less than four thousand, and that the mountains on either side of the Bukâ'a "have from three to four thousand feet less of altitude than as seen from the Mediterranean."⁵ V. de Velde⁶ locates the water-shed about two miles northeast of the village of Shaad, and northwest of the fountain near the village of Ras el-Hadeth. It is also southwest of Lebweh. Although not one half of the Bukâ'a is under cultivation, yet it is the granary of Mount Lebanon, and bloody battles have been fought by rival factions there for its possession. It should be added, however, that a large quantity of wheat is imported from Egypt via Beirût.

The Bukâ'a is narrowed on the west by a low ridge that, beginning near Zahleh, grows higher and broader as it ad-

¹ Robinson's Biblical Researches (1856), pp. 505-507.

² Views of Syria (London, 1836-1838), i. pp. 11, 37; ii. p. 61; iii. pp. 21, 31.

³ Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 803.

⁴ Memoir, p. 175.

⁵ Robinson's Biblical Researches (1856), p. 499.

⁶ Memoir, p. 174.

vances north along the eastern base of Lebanon. A similar ridge contracts it on the east, which bordering the Wady et-Teim on the west, advances unbroken as far as Mejdél, and continues thence more irregularly to the vicinity of Baalbek;¹ here again it resumes a continuous form, and retains it as far north as the fountain of the Orontes. The upland valleys, shut off by these ridges, are more uneven and rocky than the central plain, and much less fertile.

The Wady et-Teim may be counted as the eastern prolongation of the Bukâ'a to the south, which, running down to the low marshy lands about lake el-Hûleh (waters of Merom), completely separates Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The Nahr Hasbany (River of Hasbeiya) flows through it, forming the most northern source of the Jordan, and the rocky ridge of Ed-Dahar² separates it from the gorge of the Litany on the west. Thus the southern end of the Bukâ'a is divided into two valleys, one conveying its waters into the Jordan and so to the Dead Sea, and the other breaking through Lebanon to the Mediterranean, so that the mountains of Belad, Besharah, and Safed have no connection with Anti-Lebanon, being separated from that range by the deep valley of the upper Jordan.³

In the Bukâ'a one is struck by the paucity of villages on its western side, and their abundance on the eastern. May it not be because the eastern slope of Lebanon rushes down scarcely broken by a lateral valley as far north as the vicinity of Zahleh? There we find side valleys, and there are gathered most of the few villages on the western side of the Bukâ'a. Another cause may contribute to the result. The clouds evaporated from the Mediterranean, as they are pushed up the western steeps of Lebanon, deposit copious showers in that colder air; then forced over the summit they descend and so cease to distil rain, till again driven up the western side of Anti-Lebanon they once more disburse their watery

¹ Robinson's *Biblical Researches* iii (1856), pp. 428, 492, 500, 503, 504.

² Robinson's *Biblical Researches* (1856), p. 420.

³ *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1843), p. 12; and xi. 52.

treasures ; at length forced over that range also, they wander exhausted, and by degrees disappear over the desert that stretches beyond. Jebel esh-Shurky is highest near Zebdâny, and there the showers are most abundant, and the fertility greatest, rivers carrying off the superfluous waters both east and west. Further south Jebel esh-Sheikh is highest of all, and there the showers fall in the greatest abundance, not only watering that vicinity most copiously, but furnishing supplies for both the Jordan and the Pharpar. As the springs flow from the western base of Anti-Lebanon, it is natural that the towns cluster there also.

In other lands man is left to reason out the *modus operandi* of natural causes from their results and the known laws of matter ; but in Lebanon he may witness their actual working. The condensed vapors are sometimes seen pouring down its western walls like the heavy gases which the chemist pours from vessel to vessel. They fall over the ridges, plunge down the cliffs, and burst into foam on the rocks below, till in their headlong descent, meeting the warm air from the plain, they vanish as they reascend in its embrace, and again become visible in the colder air far above, hurrying back to hang about the neck of Sunnîn, like children of the mountain returning to their father to pour the story of their journeys into his listening ear.¹

The description of a view seen by Dr. De Forest from the top of Fum el-Mizab, deserves to be quoted in this connection : " The prospect toward the east was fine, and the atmosphere remarkably pure, while on the side of the sea the mountain was almost buried in clouds. The wind which rushed with such violence up the hot valley of the Bukâ'a, was warmer than the sea-breeze when it had climbed the mountain, and so dry as to parch our lips and nostrils, while the moist breath of the sea-breeze was condensed on the heights as it rolled up from below. The large basin in which the cedars stand was filled with clouds as white as snow, and the reflection of the sun's rays from their upper surface was

¹ Compare Missionary Herald, 1841, p. 29.

very brilliant. As the mass increased immense columns of brilliant white occasionally shot up hundreds of feet, out-topping but not touching the highest summits of the mountain, but a puff of the warm, dry wind from the east bent, broke, and almost instantly dissolved them. Small thin clouds seemed to stand motionless and unchanged for hours near some lofty peak, but in fact continually dissolved and as constantly renewed. On either side of us the view was magnificent. On the east nothing was dim except from distance, while on the west the sea was shrouded, and the whole mountain side veiled with clouds of a brilliant whiteness.”¹

Where Jebel esh-Shurky is too low to extract more moisture from clouds already partially emptied in their passage over Lebanon, the result is seen in its bare and barren slopes; for “with the exception of some little upland plains, and a few of the deeper valleys, this ridge is incapable of cultivation; the sides are steep and rugged, and form in many places sheer precipices of naked, jagged rock nearly a thousand feet high.”² Many of its valleys and uplands, though somewhat green in early spring, are parched in summer, when the narrow glens are like reverberating furnaces, and man and beast sigh for the shadow of a great rock in a weary land, as the writer can testify from experience in the only journey he made through that region in midsummer.

RIVERS OF LEBANON.

The “streams from Lebanon” (Cant. iv. 15) are short and rapid, plunging through glens of rare picturesque beauty, and sometimes through gorges of the wildest grandeur. Fed by snowy peaks, they are worthy to be called “cold-flowing waters” (Jer. xviii. 14). The principal are:

The *Leontes*, whose highest permanent source is the Ain es-Sultan at Baalbek, though the whole of its waters far below that are sometimes expended in irrigating the adjoining

¹ Journal American Oriental Society, iii. p. 356.

² J. L. Porter, in Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 803.

fields.¹ In January Rev. J. L. Porter² found it from thirty to forty feet broad above el-Merj, and too deep to be easily forded, before it receives the tributary from Ain Anjar. After receiving other streams in its passage through the Bukâ'a, it enters a narrow defile, or rather cañon, which cuts through the rock of southern Lebanon in a fissure varying from one hundred to a thousand feet in depth. In some places the surface on either side is so level that at a little distance a stranger would never suspect the existence of so impassable a gulf. At the bottom the river rages along a channel sometimes not more than fifteen feet wide. The scenery all along here is in the highest degree wild and picturesque. V. de Velde says: "All Syria has nothing equal to it in grandeur and wildness."³ Near the northern entrance of this deep gorge a road descends into it, sometimes fearfully narrow on the brink of the precipice. Huge caverns and dimly lighted recesses look out from the opposite wall, and at a point four hundred and fifty feet below the surface, where the chasm is twenty-two feet wide, the rocks have fallen together so as to form a bridge sixty eight feet broad and ninety feet thick, one hundred and five feet above the river that roars below. The road from Hasbeiya to Niha crosses here. Other bridges cross at different points below this, but this is one of the wonders of Lebanon, and is called el-Kûweh (the Window) from the aperture through which the river rushes below it. The walls of this wonderful chasm are mostly bare, but at the bottom trees grow, and shrubs; vines also root among the rocks and are watered by the spray. The gay blossoms of the oleander look up smiling from the abyss below.⁴ This river is called el-Kasimiyeh after it passes round Kûl'at esh-Shukîf, the "Castle Belfort" of the old crusaders, where from the edge of the esplanade one looks down one thousand five hundred feet almost perpendicular to the water.

¹ The Land and the Book, i. p. 254.

² Five Years in Damascus, i. p. 11.

³ Memoir, p. 274.

⁴ The Land and the Book, i. pp. 254-258, with sketch; Robinson's Biblical Researches (1856), pp. 422, 423.

The *Zeherany* (the Flowery River) is more noted for magnificent scenery than for size. The cliffs on either side of it sometimes rise perpendicularly to the height of two or three thousand feet. Its highest source is above Kefr Huneh, and below that it cleaves the northwestern ridge of Jebel Rihan to its base, forming a gorge whose wild grandeur is hardly excelled in Lebanon.¹

The *Auwaly* (ancient Bostrenus),² rises above Ain Darah under the lofty peaks to the south of Jebel Kineeseh. In its upper reaches it is called Nahr el-Barûk, and the springs that feed it are noted for their size. The western ridges of Lebanon coming down from the north, Dr. Robinson says, seem to end at the Auwaly.³

The *Damâr* (ancient Tamyras),⁴ like the Auwaly and the Litany, flows for the greater part of its course to the southwest, and then turns abruptly to the west, and so continues to the sea. It has two branches, the smaller rising west, and the principal one east of Bhamdûn. They unite above Jisr el-Kady (Bridge of the Judge) by which the road from Beirût to Deir el-Kamr crosses the river. A tributary stream rises in the Wady south of Khan Mudairij, and passing down the valley between Deir el-Kamr and Beit ed-Dîn enters the Damâr more than half way from that bridge to the sea.

The *Nahr Beirât*⁵ (ancient Magoras) has two sources, one near Hummana on the western slopes of Kineeseh, and the other at Neba' Fûa in the eastern or upper end of the valley of the Metn.

The *Nahr el Kelb*, Dog River (Ancient Lycus) rises in two noted fountains, one called el-'Asil (honey) because its pebbles resemble honey in color, and the other el-Leben (milk) from a fancied resemblance of its pebbles to the color of that article. The gorge of the river is noted for its wild grandeur

¹ Robinson's Biblical Researches (1856), p. 43.

² Dionysius Periegetes, p. 905.

³ Biblical Researches (1856), p. 37.

⁴ Strabo, xvi. p. 726.

⁵ Pliny, Hist. Nat. v. p. 20.

even in Lebanon. Dr. W. M. Thomson¹ describes three caves in this glen, one running eighty paces into the mountain, and ending in an abyss of water, and another, through which the river rushes roaring, with deep pools, several spacious halls and beautiful stalactites, some of enormous size and reaching from roof to floor. This cave has two stories, the second running like a gallery round the walls. Fifteen miles higher up, above the junction of Wady Sunnîn and the united wadies of Ferta and Bacheita; indeed just below Neba' el-Leben, is the famous natural bridge of one hundred and sixty-three feet span, seventy to eighty feet high, and of a width varying from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and sixty. The centre of the finely-turned arch is thirty feet thick, but much thicker than that at the abutments, and according to Mr. Wildenbruch is four thousand nine hundred and twenty-six feet above the sea. It is called Jisr el-Hajr (Stone Bridge) and Jisr el-Bôghally (Bridge of the Mule). These measurements are Dr. W. M. Thomson's, taken from his journal in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.² Those which he gives from "a friend" in "The Land and the Book"³ are not so correct; e.g. the height is given at nearly two hundred feet on the lower side, which is very different from my own recollections of the place. The upper part of this river, from its source to its junction with the stream in Wady Bacheita, is called Nahr el-Salîb (River of the Cross). The scenery is wild, rocky, and desolate. Dr. Robinson describes the fantastic rocky forms in the vicinity of the bridge where broad ledges have been cut through by the stream, and the cliff apparently chiselled into various architectural forms.⁴

The *Nahr Ibrahim* (Ancient Adonis)⁵ has its source in a remarkable cave near the ruined temple of Venus at Afka (Ancient Apheca) which was a noted centre of the enormi-

¹ The Land and the Book, i. p. 60, and Missionary Herald 1841, p. 31.

² *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), Vol. v. p. 3.

³ The Land and the Book, i. p. 61.

⁴ See Robinson's *Biblical Researches* (1856), p. 611.

⁵ Strabo, xv. p. 170.

ties and unnatural vices connected with her worship. The emperor Constantine judged it unfit to be tolerated any longer, and destroyed it utterly.¹ Dr. Robinson describes the view from the village, of chasm, river, cascade, bridge, fountain, ruins, and the steep mountains rising above them all, as a glorious picture, and adds: "There is no spot in all my wanderings on which memory lingers with greater delight than on the sequestered retreat and exceeding loveliness of Afka."

The *Nahr Ibrahim* is the scene of the ancient fable of Venus and Adonis, the latter of whom was said to have been slain by a wild boar, and his blood at certain seasons annually tinged the waters of the stream.² A red earth washed into the river by the rains furnishes the explanation of its discoloration. Adonis is supposed to be the Tammuz of Ezek. viii. 14, as Milton says:

"Thammuz came next behind,
Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day.
While smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz, yearly wounded; the love tale
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
Ezekiel saw."³

Perhaps the wildest of all the valleys of Lebanon is that of the *Nahr Abu Aly* or Kadisha (holy) which rises near the Cedars and flows through a gorge of unparalleled ruggedness and grandeur to the coast north of Tripoli. The river sometimes passes between precipices a thousand feet high, and so near that the people of the villages on the opposite cliffs can converse together, though for them to shake hands would require a toilsome journey of hours. In this valley the houses are sometimes partly hewn out of the face of the cliff, and

¹ See Robinson's *Biblical Researches* (1856), p. 606-608.

² Lucian de Syria Dea, §§ 6, 52.

³ *Paradise Lost*, Book i. lines 445-457.

partly built up against it. This is the case with the celebrated convent of Canobin (Coenobium), the residence of the Maronite Patriarch, and the scene of the imprisonment and martyrdom of Asaad el-Shidiak in 1826. He was repeatedly imprisoned and tortured, till at length having been walled up alive in a small cell in this convent, his sufferings were long protracted by the daily pittance of bread handed in through an opening in his living tomb.¹

Of the *Nahr el-Bâria* (Cold River) Nahr el-Arka and Nahr Akka, which drain the unexplored valleys of Jebel Akkar, our information is very limited.

The *Nahr el-Kabîd* (Great River) — Ancient Eleutheros — rises in the western part of the plain of Emesa, and flows down through the “Entrance into Hamath” to the sea. Strabo makes it the northern boundary of Phœnicia and Coelo-Syria,² and here too as we have seen, is the northern end of Lebanon. The most northern branch of Nahr el-Kabîr is the Sabbatic River of Josephus, which issues from the great intermitting fountain below Deir Mar Jûrjis, called Neba’ el-Fûar.³

There are a number of smaller rivers, as the Nahr Abu el-Aswad (Father of Black) in Belad esh-Shukif, es-Senik in the district of el-Tuffah, the Shaeîm in Aklim el-Kharnub, Wady esh-Shahrûr in el-Ghurb, Wady Feidar in Jebel, and Nahr el-Jauseh (Walnut River) in Tarablûs. But it is not necessary to describe them, though the mention of their names may aid the reader to appreciate the rugged irregularity of surface and the well-watered fertility of western Lebanon.

Neba’ Anjar, in the Bukâ’a, is an intermitting fountain whose waters rise and fall in the basin from one to two feet every half-hour.⁴

¹ Memoir by Rev. Isaac Bird, Boston American Tract Society; Missionary Herald, 1860, p. 55; Rev. Jos. Tracy’s History of A. B. C. F. M., p. 178.

² See Robinson’s Biblical Researches, 1865, p. 576.

³ For an account of it see Silliman’s Journal of Science, Nov. 1846, and Robinson’s Biblical Researches, 1856, pp. 572, 574.

⁴ Dr. De Forest, in Journal of American Oriental Soc. iii. p. 361.

ARTICLE VI.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

DR. CARL IMMANUEL NITZSCH.¹

OF the gaps made by death during the past year in the ranks of German divines, none will be so hard to fill as that occasioned by the decease of Dr. Carl Immanuel Nitzsch. He was emphatically a many-sided man. Distinguished as a writer in almost every department of theology, he was still more distinguished as a teacher; nor as an adviser in ecclesiastical affairs, a mediator between contending parties, a friend and instructor of the young, a helper of the church on all occasions when help was needed, would it be easy to find his equal. The variety of his early studies, and his singular experience during his first pastorate, doubtless contributed to fit him for the manifold labors of love in which he afterwards engaged.

Dr. Nitzsch was born at Bornä, a small town in the vicinity of Leipsic, on the 21st of September, 1787. He was the son of Dr. Carl Ludwig Nitzsch, then pastor in that town, and subsequently Professor at the University of Leipsic. After some years of careful training in his father's house, the young Nitzsch was sent to the educational institute of Schulpforta, where he distinguished himself not less by proficiency in study than by the cheerfulness and amiableness of his disposition. Here he acquired such complete mastery over the Latin language, that he was heard in later years to express regret that he could not write with equal fluency in his mother tongue.

He entered the University of Wittenberg in 1806, and devoted himself with ardor to the study of philosophy and classical antiquities. It was his desire at this time to make the former his main pursuit in life; but in accordance with his father's wish he relinquished it for theology, in which domain, however, his study of ancient and modern philosophy brought forth abundant fruit. His position in theology was essentially the same as his father's. Taking his stand upon the philosophy of Kant, he sought to effect a reconciliation between *neology* and *palaeology*. The difference between the father and son was that between abstract and concrete thought, all the movements of the time in the intellectual world making a deep impression upon the mind of the latter.

He passed his examination before Dr. Reinhardt in the autumn of 1809, and was appointed private theological lecturer in his Alma Mater in the following year. His first literary effort, made at his instalment, was a

¹ This sketch is drawn from the brochure of Dr. Hoffman noticed in a former number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

treatise on the pseudonymus "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," a department of theology in which his interest had been awakened by a brochure from his father's hand on the Use and Abuse of the Apocryphal Gospels.

In 1811 he was ordained deacon and assistant preacher in the university church, with an income of rather less than twenty pounds per annum. In 1813 the storm of Napoleon's German campaign broke over Wittenberg. The town fell into the hands of the French, and was besieged by the Prussians. The clergy fled. Nitzsch and his old university teacher, Dr. Heubner, alone remained and discharged with devoted faithfulness the duties of their office. The young pastor gave unequivocal proofs of his personal courage and decision of character. Upon one occasion he cut away with his own hands a portion of a burning roof that had been ignited by a bombshell; and every day he might be seen in the streets carrying the sacrament to the dying, and provisions to the poor, while cannon balls and exploding bombs were falling everywhere around him. For a while during the absence of Heubner, he remained the sole preacher, closely watched by a French officer, but faithful in his duty to the end.

After the retreat of the French, when the university had removed to Halle, a theological seminary was founded in Wittenberg by Frederick William III., of which Heubner and Nitzsch were both appointed directors.

In the year 1818 Nitzsch married the daughter of director Schmieder, ecclesiastical inspector of Schulpferta. In the following year he published his first volume of sermons. In the year 1820 he relinquished his post at Wittenberg for that of pastor in the neighboring town of Kemberg. He retained this post, however, little more than a year; for in May 1822 he entered upon a far wider sphere of influence as theological professor and university-preacher at Bonn. In this university the union of members of the Lutheran and the Reformed churches — an object which lay very near Nitzsch's heart — had already been effected, and the society of such theologians as Lücke, Sack, Augusti, and Bleek, and that of such men as Niebuhr and Arndt in other faculties, stimulated his mind and refreshed his spirit. Here he remained twenty-five years, refusing invitations that came to him during that time from Marburg, Kiel, Heidelberg, and Tübingen. This was the period of his greatest literary activity. In 1827 he wrote in conjunction with his colleagues, Drs. Lücke and Sack, a work on the "Authority of Holy Scripture, and its Relation to the Rule of Faith." In 1829 appeared the first edition of his "System der Christlichen Lehre," and in 1833 a second collection of sermons. From this time he became one of the principal contributors to the theological journal edited by Ullmann and Umbreit (*Studien und Kritiken*), which has helped more than any other cause (except perhaps the writings of Schleiermacher) the advance of practical and scientific theology in Germany during the last thirty years. Among his most noteworthy Articles in this Journal, the fol-

lowing may be named: A Defence of Protestantism against the Attacks of the Roman Catholic Möhler (*Protestantische Beantwortung der Symbolik von Dr. Möhler*) (1834-35); a Review of Literature in the Department of Systematic Theology (1836-37); On the First Petition of the Lord's Prayer (1839); a Reply to Lücke on the Essential Trinity of God (1841); a Refutation of Strauss's so-called Dogmatics (1842-46-48); a Defence of Luther's Teaching with Respect to Marriage (1846). To these should be added his Treatise on the Idea of Religion among the Ancients (*Religionsbegriff der Alten*), afterwards published separately at Hamburg in 1832. Many other Articles of value appeared in a monthly review (*rheinisch-westphälischen Monatschrift*) originated by himself and Dr. Sack. The diversity of the subjects treated and the manner in which they are handled show the wide grasp of Nitzsch's mind and the vast extent of his reading. They place him in the first rank of modern theological writers, and yet Nitzsch was greater as a teacher than as an author. The publication of the *System der Christlichen Lehre* drew students from all parts of Germany and Switzerland to the University of Bonn, where from personal intercourse with the author they obtained yet more profit than they had done from the perusal of his works.

From this sphere of activity he was sent in 1846 to Berlin, as a delegate to the General Synod which had been summoned to consult for the better organization of the evangelical church. Here he declared himself in favor of a presbyterian form of government, by means of synods; and with regard to the question of admission to the pastoral office, he prepared a short and unambiguous creed, to which every candidate should be required to give his assent. His views gained the majority of votes, and his defense of them was the admiration even of his opponents; but the plan failed to obtain the sanction of the king, and consequently fell to the ground.

The part, however, which Nitzsch had taken in the synod led to the wish to retain his services permanently in the Prussian metropolis; and in the following year he was invited to a theological chair and the office of preacher in the university. Had he consulted his own inclinations he would have remained in Bonn; but the voice of duty summoned him to Berlin, and we soon find him there filling various posts of honor and usefulness in the church. In the stormy year of 1848 he was rector of the university, and by his wise, firm, and loving counsels did much to restrain the students from rash and unadvised steps. His sagacity in church politics was recognized, and he was elected a member of the Upper House, representing Landsberg in 1849, and three years later, Berlin. On this new arena he freely expressed his politico-ecclesiastical opinions, and in the magazine "*Christian Science and Christian Life*," originated by him and Neander in 1850, he ably defended them with his pen. While holding a distinctly positive creed, and therefore opposed to such theological criticism as tended simply to negative results, he was not less opposed to

the narrow views prevalent in the Lutheran party. Catholicity and deep earnestness of spirit characterized the whole man. He remained true to the position he had taken while Professor at Bonn, and advocated in religion and politics the freedom which has its root in the gospel. These views were too liberal for the state of feeling caused by the reaction that followed the revolution of 1848, and cost him his place in the ecclesiastical senate (oberconsistorial-Rath) in the year 1850. Such a man, however, could ill be spared; and in the following year he resumed his seat. Very characteristic was his refusal to say whether he entered the ecclesiastical union as a member of the Lutheran or of the Reformed church. "I will be reckoned as belonging to both or to neither," was his reply; and the instruction of the royal commission which required an utterance on this point was waived in consideration of his unique character and position.

His pen was not idle while in Berlin, — his *Urkundenbuch der Evangelischen Union*, his *Academical Lectures for Students of all Faculties*, and his last great work on *Practical Theology* coming from it during this period. But it was his practical activity in all the affairs of the church which most strongly characterized his life in Berlin. Preaching Sundays and week days, holding catechetical classes, giving counsel to the church in the matter of liturgies and hymn-books, composing differences among the clergy, lecturing on behalf of missions, and entertaining students at his house, he stood forth as a pillar of the church and a pattern for all Christian men. Such was his diligence in the pastoral office, that when Provost of St. Mary and St. Nicolas, his personal activity enabled him to dispense with the services of one of the deacons formerly appointed for subordinate work in these parishes. In 1860 his jubilee (dating from his entrance on the lectureship at Wittenberg) was celebrated, amidst congratulations which poured in from all sides. After his return from an excursion into the Harz mountains in the year 1866, it became evident that his strength was failing, and he was obliged to withdraw from his many official engagements. He was spared, however, to finish his *Practical Theology*, the last section of which, written down by his youngest daughter at his dictation, was published in 1867. He then sunk gradually away, conversing frequently with his friends on his approaching end, and speaking of the bitterness of death as already past. He died on the 21st of August, 1868, leaving behind him three sons, all holding honorable positions in the theological world, and three daughters. His eldest son had died at Berlin, at the commencement of a medical career which seemed to promise great success.

From the above sketch it will be seen that Nitzsch's position was that of a mediator, not only between contending parties in ecclesiastical politics, but also between different schools of theological thought. This tendency can be distinctly traced in all his writings, and especially in his two great works the *System of Christian Doctrine* and the *Practical Theology*.

He stands distinctly opposed to Hegel, who, while professing to effect a reconciliation between knowledge and faith, virtually sinks the latter in the former. The relation in which Nitzsch stood to Schleiermacher was very different. He hailed with delight his efforts to free religion from the dominion of a hard intellectualism, but supplied what he felt to be serious gaps in Schleiermacher's theology. He recognized with Schleiermacher the religious sentiment as the subjective ground of all religion, but was very far from finding the whole process and contents of religion in the working out of this sentiment. He showed that the religious idea in the mind, and the imperative law of conscience have their part in the development of religion as well as the religious sentiment, in which he found the point of connection between theology and ecclesiastical dogma, and in which he established a firm relation to the scriptures as the source of divine revelation. Nitzsch was emphatically a biblical theologian, and his *System of Christian Teaching* takes as its basis, not any combination of selected passages or doctrines, but the whole platform of revelation contained in the Old and New Testament. More distinctly than Schleiermacher did he recognize the Redeemer as the centre and aim of all doctrines; and that Schleiermacher himself approved of this supplementing and filling out of his system is clearly shown in his letter to Lücke (Ullmann und Umbreit, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1829, pp. 255 et sq., 481, et sq.); a fact which may throw some light on the disputed question of Schleiermacher's own position relative to evangelical religion. To reconcile ethics and dogmatics was one of the chief objects of Nitzsch's theology, a work which Liebner and Rothe have continued, the one approaching dogmatics from the ethical side, the other ethics from the dogmatical.

Nitzsch's theology has been stigmatized by some of his own countrymen as an accommodation system (*Vermittlung Theologie*); but precisely because it shows the essential unity of the church's doctrine with the teaching of the Bible, and seeks such a modification of the former as shall bring the two into entire accordance — precisely on this ground has it a claim to be called theology, being neither dogmatism nor neology.

That Nitzsch was fully competent to defend Protestantism against Roman Catholicism, is shown in his reply to Dr. Möhler; but when a certain party in the Reformed church, overcome by a morbid dread of everything that seemed to savor of popery, advocated the abolition of liturgical services and all ceremonial whatever, Nitzsch combated their views with wisdom, moderation, and success. Similarly with respect to church government and politics, he trod a *via media* which avoided the evils of despotism on the one side and radicalism on the other. In his testamentary work on practical theology (begun in Bonn, finished the year before he died), his utterances on homiletics, catechetics, liturgies, the service of music and song, church discipline, and pastoral work, are the fruit of deep

wisdom and long experience, and remain a rich legacy for the servants of the church in his own and other lands.

Of his widely-spread sermons it is almost superfluous to speak. Rich in thought, devout in feeling, compressed in style, sometimes obscure in expression, and free from all rhetorical ornament, they will disappoint the trifler, but amply repay the earnest student. It has been well said, "there breathes in them a solemn yet tender spirit, which, while it does not carry away the mind in a flood of agitation, gently compels it with the force of conviction, and fills it with inward warmth. Everywhere the originality of the preacher strikes out its own paths, and an independent, creative power penetrates the whole, even to the most delicate connection and subordination of the thoughts."

ARTICLE VII.

NOTES ON EGYPTOLOGY.

BY REV. JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D.D. LL.D., NEW YORK.

A STATE TRIAL IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

Whatever serves to illustrate the civil and criminal laws of ancient Egypt is of value not only for the estimate of Egyptian civilization, but also for the illustration of the Mosaic code, either by analogy or by contrast. The principal authority upon Egyptian jurisprudence is Diodorus Siculus, who devoted several chapters of his first book to the laws and institutions of Egypt, the constitution and administration of courts, and the description of crimes and their penalties. Much that he put upon record in the first century B.C. from his own observation, and from traditions then current, is now confirmed by original documents of great antiquity, which the ingenuity of modern Egyptologists has deciphered. An example of this is found in the Rollin Papyrus, of which some account was given in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January 1869 (p. 189). More recently an Egyptian manuscript in possession of the Museum of Turin, written in the hieratic text, and characterized as "the Judicial Papyrus," has been analyzed and translated by Mons. T. Devéria, the learned and accomplished assistant of Count de Rougé, of the Louvre at Paris.¹ This document consists of one beautifully written sheet, measuring about seventeen feet by twenty inches, divided into six parallel columns, which answer to

¹ *Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin et les Papyrus Lee et Rollin. Étude Égyptologique par Théodule Devéria, Membre de la Société Asiatique, de la Société Impériale des Antiquaires de France, de l'Institut de correspondance archéologique de Rome et de Berlin, etc.* Paris : Imprimerie Impériale.

the pages of a modern book. The first column, originally of nine lines, has been effaced with the exception of two or three words; the second, of the same length, is imperfect; the remaining four columns, of five, fifteen, ten, and seven lines respectively, are all in a complete state of preservation. The calligraphy of this manuscript—which Mons. Devéria regards as a model of hieratic penmanship—warrants the conjecture that this is an official record of an important state trial, and not merely the report of an observer.

Date of the Manuscript.—It is impossible to decipher the name of the sovereign referred to in the fragmentary lines of the first column of the document; but the title “Sovereign of On,” which is yet legible, was a constant official title of Rameses III., and a well-known prefix of the same Pharaoh occurs in the course of this manuscript, and also in the Lee Papyrus, which refers to the same affair. There is, moreover, a sufficient resemblance between the facts of the conspiracy recorded in the Turin Papyrus, and of that described by Manetho, as quoted by Josephus against Apion,¹ to refer them both to the same sovereign. According to Josephus, a king whom he styles now Sethos and now Rameses, “having collected a great army and navy, left Armais his brother, his lieutenant-general in Egypt, with absolute power, only forbidding him to assume the state of royalty, to do anything to the prejudice of the queen and her children, and to abuse the king’s concubines. Then he proceeded against Cyprus, Phenicia, the Assyrians, and the Medes, conquering these in battle, and subduing those by the mere terror of his arms. Inflated by so great successes, he would have pressed his conquests farther into the East; but Armais, to whom he had entrusted so much authority, did everything contrary to what he had enjoined upon him. He drove out the queen, abused the concubines of the king his brother, and at the persuasion of his flatterers, placed the crown upon his own head. The high-priest of Egypt sent advice of this to Sethosis, who at once returned by way of Pelusium, and re-established himself in his kingdom. It is said that this prince gave to Egypt its name, since he called himself Egyptus, while Armais called himself Danaïus.”

Champollion and others, upon critical and historical grounds, regard this Sethosis or Rameses of Josephus as Rameses III., of the twentieth dynasty. In this opinion Devéria concurs, adding various proofs that Josephus had confounded this king with Sethos I. and with Rameses II. The divergence between the judicial papyrus of the Turin Museum and the narrative of Manetho, is no greater than might be expected between an official record and a traditionary account of the same event. From these data the manuscript is assigned to the reign of Rameses III., a period soon after the probable date of the Exodus.

The Subject of the Document.—The manuscript records the trial and

¹ Josephus against Apion, Book i. chapter xv.

condemnation of sundry persons detected in a conspiracy against the king. The *gravamen* in the case was "words spoken to the injury of his majesty." The seat of the conspiracy appears to have been the royal harem, or at least the women of the harem were implicated in it, together with several courtiers having high official rank, near the person of the sovereign. This reference to the harem agrees well enough with the story of Manetho, that Armais tampered with the concubines of his brother. A son of one of the royal concubines is accused of being the medium of communication between the harem and the conspirators without. The prime mover of the conspiracy appears to have been one Penhouïban, who is charged with having employed magic arts to introduce his seditious words into the harem. This was probably the same person whose condemnation and execution for the flagitious use of magic is recorded in the Rollin papyrus.¹ The precise object of the conspiracy cannot be ascertained, since the indictment given in the first column is no longer legible. That it was formidable is evident from the fact that officers of the household and of the army were involved in it, and that it became necessary even to punish some of the judges for a too lenient sympathy with the offenders. While the stress of the accusation is laid upon certain words which have come to the knowledge of the king, the intentions of the conspirators are denounced as "the execration of the world."

The Tribunal.—The court or judicial commission summoned for the trial of these offenders was composed of twelve persons of high rank — as appears from their titles — and was divided into two sections, one of six the other of four, the two scribes serving with both. Diodorus gives the following account of the Egyptian forms of judicial procedure: "They selected judges from the first citizens of their most celebrated cities, Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis, each furnishing ten. These judges constituted a tribunal which may be likened to the Areopagus of Athens or the Lacedemonian senate. These thirty judges elected a president from among themselves, and his place was filled by another judge from his own city. These judges were compensated from the royal treasury, and the allowance of the presiding judge was quite large. He wore about his neck a chain of gold, from which was suspended a small figure in precious stones representing truth. Pleadings commenced as soon as the president put on this emblem. The laws were contained in eight volumes, which were placed before the judges; the plaintiff detailed in writing the subject-matter of his complaint, reciting the facts, and stating the damages that he sought for the injury done him. The defendant, taking note of the demands of the opposite party, replied in writing to each head of the charges, denying the fact, or if admitting the fact, denying that it was an offence, or if admitting the injury, arguing for a diminution of the penalty; then the plaintiff was heard in reply, and the defendant again responded

¹ Bibliotheca Sacra, 1869, p. 189.

in turn. Having received these written pleadings from both parties, the judges deliberated and rendered a decision, which was declared by the president's touching the successful party with the image of truth."¹ Deducting from the tribunal under consideration the two scribes, who do not appear to have taken part as judges, the remaining ten may represent the magistrates furnished by the city of Thebes, then the capital, to the supreme court of the land. But it is more probable that a court for the trial of treason, or other offence against the sovereign himself, would be differently constituted from a court for the trial of ordinary civil or criminal causes.

The process in this case differed from that described by Diodorus, in that each of the accused underwent a personal interrogation before being judged. After deliberation among the magistrates, sentence was pronounced according to this formula: "He is found guilty of all the abomination and evil which his heart had plotted to do."

The Penalties. — It is evident from the manuscript that several of the conspirators suffered the penalty of death. Others were sentenced to a mutilation of the nose and ears. As this, according to Diodorus was the punishment inflicted upon women when found guilty of adultery, to prevent the repetition of the crime by destroying their personal charms, it might be supposed that the real crime in this case had been a violation of the royal harem, were it not that words spoken against the king are specified as the heinous offense. Herodotus shows that this barbarous penalty was inflicted both in Egypt and in Persia for a variety of offences, or even at the caprice of the sovereign.² Upon this great trial several persons were condemned to death, because having been privy to the conspiracy as witnesses of the conversation of others, they had not denounced it to the proper authorities. This confirms remarkably a statement of Diodorus touching such a provision of Egyptian law: "One who saw upon the road a man struggling with an assassin, or subjected to any violence, and did not succor him if he could, was condemned to death. If it was really impossible for him to render assistance, he must at once report the affair to the authorities, and cause the arrest of the brigands; failing to do this, he was condemned to receive a certain number of blows, and to go without food for three days."³ In the trial under review the sentence of some of the condemned appears to have been commuted from death to whipping and imprisonment; but the record shows that two or more of the judges, being suspected of colluding with the criminals for a mitigation of their penalty, were themselves sentenced by an express order of the king, first to have their noses and ears cut, and then to be banished, under severe pains and privations. Thus the document acquaints us with three forms of penalty; first, certain undefined punishments under the general title of judicial chastisement; next, the penalty of death, which, accord-

¹ Diod. Sic. 1, 75.² Herod. i. 155, ii. 162.³ Diod. 1, 77.

ing to the papyrus Lee and Rollin, could be inflicted only for crimes specified in the sacred books; and thirdly, the mutilation of the nose and ears, deportation, and forced labor, which last penalties could be inflicted at the order of the sovereign — as in the case of the condemned judges — without the form of a trial, or possibly with the concurrence of a sacerdotal court.

In the Rollin papyrus, Mons. Devéria finds evidence of a religious tribunal, probably composed of priests, by which the party accused of tampering with magic was tried and condemned. Since magic was in high repute in ancient Egypt, its enchantments being employed for the resuscitation of Osiris, and various incantations and charms being provided in the Book of the Dead for the advantage of the deceased, the offence in this case must have been a perversion, a profanation, of magic by one not entitled to practise it, a crime equivalent to sacrilege. Thus in the reign of Rameses III. we have official evidence of the existence of both civil and religious tribunals for the administration of justice. Mons. Devéria's commentary upon the judicial papyrus is a most valuable contribution to Egyptian jurisprudence.

The prominence of the harem in this state trial gives additional interest to the bas-reliefs which adorn the palace at Médinet-Abou, which was the favorite resort of Rameses III. The apartments occupied by the women of the royal household can be distinctly traced; and the sculptures represent the king in the intimacy of the harem, here playing chess with a young girl, there caressing a favorite, again receiving flowers or comfits from others — the women being entirely nude, with no mark of their relative distinction but the style of the coiffure, the sandals and the bracelets. Eunuchs were in honor as the guardians of the harem, and these were probably ready instruments in the great conspiracy which might have cost the sovereign his throne or his life.

DATA FOR THE HYKSOS PERIOD.

The determination of the Hyksos Period would furnish an important element for the date of the Exodus of the Hebrews. The attempt to identify the "Shepherds" of Manetho that ruled Lower Egypt for five hundred years, with the Israelitish shepherds that settled in the delta under Joseph — according to the etymology of Josephus, and his corruption of Manetho's text — is pretty much abandoned; and the fact that nomadic invaders from the east got possession of Lower Egypt, and maintained there for a long period a military despotism, having for its capital Avaris lying to the east of the Bubastite arm of the Nile, is as clearly established as any portion of early Egyptian history. The recent discussion of this question by Ebers and Chabas¹ in the light of the latest researches, and with the help

¹ Ebers, *Ägypten und die Bücher Mose's*, i. pp. 198–224. Leipzig. 1868. Chabas, *Les Pasteurs en Égypte*. Amsterdam. 1869.

of suggestions from newly deciphered monuments and papyri, must silence the scepticism of Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, and others, concerning the historical existence of the Hyksos and the long duration of their conquest in Lower Egypt. But we are still at fault in respect of the beginning of this foreign usurpation. Lepsius¹ marks its commencement at 2101, B.C., and its termination at about 1591 B.C.; the arrival of Jacob in Egypt he places at about 1414 B.C., and the Exodus at 1314 B.C. Brugsch² places the incursion of the Hyksos at 2115 B.C.; he regards them as Arabs from Arabia Petrea, the nearest neighbors to the Egyptians upon the east. Bunsen,³ in his last recension of his chronological tables, brings the beginning of the Hyksos period a little lower—at 1983 B.C., its termination at 1548 B.C., the Exodus at 1320 B.C. In his view the Hyksos were Arabs and Palestinian tribes united. All these authorities place the Exodus nearly two centuries later than the common chronology of the Bible. The Hyksos period has an important bearing upon the time of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt. The expulsion of the shepherds must have preceded the resplendent eighteenth dynasty, whose kings ruled over all Egypt as again united under the double crown. But to allow for a Hyksos dynasty of five centuries, and four centuries beyond this again for the sojourn of the Israelites, would carry the Exodus too far back for the proportions of the subsequent Jewish history. Hence it seems clear that the Israelites could not have been domiciled in Egypt prior to the Hyksos invasion. Did they enter the country during the Hyksos rule? But if so, what force was there in Joseph's use of the term "shepherds" to secure the isolation of his family from the Egyptians? If the Pharaoh himself had been of the shepherd tribe, the name would not have been to him an "abomination." Again, if we assume either that the Israelites were in the country before the Hyksos, or came in during their occupancy, is it reasonable to suppose that the Hyksos, themselves foreigners, would have sought to exterminate a race of foreigners kindred to themselves, who might rather have been enlisted as allies against the native kings of Upper Egypt? But if the Hebrews were not expelled *by* the Hyksos, were they driven out *with* them? What then becomes of the biblical narrative of the Exodus? Yet it can hardly be supposed that in a civil war that terminated in driving out the vast horde of foreigners that possessed Lower Egypt, so large a body as the Israelites would have been suffered to remain in peaceable possession of the richest portion of the Delta. From all this it follows that the sojourn of Israel in Egypt must date from a time subsequent to the expulsion of the Hyksos. Now it is reasonable to suppose that the Egyptians, having delivered themselves from eastern nomades, whose occupation of their territory had been such a scourge that their very name was an

¹ Königsbuch der Aegypter.

² Histoire d'Égypte.

³ Egypt's Place in Universal History, Vol. v. p. 77.

"abomination," would have been slow to permit a kindred race of "shepherds" to gain a footing upon their soil, and therefore, before the exaltation of Joseph and the settlement of his brethren in Goshen, sufficient time must have elapsed to have softened the galling memories of the Hyksos rule. But if the Hyksos were not exterminated until the sixteenth century B.C., this supposition would bring the Exodus down to even a lower date than that assigned to it by Lepsius and Bunsen. To obviate this difficulty some have imagined that the Egyptians might have hailed the peaceful settlement within their borders of these Palestinian shepherds, as a protection against the return of the Ishmaelitish shepherds; but the number and intentions of the original Israelitish colony, and the manner of their occupation, forbid the supposition that they were welcomed as auxiliaries. Viewed theoretically, from whatever point of conjecture, the relation of the Hebrew Exodus to the period of the Hyksos, is embarrassed with difficulties. Great importance therefore attaches to any discovery that may throw light upon the date of the shepherd invasion and rule. As yet the *terminus a quo* remains in obscurity; but the *terminus ad quem* is beginning to take a fixed place in history. It is to this point that the essay of Mons. Chabas is mainly directed.

The papyrus known under the title of "Sallier I." affords the first clue to an historical date for the Hyksos. According to this document at the time when the land of Egypt was under the "scourges," their king Apapi, being established at Avaris, there instituted the worship of Soutekh or Set as his chief divinity, discarding the gods held in honor by the native Egyptians. Set was the Typhon, the murderer of Osiris, the destroying principle. To him Apapi built a substantial temple, and established in his honor festivals and sacrificial days. A king Sekenen-Ra then ruled in southern Egypt, and peaceable commercial relations appear to have subsisted between the two sections. Having perfected his religious establishment and ritual, Apapi convened his scribes to deliberate upon a communication to Sekenen-Ra, and a messenger was dispatched to announce to that sovereign that in Lower Egypt no divinity besides Set would be allowed to be worshipped, with the single exception of Ammon-Ra, the chief god of the upper country. This exception was probably intended to be a conciliatory act of toleration; but it was regarded as an insult, and the messenger treated with coldness and suspicion. Sekenen-Ra returned a haughty answer, and convening his generals and chief officers, began to prepare for hostilities. The breaks in the papyrus, and its abrupt termination at this point, deprive us of the conclusion of the story; but it would seem that a religious feud was made the occasion for a war that resulted in the emancipation of Egypt from the "scourges."

Just here, however, comes in, to supplement this narrative, the inscription upon the tomb of Ahmès, a naval officer, who took a prominent part

in the final expulsion of the Hyksos. In this monumental record of his life and achievements, he mentions that his father was an officer under king Sekenen-Ra; that he succeeded him in the naval service under king Neb-peh-Ra, commonly known as Ahmès I.; that he assisted his sovereign at the siege of Avaris, which city was taken with great slaughter; finally, in the fifth year of the reign of this king, the city of Sharuhana, where the Hyksos appear to have made their last stand, was also taken. Having emancipated the North and recovered Lower Egypt to the native dynasty, the conqueror hastened to repel an invasion from Nubia, and so rendered himself sole master of the country. Still another biographical inscription, now in possession of the Museum of the Louvre, celebrates the achievements and honors of an officer who had served successively under Ahmès I., Amenophis I., Thotmes I. and Thotmes II., kings of the seventeenth dynasty according to Lepsius, the first of the eighteenth dynasty according to Brugsch. A very curious inscription, having an incidental bearing upon this subject, has been brought to light by M. Dümichen.¹ King Ménephtah had repelled an irruption of the Libyans into Lower Egypt, and the scribe after praising the celerity and completeness of his victory adds: "One could not have seen the like in the time of the kings of Lower Egypt, when the country of Egypt was held by the scourge, and the kings of Upper Egypt could not drive them out." Nearly four hundred years after the expulsion of the Hyksos, their dominion was referred to as the scourge of the land.

Bringing together the data of these several documents, the following points appear to be established:

(1) Invaders from the east for a long time held possession of Lower Egypt, and made their name the terror and detestation of the native Egyptians.

(2) At about the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty at Thebes, the rival kings of Lower Egypt had so far adopted Egyptian manners and customs that they erected temples and monuments, and instituted the worship of the god Set, who had anciently been honored at Memphis, and was regarded as a type of northern supremacy.

(3) That under Seneken-Ra hostilities were commenced against Apapi, then the Hyksos king in the north; and

(4) That this war was prosecuted by Ahmès I., successor of Seneken-Ra, until the Hyksos, driven from one stronghold to another, were finally routed, and Lower Egypt was delivered from the scourge.

The reign of Ahmès I. is approximately assigned to the seventeenth century B.C., so that the expulsion of the Hyksos took place two centuries before our received date of the Hebrew Exodus, and the Egyptian references to the former have nothing in common with the biblical account of the latter. The attempt of Josephus to identify the two falls to the

¹ *Inscr. Hist.* pl. 4, 37.

ground; and there is high probability that future discoveries will enable us to verify and complete the record of both these memorable events. The name Hyksos has not been discovered upon the monuments, but is derived from Manetho as cited by Josephus. In the papyrus Sallier I., the invaders are styled *Aat*, a term that signifies pest or calamity; in the inscription of Ahmès the people conquered at Avaris, and expelled from Lower Egypt, are denominated *Menti* and *Sati*, names of tribes lying to the northeast of Egypt. Ebers regards the Hyksos as Phenicians in the broad sense, including nomades from Palestine. The story that after their expulsion from Egypt they retired to Palestine, and there built the city of Jerusalem, was probably an embellishment of Josephus, for the purpose of attaching a certain political and military importance to the beginnings of Jewish history.

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A. GERMAN WORKS.

THE DOCTRINE OF REVELATION—THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHRISTIANITY.¹—The work whose full title is given below well deserves a detailed examination; but the space at our disposal will compel us to be content with indicating the chief contents and giving the substance of one or two characteristic passages. It is divided into four sections, headed respectively: I. Foundation laid for the Doctrine of Revelation by the Development of the Idea of Religion; II. Testimonies to Revelation; III. The Contents of Revelation; IV. The Form of Revelation. In the last three sections are specially discussed subjects such as: the possibility of revelation; the objections to special revelations; natural religion; sin; law; gospel; the kingdom of God; miracles; Christophanies; the vehicles of revelation. In the first section the questions, What is religion? How does it arise? What does it presuppose? Does it presuppose a personal God or merely an objective, indeterminate something, or merely an objectified reflex of one's self? are carefully examined. On all these important points a mass of suggestive thought is advanced, which is well fitted to quicken the minds of American theologians, even where they may be unable to agree with it.

¹ Die Lehre von der Offenbarung. Ein Beitrag zur Philosophie des Christenthums. Von Lic. A. E. Krauss. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1868.

We will now refer to two passages characteristic of the general tendency of the work. On the rationale of revelation he says: "Explanations of revelation consist in the exhibition of its connection, on the one hand, with the psychological and logical laws of the human mind, on the other, with the general order of nature; in a word, in its naturalization. As long as we are unable to show the conformity of revelation with the forms and norms of the rest of our knowledge, it remains incomprehensible; it seems to us strange, foreign; we are unable to do with it what the reason of man always demands to do, namely vanquish, appropriate it A pious layman may fairly rest content with the fact that through revelation he experiences the influence of higher forces. But the theological thinker is bound to give a reason for the hope within him, for his own and others' experiences. Hence a thoroughly scientific theological thinker is liable to be regarded as tainted with rationalism by simple believers. Attempts to give the rationale of revelation, however, are by no means necessarily rationalistic in the common sense, that is, opposed to the recognition of what is supernatural. All depends on the point of view from which the subject is considered. If we treat the present order of things as perfect, overlooking or underestimating the influence of sin, then the rationale we attempt will bear a rationalistic character. If, on the contrary, we look at the present abnormal state of things in the light of the eternal ideal order, of which glimpses are given in the Bible, then our rationale will be in the fullest sense supernaturalistic because rationalistic, and rationalistic because supernaturalistic." Again: "The influence of sin is seen in the circumstance, that man who was made, and is still destined to become, the image of God, needs special vehicles of revelation; for every man ought, as such, to have been himself a revelation or a vehicle thereof. Man's having fallen from this vocation is the reason of the redemptive communications of God. And till a man appears who does not merely receive communications from God, but is God's communication, all the events of the history of redemption must necessarily bear a promissory, prophetic, typical character." We have not translated here, but rather given what we take to be the force of passages too long to be extracted. Intelligent and scientifically disposed readers will, we are sure, be thankful to us for calling their attention to Lic. Krauss's work. We need scarcely say that, like all other German works, it contains constant references to the principal related treatises; as for example, those of Twisten, Nietzsche, Rothe, Tholuck, and others.

ACADEMICAL APOLOGETIC LECTURES.¹—This little book is translated from the Dutch, and comprises four lectures entitled: 1. How ought modern naturalism to be combated? 2. Ought we still to study

¹ Zum Kampf und Frieden. Vier akademische Vorträge und fünfzig aphorismen. Von Prof. Dr. Van Oosterzee. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1868.

theology, or not? 3. What theology will be able to outweather the storms of the present time? 4. From what theologians can the church of the future expect good?—and further, fifty aphorisms. The lectures were delivered to the students of the University of Utrecht at the commencement of the academical years 1863, 1865, 1866, and 1867; the aphorisms were written for and laid before the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Amsterdam in 1868. The name of the author is a sufficient guarantee that this little book, well translated, contains weighty thoughts on the very appropriate and important themes to which it is devoted.

THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE OF THE EARLY CHURCH.¹—It is surely a remarkable fact that contemporaneously with the decided assertion of the central principle of Protestantism, to wit, the right and necessity of each individual soul fighting out its battles for itself, with direct divine help, there should also be a tendency to recur to such substitutes as priestism, churchism, sacramentarianism. Considering, however, the half-dormant, internally inactive state of the classes which evince the latter tendency, we are not surprised at the course they are taking; on the contrary, we regard their resting in means outside of themselves as a half-way house between inactivity and true spiritual activity; a sort of religious hobble-de-hoyism, neither manhood nor boyhood. Possibly too the churches of Puritanic descent may be inclined to lay insufficient stress on the sacraments.

Pastor Otto carefully discusses the subject announced above in five chapters, headed: 1. What is the eucharistic sacrifice? 2. The early Christian eucharistic sacrifice and the later mass; 3. History of the doctrine of the sacrifice of the eucharist; 4. The eucharistic sacrifice and the scriptures; 5. The eucharistic sacrifice and the evangelical church. An appendix contains the eucharistic liturgy of Jacobus translated into German from the text of Daniel, in his "Codex Liturgicus." The author considers the eucharistic sacrifice to consist in the eucharistic presentation of the bread and wine on the one hand, and the eucharistic presentation and affirmation of the sacrificial sufferings of Christ on the other. There are not a few things in the popularly written essay worthy of attention.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF KRUMMACHER.²—Dr. Krummacher of Potsdam, so well known personally and by his "Elisha," "Elijah," and "David" to many Americans, died on the 10th of December last. Among his papers was found an autobiography extending down to the year 1848. This

¹ Das abendmahlsoffer der alten Kirche, etc. Von Pastor H. F. M. Otto. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1868.

² Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher. Eine Selbstbiographie. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben. 1869.

autobiography with a portrait and various additions bringing it down to the day of his death, has now been published, and we are sure that all who can read German and who know anything of its subject — and who does not? — will eagerly secure the book, and not lay it down till they have finished it.

INSPIRATION.¹—A little book on the very important question of inspiration, embodying papers read by the author on the following question, proposed by the Consistory of the Prussian Province of Saxony: "Can the verbal inspiration of the Old and New Testaments be defended on the grounds advanced by Philippi (of Rostock) in his *Glaubenslehre*, i. 150 sq.," or on any other grounds? And if not, is it right for a preacher to appeal to texts drawn from scripture as to the word of God?" Dr. Schmidt answers No, to the first part of the question, and Yes, to the second; his discussion is wider than the question proposed might seem to indicate, and he advances much, both positively and negatively, that is worthy of all consideration.

Another interesting essay on the same subject, and due to the same occasion, is Pastor Kümmel's *Die Inspirations-Frage mit Rücksicht auf Philippi und Rothe*.

THE JEWS AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.²—An account of Jewish missions and their results ought to form one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Christian church. Of this work of Dr. Kalkar a very favorable opinion is expressed in Professor Delitzsch's monthly magazine, entitled "*Saat auf Hoffnung*," and no man is more competent to judge than Dr. Delitzsch. The subject is treated under the following heads: Conversions in Spain, Portugal, France, England, Holland, Italy, Germany; Position of the Jews prior to the Commencement of Missions proper; Missions and Callenberg's activity; Conversions in the eighteenth Century from Moses Mendelssohn's time to the present; Missions proper in Europe and Mohammedan countries; the hope of a universal conversion of Israel. It is astonishing how many eminent men in all departments Judaism has supplied to Christendom. Jewish missions as at present conducted seem to us to do more credit to the zeal than to the wisdom of the Christian church, and should be supported more as a testimony than as a fit instrument of converting the Jews to Christ. The work here noticed is a translation from the Danish, and well deserves translating into English.

¹ Zur Inspirationsfrage. Von Pfarrer Dr. W. Schmidt. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1869. 15 sgr.

² Israel und die Kirche. Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der Bekehrungen der Juden zum Christenthume in allen Jahrhunderten. Von Dr. Kalkar. Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses. London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1869.

THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.¹ — This work is designed to show that the Gospels were the earliest collection of apostolic canons, set forth not in the form of laws, but in that of occasional sayings and acts of Jesus. The following is an illustration of the author's mode of treating what poor common-sense people have always supposed to be straightforward narratives. In the parable of the nobleman and his ten servants in Luke xix., the ten servants denote mystically the lower clergy of a bishop or presbyter. So also the ten virgins in the parable of the virgins. The image of a virgin signifies a deacon in opposition to the bishop; the latter being as it were married, like a wife, to his parish or church, by the ring and robe; whereas the former resembles a still unmarried virgin. In another place the author says: "In short, historically considered, the Gospels occupy the same position as the life of Apollonius of Tyana and other similar neo-Platonic productions." Perverse ingenuity can surely go no further. "Professing to be wise, they become fools."

PHYSICA SACRA, OR THE HEAVENLY BODY.² — What does Paul mean when he writes in 2 Cor. v. 4, "not for that we would be unclothed, but *clothed upon*, that mortality might be swallowed up of life?" or in 1 Cor. xv. 44: "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a *spiritual body*. There is a *natural* body and there is a *spiritual body*?" Spiritual body; is not that a contradictio in adjecto? So some fancy, and therefore explain away either the one term or the other. We, for our part, believe Paul was not in the habit of using words that should need to be filed down and evacuated of their force; and therefore hold that there is some such thing as a "spiritual body." Dr. Hamberger tries to throw light on this subject in the work whose full title is given below; with what success each must judge for himself; we can only say, that as he has devoted intelligent attention to it for about thirty years, he is likely to prove a suggestive if not an absolutely sure guide. His work is divided into three great sections, headed: Hints towards the history and criticism of the idea of heavenly corporeality; philosophical examination of the idea of heavenly corporeality; the chief points of theology in the light of the idea of heavenly corporeality. Under the second head such points are discussed as: the irrational element in the forms of the earthly world; the peculiar nature of the heavenly body and its difference from earthly forms; the supposed irrationality of the idea of the heavenly body; the reality of the idea of

¹ Die canonischen Evangelien als geheime Kanonische Gesetgebung in Form von Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben Jesu dargestellt. Von Dr. G. M. Redslöb. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1869.

² Physica Sacra oder der Begriff der himmlischen Leiblichkeit und die aus ihm sich ergebenden Aufschlüsse über die Geheimnisse des Christenthums. Von Dr. Jul. Hamberger. Stuttgart: Steinkopf; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1869. Price, 44 sgr.

the heavenly body. We may add that Dr. Hamberger is a so-called mystic, and a disciple of the celebrated Magus, Oettinger, of the South of Germany. Some years ago he published a most interesting collection of extracts from mystical writers, with notices of their lives, entitled "Stimmen aus dem Heiligthum der christlichen mystik."

HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.¹—The design of this work is to set forth how the Old Testament has been scientifically treated, theologically estimated, and practically applied in the Christian church from the commencement down to the present day; in other words it is a history of the exegesis and criticism, of the theology and philosophy of the Old Testament, and of its practical influence on the constitution, cultus, doctrine, art, and law of Christendom. For the first part of his undertaking the author found help in various previous writers; the two other parts have been little, if ever connectedly, discussed. The investigation of the theme is distributed over seven periods, the first embracing the first two hundred and fifty years, the last extending from 1750 down to 1867 or 1868. As may be imagined, the contents of the last chapter are much richer than those of the first; for the questions—exegetical, critical, theological, philosophical, and practical—now raised are both more numerous and reaching further than those which occupied the minds of the earliest teachers of the church. In order that our readers may be able to form a notion of the contents of the work and of the historical progress made by its subject, we will give a summary of the first and last periods. *First Period*: 1. The Canon of the Old Testament; 2. the interpretation; 3. Theological view; (a) the unity of the Old and New Testaments; (b) their distinction. *Seventh Period*: 1. General character of the period: A. The original text of the Old Testament: (1) The grammar; (2) Legicography; (3) Archaeology; (4) Text-criticism; (5) Criticism of the Canon; (6) Hermeneutics; (7) Exegesis; B. The religion of the Old Testament: I. (1) Rationalistic views; (2) Philosophy and historical realism (Fichte, Kant, Hegel, etc.); (3) Biblical theosophy and the new orthodoxism. II. (4) Theological treatment,—Rise of the Discipline, etc. (Bauer, de Wette, Hengstenberg, Oehler, and others); (5) The Primitive History of the Old Testament (Genesis, etc.); (6) The Religious Significance of the History of the Jewish People; (7) Mosnism; (8) Prophetism; (9) Cultus, art, and law of the Old Testament.

The author's theological position is, like that of most Professors at the University of Jena, what we should term rationalistic; but his work contains much valuable material, and is written on the whole in a fair and candid spirit.

¹ Geschichte des alten Testaments in der Christlichen Kirche. Von Professor Dr. Diestel. Jena: H. Dufft; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1869.

CHRONOLOGICO-GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION INTO THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST.¹—The English-speaking disciples of the negative theologians and critics of Germany, either are not aware or do not confess to knowing, that the theological and critical results which they so greedily adopt and zealously propagate, are dictated by philosophical principles which are simply taken for granted. In common with thousands in Germany, they allow themselves to be thrown into confusion and doubt by considerations drawn from history, chronology, geography, and related spheres. But for the sand with which their eyes are filled—as we must term the objections just referred to—they would see more clearly the arbitrary character of most of the attacks made on, and the exceptions taken to, the evangelical narratives. Feeling this, the author of the above treatise has undertaken the discussion of the geographical and chronological aspects of the life of Jesus, with a view to rebutting the objections drawn from these sources. He accomplishes his plan in six sections: I. The Chronological Basis of the Life of Jesus: (1) The Jewish Calendar; (2) The Chief Epochs in the Life of Herod. II. Birth and Childhood of Jesus: (1) Birth of John Baptist. (2) Birth of Jesus; (3) Childhood of Jesus; (4) Youth of Jesus. III. The Sea of Genesareth and its Surroundings. IV. The first Year of Christ's activity—to the death of John Baptist: (1) Baptism; (2) First appearance; (3) First Passover; (4) Second stay in Galilee; (5) Jesus at the Feast of Atonement in Jerusalem. V. The second Year according to Matthew, Mark, Luke. VI. Third and last year: the Passion week, the resurrection, etc. An appendix treats of the Topology of Jerusalem. So far as we are able to judge, Caspari has produced a valuable work. The whole is written in a very readable style.

B. AMERICAN WORKS.

STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY. By Joseph Haven, D.D., Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. 8vo. pp. 502. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1869.

This work is divided into two parts. The first part contains Essays having the following titles: Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton; Mill versus Hamilton; the Moral Faculty; Province of Imagination in Sacred Oratory; the Ideal and the Actual. The second part contains Essays on Natural Theology; the Doctrine of the Trinity; Theology as a Science—its dignity and value; Place and Value of Miracles in the Christian System; Sin as related to Human Nature and the Divine Mind; Arianism; the Natural Development of the Views held by the Early Church Fathers. Our readers are already acquainted with some of these essays, as they have

¹ Chronologisch-geographische Einleitung in das Leben Jesu Christi. Von Ch. Ed. Caspari (with four maps and plans). Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses; London: Asher and Co.; Trübner and Co. 1869.

appeared in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Dr. Haven has exhibited much ability and a good spirit in discussing various controverted questions in philosophy and theology. We hope that this volume will tend to increase the interest of the religious public in these important questions. Men who differ from the author in some of his speculations, will be pleased with his distinctness of thought and perspicuity of style.

COMPANION TO THE BIBLE. By Rev. E. P. Barrows, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature. 8vo. pp. 639. New York: American Tract Society. 1869.

We have read this work with some care, and regard it as well fitted for the clergy and admirably fitted for the people. It contains the results of extensive learning exhibited in a simple style. Dr. Barrows is doing a useful work for the churches in his attempt to popularize the technical and abstruse discussions of writers on the Bible. He is a candid scholar and an earnest Christian.

CONGREGATIONALISM: What it is; Whence it is; How it works; Why it is better than any other Form of Church Government, and its Consequent Demands. By Henry M. Dexter. 8vo. pp. 394. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: Nichols and Noyes. 1868.

The changes which the author has made from the first edition of this work appear mainly in an appendix of more than eighty pages. This appendix contains "some facts, discussions, and documents" which add to the value of the work. They relate to "Female and Minor Suffrage in Congregational Churches"; "a Form of Admission to the Church"; "Congregationalism the Mother of Foreign Missions"; "Dangerous Tendencies in our Congregationalism," and several other subjects of practical importance. We regard the work as one which every Congregational minister ought to own.

We are pleased to learn that Professor James M. Hoppin, of New Haven, Connecticut, is soon to publish a volume on "The Office and Work of the Christian Ministry." The volumes already given to the public by Professor Hoppin, will ensure for his new volume an attentive perusal.

The Articles which at the commencement of the year were promised for the July and October numbers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, on the Different Methods of Preaching, are, from unforeseen circumstances, necessarily deferred until the next year.

THE

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA.

ARTICLE I.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.¹

BY REV. JAMES B. MILES, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

DR. HEDGE remarks, "The doctrine of Protestant sects in relation to this point—of those I mean which hold the resurrection of the body, and do not admit the intermediate world—is painfully confused and wavering." And he adds, "This diversity and confusion in the doctrine of the church is due in part to the conflict of the views represented in the New Testament itself. It is impossible, I believe, to deduce from the scriptures of the New Testament a doctrine of the life to come, which shall fit all the texts and satisfy all the demands of the subject, which shall harmonize the apocalyptic vision of the "new earth" and the New Jerusalem upon it, with Paul's conception of being raised from the dead and caught up into the clouds to dwell with the Lord in the air; which shall harmonize any doctrine of final resurrection with the words of Jesus to the thief on the cross: "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise."²

Now, that the doctrine of Protestant sects in relation to the resurrection is painfully confused and wavering, we are

¹ An Exposition of 2 Cor. v. 1.

² Reason in Religion, by Dr. F. H. Hedge, pp. 373, 374.

obliged to admit. We must also acknowledge an unreasonable prejudice against endeavors to gain definite and consistent views on this subject to some extent prevails. There is, however, no doctrine of our faith in respect to which confusion is more fruitful of evil consequences, and in relation to which clear and consistent views would not exert a more salutary influence. But that the diversity and confusion in the doctrine of the church are due at all to the conflict of views represented in the New Testament itself we deny. We maintain that it is possible to deduce from the scriptures a doctrine of the life to come which shall fit all the texts and satisfy all the demands of the subject. It may be true that no Protestant sect holds a doctrine of the resurrection that meets what are now thought to be all the demands of the subject. But are we sure that even in this day of advanced biblical and scientific learning, all the demands of the subject are fully known? Indeed are we sure any sect has drawn from the scriptures all the knowledge they contain on this point? When the New Testament is charged with presenting conflicting views on this subject, we can but ask: Is it not possible that more light in respect to the doctrine of the resurrection is to be derived both from the scriptures and from the book of nature than has yet been gained by any religious sect or school of philosophers? Is it not possible that the views presented seem to some persons to be conflicting, simply because they do not employ a sounding line long enough to reach down to the depths of meaning contained in the inspired statements? The well is deep. Our present design is not an exhaustive treatment of the great theme of the resurrection. We propose to present the sense of one specific passage of scripture bearing upon this theme. In the prosecution of this design we shall necessarily refer to several of the texts relating to this subject, inasmuch as scripture is the only safe expounder of scripture.

How much now does the passage under consideration authorize us to affirm respecting the resurrection?

That the phrases *ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους*, and

οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον, αἰώνιον, refer respectively to the earthly, perishable body, and the new glorified body is too obvious to require proof. A single remark of Olshausen explains these phrases: "There hovered before the apostle's mind a parallel between the tabernacle of testimony, the earthly, movable sanctuary, made by man, and the perfect tabernacle, not made by human hands, i.e. the spiritual building of the New Testament. To the former corresponds the earthly, perishable body, to the latter the new, glorified body."

It will be observed the passage expresses not merely a presumption, a conjecture, a supposition. The first and irresistible impression the reading of it makes upon the mind is that it is a real and decided affirmation. *Οἶδαμεν γάρ*, for *we know*, says Paul. His words denote belief in the highest degree, even perfect assurance. The apostle virtually says: (1) The subject-matter of what follows is the truth; (2) I have conclusive proofs of its truthfulness; (3) I confidently believe that truth. His state of mind is very far from being painfully confused and wavering. He expresses a confidence perfect and sublime, disturbed by no doubt, fixed and tranquil, like the repose of the divine mind itself. Our whole endeavor, then, must be to ascertain what he affirms.

(1) One thing of which Paul declares himself to be perfectly sure is, that he himself and the Christians whom he addresses are to exist after death forever as embodied beings: "Though our earthly house of this tent be dissolved, we have from God a building." Notice, here is an admission in regard to the resolution of the earthly body to its constituent elements, which extends even to the extreme limits of all that science has claimed, indeed, of all that science ever can claim on this point. Does modern chemistry vouch for the truth of the poet's words:

"Nor yet in the cold ground,
Where thy pale form was laid with many tears,
Nor in the embrace of ocean shall exist
Thy image. Earth, that nourished thee, shall claim
Thy growth, to be resolved to earth again,

And lost each human trace, surrendering up
 Thine individual being, shalt thou go
 To mix forever with the elements,
 To be a brother to the insensible rock
 And to the sluggish clod, which the rude swain
 Turns with his share and treads upon,
 The oak shall send his roots abroad and pierce thy mould."

Has philosophy demonstrated that the human body is in a state of constant flux; that as often as once every seven years every particle of matter composing it is changed; that soon after death it is resolved into clay, limestone, carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, phosphorus, and imponderable gases; that the dust to which it returns springs up in the varied forms of vegetable life; so that the beasts of the field crop the grasses and the herbs which derive their succulence from the constituent material of the bodies of buried men; that the particles which now compose one body have previously belonged to ten thousand other bodies? Paul concedes all this by the use of the word *καταλυθῆ*, *dissolved, disunited, loosened down, or apart*. Indeed, could chemistry achieve what chemistry can never achieve, take cognizance of each infinitesimal atom of the material body, and prove that each one of these is at death forever severed from its connection with the spirit, still the teaching of chemistry would not come into conflict with this statement of the apostle. There is no possibility that science, whatever may be the degree of its advancement, will find that the earthly body after death undergoes a change more complete and radical than is expressed by the word *καταλυθῆ*. And yet Paul affirms that the departed exist with bodies. His language necessarily implies more than the immortality of the soul. Says Olshausen: "The apostle in no respect recognizes the idea of a pure spiritual extension of life into eternity; without corporeality there can be no everlasting happiness or eternity for the creature." "We have from God a building, i.e. an organized body. There were some among those to whom Paul wrote who admitted the future existence of the soul, but who did not believe the soul was united to a body

in the future state. Paul explicitly teaches that the future existence of the spirit shall not be that of a mere formless and bodiless spirit. The saints shall possess forms, bodies." "We that are in this tabernacle [this earthly body] do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life." Though this earthly body fall off and return to its ultimate elements, yet we are not to be houseless and unclothed. We are not to be left shelterless, homeless spirits. We shudder at the thought of such a thing. Our instinctive cravings for a body are not to be mocked and denied. We are to be clothed upon. We are to be furnished with a building from God. In connection with this passage notice some of the apostle's expressions in his matchless argument in proof of the resurrection in the fifteenth chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians: "God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body." How could Paul more unequivocally than he does by these words declare that the product of the resurrection will be a real and proper body. According to the best authorities the word *σῶμα*, here translated body, denotes invariably, both in the New Testament and in classical Greek, only an organic, living body. It necessarily implies a material, living organization or structure. Qualified by the word *πνευματικόν*, it denotes, indeed, a body of a peculiar kind, a spiritual body, a body wonderfully refined and etherealized, so as to be adapted to the demands of the spirit in its exalted future state. But after all it is to be a material structure or organization. The words "spiritual body" admit of no other interpretation. To assert that *πνευματικὸν σῶμα*, spiritual body, means pure spirit, is to make Paul contradict himself. Besides, if the soul is not to be clothed with a body in the future state, this entire argument of the apostle falls to the ground. All his reasoning proceeds upon the assumption expressed in the declaration: "God giveth it a body." Not less explicit are his words to the Philippians: "Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his

[Christ's] glorious body." What possible meaning can be attached to this language except that in the future state the saints are to possess spiritual, glorified bodies, — bodies that will perfectly subserve the wants of the spirit? Even as the earthly body is adapted to our life on the earth, so the spiritual body will be fitted to the economy of heaven.

(2) Again, from this passage we learn something in relation to the constitution of the future body. We are taught not merely that the saints are to receive from God a building. Paul intimates what kind of a structure it is to be. It is to be *οἶκον, ἀχειροποίητον, αἰώνιον, ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, a house not made with hands, ever-enduring, and of a heavenly nature. Thus he describes the resurrection body by contrasting it with the present body. The present body is tent-like, only a temporary structure. The future body is to endure forever. The present body is earthly in its nature. The future body is to be heavenly. In his first Epistle to the Corinthians he presents this contrast in singularly striking terms. Over against the corruption, the dishonor, the weakness of the natural body he places the incorruption, the glory, and the power of the spiritual body. While he maintains that the product of the resurrection will be a real body, yet he illustrates the amazing contrast between that body and the earthly body by calling our attention to the essential differences between earthly bodies. He specifies the bodies of men, of beasts, of fishes, and of birds. Behold, he says, how varied their composition, structure, and powers. But even more striking than these contrasts are those between terrestrial and celestial bodies. The glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another.

Precisely here arises the nice question: Is the contrast between the present and the future body so great as to destroy the identity of the two? Does the apostle's language, fairly interpreted, forbid us to believe the resurrection body will be in any sense identical with the body we possess here? We may not delay to determine the difficult philosophical point, — exactly what is essential to constitute identity. It is not

impossible to specify some things which are not essential for preserving the identity of the present with the future body. Obviously it is not essential for this, as some of the most popular objections to the doctrine of the resurrection imply, that the same particles of matter that are deposited in the ground or compose the body at death, enter into the composition of the resurrection body. We think and speak of our present bodies as the same bodies we possessed five, ten, twenty, sixty years ago, while there is not in them, not even in their bones, one particle of the same matter of which they were composed a few years since. How different in mind and body, in form and size, in all things, the infant and the man; and yet the person, through all its changes, has preserved its identity. That lordly old elm, you say, is the identical tree that half a century ago defied the blasts of winter, and among whose leaf-clad branches in summer the feathered songsters sweetly warbled their notes. But there may not be a particle of the matter which composed that goodly tree fifty years ago in it to-day. The traveller of to-day stands on the banks, or glides over the green waters, of the river Nile. This is the same old river, he says to himself, that, ages since, bore upon its "heaving bosom anon the cradle of Moses, the gay vessels of the undulation festivals, the stately processions of the mystic priesthood, the gorgeous barge of Cleopatra, the glittering, changing, flashing tumult of thousands of years of life." But yet that river is not composed of the same globules of water that three thousand years ago "waded tediously through the Egyptian plains, and so rolled down to the sea"; not even the same particles of matter compose its banks and channel, and the herbage that fringes its banks. The identity of the insect is preserved through all the transformations by which it passes from the chrysalis to the butterfly. These illustrations are sufficient to show that the raised body may be properly said to be the same with the one we now possess, even if it can be proved that not one particle of the matter composing the earthly body will enter into the heavenly body.

Suppose the historical connection between the future and the present body shall remain unbroken, and they shall be united by the power of a continuous life, just as the historical connection and the life are continued in the body of the same person from infancy to old age; suppose, also, the future body shall express the conceptions and emanations of the soul and obey the will, even as does the present body; why may not then the identity of the present and the raised body be preserved? The two bodies may be spoken of as one body, as "the same, and yet never the same." Does, now, the language of Paul represent the differences between the two bodies to be so great and radical as not to admit of the possibility of identity in the sense explained? He teaches us the present body is earthly, and that it is to be dissolved. The future body is heavenly and undecaying. More clearly to unfold his meaning he employs the illustration of the seed sown. "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. Thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat or some other grain, but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body." Our Saviour employs the same analogy in illustration of this point. "Verily I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it remaineth alone; but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit." What, then, does the process of germination in the plant teach us? The seed dies, and is decomposed. How amazingly different in size, in form, in properties, and characteristics the plant or the majestic tree from the tiny seed from which it springs. And yet, science teaches us that in that tiny seed exists the embryo of the great tree, that something from the seed — it may be in some cases a particle too minute to be discerned by the help of the most powerful glasses — does certainly enter into the composition of the plant, and that the connection of life between the seed and the plant through all changes is preserved unbroken. Mark the testimony of an eminent scientist of our own time. His words are: "I know there are some who entertain a vague fear that the facts of chem-

istry conflict with this most cherished doctrine of the Christian faith, but so far from this I find that they elucidate and confirm it." And again: "The glorious doctrine of the resurrection modern scientific discoveries most fully confirm. As the grain sown in the furrow rises into the glory of the full-eared corn, so when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, our natural body, sown in dishonor and weakness, will be raised a spiritual body, clothed in glory and power."¹

Modern science, enlightened as it is, cannot disprove the statement of Dr. South made centuries since: "There is a portion of matter in every human body that never passes by transmutation into any other animated body, but sinks into and rests in the common mass of matter, and there remains unchanged till the last day. What these parts are and what quantity of matter they amount to is known only to God." Neither science nor revelation teach us just how much of the material of our earthly house will be wrought into our heavenly building. But both science and the Bible are harmonious in affirming that something from the earthly may enter into the composition of the heavenly. Both warrant the assertion of the real and proper identity of the two bodies.

(3) In unfolding the sense of this passage, the next question which arises is: When does the saint come into the possession of his heavenly building, when is he invested with the spiritual body? Of all the questions suggested by the passage under consideration, this is the most difficult of solution. It would be presumption in us to expect to answer it in a manner satisfactory to all. Still we are not excused from an honest endeavor to search out the answer to this question so far as that answer may be known. Moreover, we must be allowed here to assume that the soul exists in a state of consciousness during the interval, whatever it may be, between death and the general judgment.

The proof that the soul in the full and conscious exercise of all its faculties lives on in death, through death, and be-

¹ Religion and Chemistry, by Prof. J. P. Cooke, Jr. pp. 104, 105.

yond death, without interruption forever, we have endeavored to present in this Quarterly (Vol. xix., Art. 1). We now avail ourselves of the conclusions therein reached, namely, that the soul of the Christian at death enters into a state of enjoyment essentially such as it is to experience eternally. Our present question is: When does the soul receive its spiritual body? Does it come into the possession of that body at the instant of its passage through the gates of eternity, or not until after the lapse of an indefinite number of centuries, at a point lying on far away in the limitless future, almost or quite beyond the reach of thought, that point which is designated as the general resurrection and judgment, the time of the final consummation of the universe. All attempts to fix definitely that time have proved signal failures. The probabilities are, myriads of years will have rolled into eternity ere that time will arrive. If we may credit eminent astronomers, it will take eighteen millions of years for the heavens to complete one revolution around a common center. How many revolutions the heavens are ordained to make before they shall be dissolved we know not. It is natural to suppose a large number. If so, the period that is to elapse before the final judgment passes knowledge. Does the saint receive his heavenly building at the moment of death, or will he exist a disembodied spirit until all these ages shall have passed away? There are some considerations disposing us to answer, that he receives from God his spiritual body the moment he lays down his earthly body.

(a) One of these considerations is the fact that this supposition is more agreeable to our instinctive cravings than any other. As we naturally shrink with horror from the thought of annihilation, as we instinctively crave immortality, so we naturally shrink from the thought of existing in eternity as disembodied, unclothed spirits, so we instinctively crave a body. We would not be unclothed. We shudder at the very thought of having our spirits deprived of all covering. We would be clothed upon, and clothed upon all the time, that mortality might be swallowed up of life. Now if these

inborn desires of our souls, these instinctive cravings, are referred to — and that they are thus properly referred to all admit — as affording a presumption that the soul is immortal, and will not exist eternally without a body, then they must be admitted to afford a presumption more or less strong that the soul will not exist for indefinite ages, for a period, which is to our thought and feeling almost or quite equivalent to eternity, without a body. In other words, the view that the saint receives his house of peerless beauty and glory the moment he is dispossessed of his tent-like abode, will be generally conceded, we think, to be more satisfactory to the feelings than any other view. The idea of being unclothed and houseless for indefinite ages is not pleasant to us.

(b) Again, this view may find additional plausibility if we consider what is essential to the personality of a finite, created being. Our conception of a complete created person comprises both soul and body. It is generally admitted that the scriptural references to angels are such as to justify the belief that they possess bodies, bodies transcendently etherealized and refined, “like light in rapidity of movement and appearance, and endowed with powers adequate to the duties and exigencies of high immortal, spiritual life.” But is corporeality an essential element of a finite, created being? In other words: Is an unembodied, finite creature a contradiction in terms? If so, our question is answered. Only one conclusion is possible. The spirit is clothed upon with its spiritual house the moment its tabernacle of clay is dissolved. It steps from its earthly abode, not out of doors, but into its heavenly house. There are metaphysicians who hold that a creature without any bodily form is inconceivable. Says Dr. Kurtz: “God alone is an infinite, an absolute spirit. He only exists above and beyond time and space. A created spirit without a corporeal form to confine it to time and space, to bound its being and give it a species of form, must either be like God, infinite, omnipresent, and eternal, — be God himself; or, since that would be irreconcilable with the idea of its having been created, be dissipated into nothing

and utterly lost. Hence within the province of created life the possession of a body is the condition of all existence; the corporeal structure is the instrument of all activity of the spirit; it constitutes a tenement for it, gives it a lodgment, and thus enables it to preserve its legitimate boundaries and identity — without a body, without a fixed abode, the homeless spirit would be carried everywhither and dissolved into nothing — be utterly lost.”¹

Isaac Taylor, in his *Physical Theory of Another Life*, expresses substantially the same sentiments. His language is: “We must affirm that body is the necessary means of bringing mind into relationship with space and extension, and so of giving it place. Very plainly a disembodied spirit, or we ought rather to say, an unembodied spirit, or sheer mind, is nowhere. . . . There is some reason to question whether sheer spirits could (except by immediate acts of divine power) be individually dealt with and governed, or could be known and employed, or could form lasting associations.”

Now, yielding all due respect to the reasoning of these and other eminent philosophers who coincide with them in opinion, we yet must be allowed to say, we do not feel compelled to accept their conclusions. Plausible as their theory may be, still we can but ask: Is the unassisted human intellect competent to decide this question? Does it not assume too much when it affirms dogmatically that a finite, created being cannot exist without a body? Let philosophy exhaust its powers, and after all must it not leave the question: When is the spirit invested with its heavenly body, an open question? We believe it must. We believe if we would find a conclusive answer to this question, we must appeal to revelation. If the scriptures, fairly interpreted, pronounce against this view, even though many considerations in addition to those hinted at may conspire in giving to it plausibility, it must be abandoned. What is the answer of infallible scripture? The particular passage we are discussing does not unequivocally indicate the time when the saint

¹ See “Bible and Astronomy,” by J. H. Kurtz, D. D.

is to come into the possession of his house not made with hands. Were we shut up to this text and the context, however, should we not naturally infer the spirit enters the heavenly body the moment it leaves the earthly? The apostle is finding consolations for the sorrows of his fellow-Christians and himself, in a contemplation of the momentary nature of their afflictions, and their nearness to eternal glory. Bearing this fact in mind, we read: "For we know that, though our earthly house of this tent be dissolved, we have a building from God." We notice Paul employs the present tense. He does not say we shall have, but we have, *ἔχομεν*. We read on, "For in this [house] we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven, if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life." We observe how he shrinks from the thought of being unclothed; with what intense earnestness he strives to comfort those to whom he writes, by presenting in the closest connection with the idea of leaving the fleshly body, that of taking possession of the heavenly body. This passage, taken by itself, to say the least, does not oppose the view that the saint receives his glorified resurrection body at death. Candor obliges us to admit it is quite consistent with that view. But will this view satisfy all the texts of scripture? The scope of this Article forbids a minute and exhaustive treatment of this point. But we may say, without fear of contradiction, many of the teachings of scripture seem to favor this view. Such as the analogy of the seed sown, which has been so admirably expressed by Dean Trench: "The decaying of the insignificant and unsightly seed in the earth, and the rising up out of that decay and death, of the graceful stalk and the fruitful ear, contains evermore the prophecy of the resurrection, even as this is itself in its kind a resurrection — the same process at a lower stage — the same power putting itself forth upon meaner things" (Par. p. 19).

In the process of germination in the plant the new is evolved out of the old — the relation of the new to the old never being interrupted. If the resurrection is the same process at a higher stage, we naturally ask : Why then is not the new body evolved without any break in vital connection out of the old ? Moreover, Christ and the inspired writers commonly speak of the departed as persons who have already entered upon their awards, or are suffering their punishment. Christ thus speaks of the departed Lazarus and the rich man. And mark his memorable reply to the Sadducees, which say there is no resurrection. The case they referred to was that of the woman who had had seven husbands. They put to our Saviour the question : “In the resurrection whose wife shall she be of the seven ?” Charging them with ignorance of the scriptures, he replies : “When they shall rise from the dead they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels.” His language, it would seem, refers to the body, and implies that the future bodies of the saints, while truly material bodies, will be wonderfully refined and glorified, in the likeness of those of the angels. Our Saviour goes on and says : “And as touching the dead, that they rise, have ye not read in the book of Moses how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living.” We can but ask, is it not the natural and plain sense of this language that the patriarchs had already arisen ? What is the pertinency of the reference to them in this connection, if they had not risen from the dead ?

Observe in general the phraseology of our Saviour and the inspired writers. They speak not of the resurrection of the body exclusively. It is worthy of notice that this phrase “resurrection of the body,” which is frequently repeated in discussions on this subject, does not occur in the scriptures. The scriptures speak of the resurrection of the dead, and, in many instances, at least, in such a manner and connection as to favor the idea that the entire person by the resurrection passes on and upward to a higher state of existence.

Not to cite other passages which may be regarded as consistent with the view expressed above, we are bound to consider another class of inspired statements, which have been thought to teach conclusively that the soul of the saint will not be clothed with its glorified body until after the lapse of an indefinite number of ages. Such are all those passages in which reference is made to the resurrection of all the dead at the end of the world, at the day of judgment. Prominent among these passages is John v. 28, 29: "Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation." It is maintained by some interpreters that this and similar texts teach decisively that the body at the resurrection comes up from the grave, the place where it is deposited at death. They insist upon a strictly literal interpretation. But if we are bound to interpret this language literally, why not also the twenty-fifth verse of this same chapter: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, the hour is coming and now is, when the dead [*οἱ νεκροί*, the term ordinarily used to designate those physically dead] shall hear the voice of the Son of God." Moreover, what becomes of the bodies of vast multitudes, of a great majority of the dead, that are never placed in graves, that, through the agency of fire or water or different solvents are soon after death reduced to their ultimate elements? As the spirit does not descend into the grave, we are forced to ask these literalists: Does the body literally hear the voice of the Son of God? Entirely irrelevant is it to adduce the re-appearance out of their tombs of our Saviour and Lazarus, the restoring to life of the daughter of Jairus, and the youth of Nain. For their earthly house had not been dissolved, decomposed. Resurrection in their case was the re-animation, the revivification of the earthly body before decomposition had taken place. Our Saviour after his resurrection ate and drank and declared himself to be composed of flesh and bones, and Lazarus lived many years after his resurrec-

tion. As flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, the bodies they received at their resurrection could not have been their spiritual bodies. Consequently these instances prove nothing in regard to the literal coming forth from the graves of the bodies of the dead at the day of judgment, although they do, indeed, evince a power adequate to replace the earthly, perishable body with a spiritual body. We cannot avoid the inquiry : What do the inspired writers mean by the word "grave," as they employ it in these passages? Before we declare dogmatically that "no doctrine of final resurrection will fit all the texts of scripture," we are bound to consider whether the inspired writers by this word mean the literal grave of the body. Is it not possible they employ the word in these passages as they do in some others, in the Hebraistic sense, giving to it a signification like that of the Hebrew *sheol*, denoting an invisible state, the place of the departed, as in contrast with this world? This is a point upon which we cannot enlarge without extending this Article unduly. Before, however, we admit the charge that the diversity and confusion of opinion in regard to the doctrine of the resurrection existing among Protestant sects are due at all to the conflict of views represented in the New Testament, we deem it incumbent on us to consider candidly and fully several points now necessarily omitted, more especially this question : May not the doctrine of final resurrection inculcated in the scriptures be, for substance, the assembling by Christ for judgment at the end of the world of all the dead? It is possible this doctrine may consist with the supposition that the soul, at the time of death, is invested with its spiritual body. Possibly the meaning of Christ in the passage we have quoted is : Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming in which all that have departed this life, all whose mortal bodies have found a resting-place on the land or in the sea, shall hear my voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good *εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς*, unto the resurrection of life or the rising up to life, they that have done evil *εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως*, unto the resurrection of condemnation,

or the rising up for condemnation. To say the least this is one mode in which a doctrine of the final resurrection may harmonize with Christ's words to the thief on the cross: "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise"; while at the same time the judgment-day is not robbed of its solemn significance. It remains an occasion on which Christ, in presence of the assembled universe, manifests the glory of his redemption, vindicates his honor, and with solemn pomp assigns to all men their eternal awards.

ARTICLE II.

THE NATURAL THEOLOGY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

BY REV. JOHN BASCOM, PROFESSOR IN WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

NO. VII.

MAN'S INTELLECTUAL CONSTITUTION, AND THE GROWTH OF SOCIETY.

LIBERTY is the central and peculiar power of man. By it he is cut off from all other things and forces, and put over against them. New and great powers are indeed necessary to give play and completion to this power; but it is liberty, a free will, which is the citadel of manhood, affording under the assaults of physical forces a sufficient retreat to a spiritual personality. The possession of this power divorces man from the rule of the material world. Whatever may be the current of events flowing on here, however far back they may have originated, or irresistible may be their sweep in the present, they flow not over him, save by submission and defeat. Liberty absolves man from the government of physical forces; it reserves him for a higher field, and therein gives promise of new relations, new dependencies. Though standing on the boundary of a nobler realm, it is easy for man, by the false and abortive exercise of his new faculties, to sink to the lower plane, and become practically a slave of

the physical conditions of life, though these, while affording a form of activity, limits, and bounds of liberty, have no necessary and indefeasible hold upon him.

A second power so closely united to freedom as to make this worthless without it, and the possibility of its very existence problematical, is conscience. Herein is given a new law to the new power removed from the reign of necessary forces. Those who accept the one faculty easily accept the other; as, on the one hand, the new power calls for its own its peculiar law, and this peculiar law, on the other hand, can find no opportunity of application without freedom. In the very constitution, then, of man, we have faculties which give promise of a new service, and fit him for a fresh set of relations. These relations, it is evident, must have a permanence and scope proportioned to the powers whose presence they recognize and whose development they promote. Direct, limited, and transient physical effects may be, as they are, simply and satisfactorily reached by physical forces and instinctive action; by the play of appetites and that appearance of reasoning arising by an act of memory in the association of ideas. If man were developed out of and into a material universe, he, like the lower forms of life, might easily and justly be woven into its strict government; he might by a few directly efficient or instinctively applied influences be wholly brought under its restricted and close-bound physical connections. For such ends and relations a moral nature would be a superfluity, an impertinence, and those who believe in this physical genesis and dependence of man usually and consistently omit in their philosophy his moral and free powers.

If these are to maintain the position which sound philosophy assigns them, we see that they make way for and claim the immediate and personal government of God. A moral nature can find no adequate, no exalting action, except in connection with a superior moral personality. By the very possession of conscience a moral government is established, above and beyond all merely physical liabilities, and is par-

tially administered in this world. The sense of guilt and of approval unmistakably present in the individual, echoed and enforced by kindred and often more declared praise and censure on the part of society, furnish the basis of a purely moral discipline, becoming more manifest and efficient with every step of progress. But this government, though actual, and in its lowest forms beyond the compass of simply physical and appetitive forces, is, nevertheless, merely incipient — the naked seed or spore of spiritual life. We have in it the clue and promise of the next stage of progress, the growth that lies beyond us. The possession of such powers in our intellectual furniture as conscience and free-will, sets us apart as subjects of a new, a spiritual kingdom; their present exercise discloses the commencement of another epoch of training, while their full, adequate development claims contact with the moral purity and personality of God, and a sufficient field for the unrestricted growth of forces so fresh and germinant. We are in the possession and use of that which is purely spiritual, which is in itself perfectly supersensual, grows by a supersensual law, and is trained by a spiritual government actually administered, though incipiently and obscurely in the world. A free-will, acting under the law of conscience, is strictly a supernatural phenomenon, which can in no wise be understood as a mere fragment of a system, but demands the whole sphere of the spiritual universe wherein to revolve, into which to be taken up and comprehended as the part of a fitting whole. These foundations of a spiritual kingdom in man's very constitution are the suggestion, the explanation, and the evidence of an invisible throne and authority. Man actually cuts into that superior circle; here lies a section, nay the centre, of his being, and he is compelled therefore to know it, to believe in it, and to feel its transcendent claims. The first and last effort of every false philosophy is to hide, modify, set aside these superior faculties, this present and visible seal and testimony of God's ownership in us and ours in him.

Not only do our intellectual faculties, but also the move-

ment of the mind in the growth of knowledge, indicate our relation to the spiritual world and its hold upon us. In all inquiries we of necessity start with faith; faith accompanies each step and closes the investigation. This is true even of the most physical, positive, and rationalistic forms of knowledge. Natural science can do nothing except through the testimony of faculties whose trustworthiness it has no method of verifying. All its conclusions are resolved into sensations and judgments, whose validity it must accept on their own simple testimony. So they affirm, more than this it knows not; deeper than this it cannot sink its shaft of exploration. The very existence of that physical world in which it is so busy, whose laws are to it so irrefragable, whose forces are so sweeping, it knows but by inference as the source and cause of its own impressions, its own sensations. Let faith in the correct, reliable action of the mind fall away, and the external world becomes a dream, distinguished from other dreams only by its greater persistency. Let faith fall below the normal mark set for it in our mental constitution by God, and the whole visible world disappears, the entire field of positive knowledge sinks beneath endless and shifting waves of unsubstantial phenomena; as to an observer on the summit of some mountain, the plain is lost beneath the driving clouds. Men may take what pleasure they choose in investigating these appearances, these beautiful yet perfectly unsubstantial, these apparently related but wholly independent, illusions, yet their own judgments concerning them will be but another mist-wreath, till they can establish their truth in faith; till by trust in the inevitable movement of mind they can bid these vapors to rise and disclose the substantial earth whence they spring, whose momentary veil they are.

And this faith, though it presents itself as faith in our own faculties, is virtually faith in God the maker of them. Here is an instrument furnished us; we may believe its images to be a concerted, consistent hallucination; or we may believe them to be counterparts of the facts, resting

like the surface of the ocean upon its depths; but it is a case in which proof assumes that form of belief termed faith in him who made the instrument, and gave it to us for purposes of knowledge, and not deception. Most manifestly we rest on the character of this instrument, the mind. We can only see through the eye, hear through the ear, understand by the judgment. Do we thus see, hear, and understand? The only affirmative answer that can be given is that of faith.

How inevitable and natural it is that a positive science that cannot verify one of its ultimate conclusions, that interests itself only in phenomena, that skilfully frames its definitions so as to make these to be all, and struggles to believe them to be all, has nothing to say of another, a future life; since it only knows this present life as a coming and going, a fleeting show in consciousness. What can we hope from an intellectual experience that, like a mirror, merely presents to the eye the accidental things that pass before it, and may be dashed down any instant, to the entire extinction of the space and the objects it seems, and only seems, to contain.

Nor can we have any belief in the permanence, the continuity of nature, any more than in its existence aside from faith. That things, forces, will remain as they are, implies that they are, and that they have in them abiding elements. That a series of appearances have followed each other in a given way can give no sufficient ground of belief that they will continue to follow each other in a similar way. The anticipation which it induces can only be an ungrounded habit of mind, a confirmed tendency, like that of a lunatic. If things are and indicate a plan, then we have reason to believe through our faith in the Author of all things, that this plan will be pursued, this line of action completed. We have no other reason to render for our belief in the permanency of nature, than the effect on the mind of its past continuity, unless by faith we ground that belief in the comprehensive and abiding will of God. Reject faith, and we are compelled to receive it again under the form in which the philosopher of unbelief, Herbert Spencer, actually takes

it back ; that what returns oftenest to the mind is thereby verified, becomes incontrovertible from the simple fact that that with which we would controvert it is weaker than itself. Thus faith, and with it belief, is resolved into an intellectual habit, the rutting into the mind of its ever-returning convictions, not good, or at least not known to be good, at the outset, but made so by repetition, as a road is defined by driving over it. Thus the trust at once due to our faculties is replaced by a pitiful repose in the pertinacity of a conclusion in itself unsatisfactory, sceptical philosophy is herein reduced, by its own confession, to the assertion that a lie persisted in is equivalent to the truth, and that it is impossible to tell whether so-called truth is anything more than this. Yet even in those conditions, faith is not escaped, it merely reposes on repetition, instead of on original trustworthiness. The true statement would seem to be, that the reiterated declaration of a faculty, in itself worthy of faith, makes us clear as to what its testimony is.

That in philosophy we start with faith as the indispensable condition of knowledge, is manifest. No philosophy can escape the fundamental condition of a concession of at least a portion of our faculties, since these furnish both the phenomena of the science of mind, and every step of the process by which they are constructed into a coherent system. Any philosophy, therefore, which refuses this faith is at once in air, and can neither construct its logical mechanism, or bring it to bear upon any point whatever. Those who have striven in this field to reduce faith to a minimum, have produced systems so slight, shadowy, remote, fantastic, that they have found no acceptance beyond the circle of a few adroit, professional metaphysicians, looking upon mental science as a field for skilful equilibration rather than useful knowledge—a cold, vague, airy, upper region, where adepts run on snowshoes without floundering.

The history of philosophy is a narrative of failures incident to too little faith, failures to grasp and accept simple facts in their simplest forms. Deny the notion of liberty, cease

to have faith in our first, our intuitive convictions, and proof becomes impossible. The mind, occupied with the necessary connections of the external world, approaching the problem of liberty through the false analogy of things bound in fixed dependencies, finds itself increasingly incapacitated to pass over the great gulf which divides the spiritual from the physical, and take position on those pure heights beyond. As the bird that never flies loses the power to fly, so the mind that works always and only through the links of causation is at length unable to find contentment and truth in any other form of explanation. It has narrowed its vision to that which it has exclusively contemplated. It mistakes the repose of habit, the conviction of familiarity, for the soundness of proof. Strangeness impresses it like error; an unusual like a false judgment.

Equally must the notion of right be accepted and obeyed in order that we may feel the full force of the argument which sustains it as a transcendental idea. He whose consciousness comes forward to testify to its immediate power, to its uncalculating and unselfish character, to the unmeasured stress with which it urges the mind, can find no grave difficulties in those proofs which establish its original and independent character. Proofs on such a theme as this must be felt through or by means of that clear, powerful, personal experience which capacitates us to discover them. It may be that we regard the right as the useful because we have made the obviously useful the right. We see moral questions in a moral atmosphere, and the atmosphere of the soul is dependent on its pervasive faith. The roseate hues of truth can only be caught by one whose sky is filled with morning light. A philosophical system is often as false a medium through which to view certain phenomena of the soul, as is a telescope an inadequate and perplexing instrument with which to watch the glories of a sunset. The mild light of heaven must be suffused through the soul that it may at once see and feel, and thus truly see the interior, luminous nature of spiritual affections. Indeed, emotions

are often to perception what papillae are to touch; and the want of them is the numbness of the receptive organ. Nothing transcendent can be reached without faith; for what are the intuitions of the soul but the starting-points and vouchers of knowledge? Reject these, refuse faith, and you will find the vacant shell of knowledge, eaten out of unbelief, passed back to you as the true kernel of wisdom.

Yet more is this genesis of reason from faith manifest in the theoretical and practical growth of religion. Start with absolute scepticism, and we can reach nothing either in science, philosophy, or religion. Grant the validity of the testimony of consciousness in our logical faculties, and we reach an idealistic philosophy, and not religion, since the attributes and existence of God depend for their proof on intuitive faculties. Grant the validity of the inference by which the mind refers its sensations to an outside world, and we have the material of science and valid knowing of real being. Now, though we have taken a long step toward a religious belief and life, we have not reached them, since God is no more the object of perceptive than of merely logical powers. Still further, faith, credence, acceptance of intellectual action must find admittance before we are prepared to interpret and understand the universe through an infinite Creator. The movement is identical in character with that by which we are led to believe in the external world, and thus lay the foundations of positive knowledge; it involves no new principles, only the more extended application of old ones, a wider acceptance of the ideas furnished by the mind itself for the explanation of the world around it. No philosophy whatever, not even the most naked idealism, can lay aside all faith in the faculties and processes of the mind, and the most complete, most spiritual philosophy, recognizing in their entire complement the physical and personal agencies of the universe, requires no more than uniform, consistent, and therein rational confidence in the implanted constitution and laws of intelligence. It is more philosophical to accept these in their entirety, than it is to

be forced reluctantly to admit a part while arbitrarily rejecting the remainder. It is not the climax of philosophy to stand on one leg because it is a possible feat, when the body provides two with equal claims of admission to service. Such an application of the law of parsimony is absurd. If we find ourselves compelled to admit the soundness of the logical processes, the presence and applicability of such notions as those of space and time, — and without these we must fall flat, and cannot get upon our feet either in philosophy or science — there is no reason, to be drawn from above or below, from without or from within the mind, why this normal movement of faith should not be allowed to complete itself in the cheerful acceptance of our entire, mental furniture, of every mental solvent, of every explanatory idea, wrought with the same firmness into our intellectual constitution. Religion does not differ from science in resting on faith, but in resting at the centre on the entire circle of legitimate supports, instead of poising itself uncertainly, now on one, now on another. It may be worthy of German ingenuity to see what is the least possible surface, the minutest postulate, which will give one a footing in the quagmire of speculation, lifting the body above the slough, and to try by what rapid and dexterous movements here and yonder it can be traversed in diverse directions; but it is the part of earnest, working, practical sense to occupy and build on all the solid ground given in the mental world, knowing that one square foot must rest at length on the same rock as another, that of faith.

Nor is it any more a reproach of a believing than of a sceptical philosophy, that its convictions owe much of their depth and sense of certainty to the long familiarity of the mind with them, to the fact that it has been accustomed to rest upon them. The law of habit is as subtle, as powerful in its action on unbelief as on belief, and the philosophy of scepticism may deny the grounds of faith with increasing conviction and confidence, for no better reason than that the mind, from the long contemplation of one class of proofs and

distrust of another, has attached firm belief to the former and settled unbelief to the latter. It is plain, moreover, that a large and most essential class of religious proofs cannot but be wanting to a mind without the faith necessary to their reception. It is hardly possible for one to come to a full knowledge of the integrity, the high moral endowments, of a person from whom he has been alienated, of whom he has conceived a settled distrust. Such an one is necessarily cut off from the most convincing and immediate manifestations of a sound sympathetic life. Thus the scope and reach of religious truth, what it is in itself, in its ministration to the mental and spiritual activities, are of necessity hidden from one who will not receive it, who views it remotely, distrustfully. The phenomena of physical life, of sensation, sight, hearing, are explained from within on their own plane of actual experience ; and not the less are those of spiritual life. The most satisfactory, rational, unanswerable, of all proofs, is that which springs from a rightly analysed experience. Men may reason as they will concerning a given remedy, they may come to the most positive conclusions that this or that effect cannot follow from it, yet a personal, carefully scrutinized, oft-repeated experience will overpower all antecedent reasonings. The highest religious truth, the purest traits of character, the most perfect repose of the affections, are in the judgments they call for like the finest works of art ; perception and feeling are so interlaced in the right conclusion that one cannot dissolve away the tissue of emotion and leave the colorless skeleton of thought. To feel in each case is to perceive, and to perceive is to feel. The intrinsic power and glory of religious truth, its ability to do what it claims to do, can only be completely recognized by an actual inhalation of this breath of spiritual life that God breathes into his own. There is nothing new or strange in this. From the intoxication of a feast to that of an anthem, feeling must lend itself to perception, or there will only be the semblance of knowledge. Not to feel religious truth is to have the more mechanical conditions of sight, but

not the *sénorium* whereon to lodge the image. Derision, directed toward the higher truths of religion, like ridicule of superlative art, only betrays the poverty of the soul.

That all knowledge commences in faith is obvious from another point of view. What shall the links of reasoning lock into if not into the first staple-truths that God gives us? What shall we see except that which is ultimate, since we have no further organ wherewith to interpret sight? If the eye could start without its own conditions, could scrutinize itself, we should really need no eye, no conditioned and restricted sense. Knowledge is like an organic product. We must start with protoplasm, with an inscrutable cell. This granted it may feed on inorganic material, multiply cells, and throw them in complex living relations. We may delight ourselves with this order, but the unexplained postulate, life, remains everywhere with us. We secure the seen by allowing it to rest back on the unseen below it. Insist on positive knowledge, and your knowing becomes the most superficial possible. We may study the reflection from the surface of a stream, and overlook the stream itself, its depths, sources, issues, yet this mere film of truth reposes on that continuous flood. Little indeed shall we know if we only regard that knowledge which we perfectly know. The philosopher must mount on to the shoulders of faith, consciously or unconsciously, or the waters prove too deep for him, and he perishes in helpless imbecility. By leaving something behind us as unknown, we gain the opportunity of going forward, and finding at least a known sequence. On this in itself easy condition of faith do we gain the privilege of knowing anything. So far as we can search the knowing faculties at all, we do it later by a light which they themselves have given us.

Not only do our intellectual faculties in their very nature, in the faith their use involves, indicate a moral government — since there is no faith without a moral basis on which it may repose, — but also the order in which truth is unfolded in the progress of man looks to the same supremacy of re-

ligious forces. Man at first makes his own the type of all action. The free, personal, wayward element of liberty is that with which he is most familiar, and is brought, therefore, to the constant explanation of the real or imaginary facts about him. As a result of this pre-eminent sense of personal power, of spontaneous and reckless action, there will naturally arise many blighting superstitions, a belief in charms, magic, sorcery, and a readiness to accept on every occasion a supernatural source for any event in the least beyond the ordinary effects of known natural causes. The personal element first asserts itself, and while resulting in the credulities, the tyrannies of intolerant superstitions, it is nevertheless that which is first, most essential, most native to man. We may be ashamed of its follies, regret its usurpations, reprobate its cruelties, but we cannot, without ourselves doing far worse, without still more benumbing and wasting the spiritual powers, cancel this sense of freedom, and withdraw the light it brings to the universe. The most stupid excesses of the supernatural element, the veriest fetishism, or the malignant pursuit of witches, are no sufficient offset to its value. Better these than that man should succumb to nature, should know only the torment of hunger and raven like a beast. If the sense of personal responsibility and independent power could not be otherwise maintained, otherwise developed, then let us not regret these extravagances, this path so darkened by the night of superstition, so haunted by demons as to seem veritably and historically to lie through the valley of the shadow of death. Nor is it so certain that those intractable, barbarous ages did not herein find the only adequate agencies of restraint and discipline. Savage instincts are not to be bound and handled with the silken cords and cobweb fibres of humanitarian systems. It is not safe to be too sympathetic over the bloody bit that curbs the mouth of the restive brute. Crudity and cruelty are inseparable. More life and joy must follow more light and love, and, groping in the darkness, we must accept the painful instruction of hard blows and sharp points. It

is time for us to mistrust whether there is any bright and cheerful path for a race out of darkness and sin; whether the imagination of man evokes any more cruel deities than their passions require for their restraint; whether a less bitter evil would prove as rapidly its own cure. This sweeping by naturalists of all the faiths of the past into one refuse-heap of superstitions, of things useless and forsaken, is as unphilosophical as it is irreligious. These were real forces, having most potent and beneficial sway.

In the progress of knowledge a second element has been brought forward. We have traversed one hemisphere and reached another. The necessity and uniformity of natural law have become the controlling idea. This notion arrogates to itself the name of science, and laughs a contemptuous, incredulous laugh at magic and miracles, at all that rises, or strives to rise, above the plane of the natural into the supernatural. One inclusive, *a priori* judgment sweeps into limbo all as equally illusory, that hints at anything more than a strictly physical origin, from the tricks of a juggler to the works of Christ. Now I may not call this attitude which science is assuming with daily increasing clearness, between which and the old view, philosophers and theologians stand in all stages of transition, a superstition; yet it is as ill-founded, one-sided, and disastrous, as much to be deprecated in some of its features, as the worst credulity of them all. If either is to triumph over the other in the interpretation of the universe, let mind lord it over matter, not matter over mind. Let us have the downright atrocity of burning witches rather than the impossibility of sin, a theoretical impossibility, sure to end in a most incurable, irredeemable fact of sin. Liberty essentially a supernatural power, a personal Deity, an immediate providence, a divine revelation, are all submerged, lost forever in this cold stream of dead, irrational forces, sweeping down from the dreary depths of eternity, spreading on either side farther than the thought can reach, and ready to stretch with its sullen, heedless waves through all the future, through universal nature now

immortal; ready to drink up momentarily the snow-flake lives of men now hopeless of immortality. There can be no half-way work if this notion of physical forces is to have the entire field. Causes, mere causes, know nothing, and can tell nothing of God, of liberty, of a future life. We may float while we have life, on this boundless ocean of forces, but we ourselves are no more than the last bubble the waves have dashed into being, and will quickly dash out again — a thin film that holds air, reflects an image, and gives a pleasing play of colors, but hardly makes a drop in the eternity of waters.

If this is what is set over against superstition — and when materialistic scepticism shall find its logical completion, nothing more can remain — then let us be superstitious, frightened by magic, and pinched by sorcery, only so be that we may believe in ourselves, in liberty, in immortality, in our spiritual powers. This belief in nature is but one half the globe of thought, the further half, the half that gleams and is frozen in cold starlight, while the other, the nearer, the spiritual hemisphere basks in heat and is bathed in sunlight. Philosophy, justly so-called, comes forward to complete the growth of knowledge, not to divorce the present from the past, not to cut the roots which have grown in darkness, spare, attenuated in hard-pan, bent, flattened between rocks, but to draw forth, to draw upward into trunk and branches the essential, life-giving principle contained in them; to confront nature with man and man with nature, liberty with necessity and necessity with liberty; to complement the uniformity of natural with the versatility of a personal power, and to found a watchful providence on the grander, broader, more abiding provisions of physical law. How could this great work be accomplished, how could philosophy struggling for a foothold resist this current of unbelief, but for those firm foundations of faith, that inevitable reversion of man to himself, to his own conscious liberty, which, in previous centuries, have issued in so many and so gross superstitions? Here is not ground more for scepticism than for

belief, not more for denial than for affirmation. Commence your science by wiping the slate clean, by the obliteration of man's nature and history, and you have lost half the phenomena, half the conditions of the problem, and may cipher as you will, theorize as you will, you cannot restore yourself to wholeness, to soundness, in the result. In place, then, of that derisive order which, assigning the first stage of development to theology and the second to metaphysics, closes with positive knowledge, we would substitute, first, the unfolding of the personal element, second, of the impersonal element, and third, the balanced adjustment of the two, faith, science, and philosophy, the secure foundation of theology. Theology thus roots itself deeply in the past, yet is found in the last stages of growth the terminal bud.

As the scriptures become associated with opinions, and seem to imply them on various subjects in nature, the progress of science has, in more than one instance, necessitated the entire abandonment or marked modification of the views incidentally derived from revelation, or thought to be supported by it. Now no portion of belief that has once become connected with what the mind regards as infallible religious truths can be removed, can give way, without, for the time being, seriously affecting its faith. Belief is to such an one, in all its parts, a single structure, possessed throughout of equal strength. To discover, therefore, that one portion is beginning to fail before the assaults of science, is a serious shock to belief. The only alternative which weaker, more timid minds can find to absolute acceptance is absolute rejection. They are tempted to a blind defense of that which is indefensible, or to a precipitate and needless abandonment of the entire works as untenable. Revelation is thus involved, with a few, in the fate of every cobweb of opinion which has been spun about it or has become attached to it. If the world was not formed, as they supposed, in six days, then the wall is breached, and the citadel of faith will fall at the next assault.

Here we touch an intrinsic difficulty, not so much in

revelation as in the human mind. No scriptures can tell all things. Wherever the limit is set, there will occasion be given for false implications. Inferences will certainly arise, and will in men's minds have the same authority as the things directly taught—indeed, will cease to be distinguished from them. The form of truth must remain incomplete, partial; the substance, the kernel, is alone valid, vital. But the appropriate discrimination between the two, men will not make, cannot at once learn to make. When, therefore, an abandonment of a previous form of belief becomes necessary, they are disturbed and cut from their moorings; are set adrift on the stream of doubt. The difficulty is, they have made no provision for growth. They have reduced religious truth to a rote-rule of life, and wish to hold and use it in this form. They expect the seed to remain to-morrow exactly what it is to-day. They wish to garner it, not to plant it. When, then, the cuticle bursts, and a germinant point is obtruded, the process is looked on as one of disturbance, loss, and overthrow, not of accumulation and life. There is no growth without a change of form, without some decay; and these have not been contemplated as incident to religious truth. Dogmas that have been regarded as ultimate cannot show themselves mere data, premises for a broader, higher conclusion, germs struggling with a force too great for them, without creating something of the same confusion and consternation with which we should behold a mummy turning and tugging in its ceremonies. When we close discussion, and fix doctrines to a letter for all eternity, when we roll the stone to the mouth of the sepulchre, and seal it, a strange dismay overtakes us to find them stirring and instinct with life again.

Now growth, spiritual growth, growth of religious truth, is the most absolute claim of all, and, in the development of knowledge, the same forces of thought, the same reflective movements which awaken and disturb the mind are present to calm and reassure it. The power to present the difficulties implies somewhere, and calls forth somewhere, the

power to remove them. The inflexible notion of inspiration which under the appearance of protecting the truth is in fact strangling it, gives way; and we shortly find that we are all the better off without it—that a free, responsible play of thought, of interpretation, is more conducive to spiritual life and manhood than a stubborn effort to extinguish mental light under the darkness of the letter. We discover that spiritual liberty is better, safer, more wholesome than spiritual servitude.

Thus scientific cavilling and historic criticism give the believer a better grasp of the truth, a more profound penetration into its nature and office, and open for him the path into the noblest form of freedom. Babies may still be fed on the milk of precise dogma, may have their food measured out to them, lest they misfeed or overfeed; but manly strength claims, and can safely be allowed, a wider range, and, in the very necessity of self-selection and self-restraint, finds the true field of its faculties. Thus with speculative liberty comes the power to use it; and that action which seemed in the outset destructive shows itself constructive, developing a product containing all the life of the past, with a form and adaptations those of the time which has brought it forth. It is this very power to renew itself, to abandon the old, to slough off dead material, that saves revelation from actual overthrow, and makes it what it is—the Word of God, with the breath of his inspiration in it. Were it firm and inflexible under the attacks of unbelief, it would certainly in the end crumble under repeated blows into dust.

As it is, the world has not seen the time, in spite of all scientific, historic, and philosophic criticism, in which the real magnitude of the truths of the New Testament, their self-evidencing power, the divine proportions of its chief figure, have been so distinctly beheld, and so profoundly felt. The Spirit is giving life. The unessential incidents being stripped away, or put in their true relations, the eyes of all are directed to the essential, eternal, undeniable excellence of a Divine Personage and mission in the earth.

So also truths more interior to the revelation itself have had an order of development which reveals the divine government as woven logically, concurrently, into the very growth of the mind. The sense of justice must always precede that of grace, as much in the progress of the individual and of society as in revelation. The exuberance of youth, wayward appetites and desires, institute at once the demand for law. Not till self-government has laid down and established the great outlines of order is any concession of grace fitting, or, indeed, possible. Where there is no law, there is no forgiveness. It is the strength, the firmness, of the forces that have established and are maintaining order that render grace admissible, safe, desirable. So long as society is exposed to hourly violence, so long as general security has no guarantee, little can be said or thought of grace. Justice, law, are the ideas towards whose enforcement every effort must be directed. When the barriers of crime have come to be of granite, when they are deeply settled in the public mind, in civil and social institutions, then there spring up an opportunity and a desire for generous, gracious administration. Grace cannot even have the lustre of grace till it finds relief and outline on the dark back-ground of wrath, of divinely appointed justice eternally upheld in its claims. Sinai stands long before Calvary, in human history as in divine revelation.

The idea, also, of the fatherhood of God, of which modern thought boasts itself, and is sometimes almost willing to cast into the teeth of revelation as alien to it, is logically and safely reached in the development of human thought, only when his integrity, and the sternness and strength consequent thereon, have been previously learned. The child's first experience of the father, or rather the one which is to him the earliest, most stubborn, and noticeable fact, pertains to his authority. Kindness without this is as much a thing of course, and as little thought of, as sunshine. When firm government has been long felt, when its guidance and its restraint begin to find appreciation, then is the heart ready

to be deeply touched by the love and patience of this protracted oversight, ready to recognize and feel the warmth of paternal love. Kindness no longer seems a form of indolence, love a constitutional instinct, or indulgence parental weakness. Character finds, like the mountain, its rock-base, and we feel but the more keenly its gentle moods and the security of the calm retreat it offers. Thus, in the experience of the child, we have a fatherhood which is first manhood, a mountain whose sunny slopes are all backed and held heavenward by the sheer precipices and rugged sides bracing from the north. The love of God is the light and warmth of his integrity, his fatherhood the stretch of his authority and the steadiness of his control. Not till we have tested and struggled, as it were, with the moral strength of God, can we at all understand his parental affection.

A minor coincidence of development we mark in this connection, that, as fast as the telescope has enlarged to our eyes the universe, and rendered our earth, ourselves, our history, of proportionately little consequence, has the microscope, its almost necessary accompaniment, opened up beneath us the marvellous extent of God's providence, the surprising completeness of his care. If we are depressed by the one revelation, we find exaltation in the other. If the hand of God seems to overarch us afar off, we may yet see that it stretches tenderly beneath us, and that the declaration of the scriptures: "The very hairs of your head are all numbered," is not more explicit and cheering than the minute workmanship of the world.

Thus every movement of thought that seems adverse to faith brings with it its compensations, and leaves the truths of religion more glorious, more impregnable than ever. It is not that their old strength is left them, but that a new light is shed upon them and shines through them. The foundations are uncovered, and the constitution of nature and of man are found to be corner-stones of this spiritual structure; their otherwise opaque mass made translucent and glorious with the light that penetrates them from above,

and unites them to this one temple, this one cosmos of beauty and strength. An intellectual constitution thus reposing on faith, involving it as the foundation of science and philosophy, prospering inquiry in proportion as this its condition is freely recognized, bringing retribution to unbelief, and evolving anew the grounds of credence when these have been momentarily disturbed, reveals the stubborn, inborn strength of the religious element.

That society is under the government of moral forces, that throughout it furnishes a discipline to the moral nature, rewarding progress with new and easier conditions of life, and checking retreat at each successive point with a sterner and harsher regimen, are facts so obvious as thereby to lose much of their effect on the mind. It is one of those cases in which the law is so incorporated into nature, or, as we express it, so springs from the nature of the case, as to weaken or remove our sense of design. Society is the natural element of man, as the air is that of the bird, or water that of the fish. Here his nature finds play, and thence spring the influences which civilize and exalt him. Indeed, the supernatural element takes chiefly this natural form; and prophet, apostle, Saviour are the divine inspiration, the divine Word becoming flesh and dwelling with us.

Society cannot exist without law, government; and that government must be raised to the surface, must be conspicuous and tangible among men, little disposed to respect the rights of others. Tyranny — that is, the tyrannical tendency — is a multiplication of the interferences, an increase of the severity, of law, making it less dependent on the choice of those subject to it. Liberty is the reduction of these restraints, rendering them more and more submissive to the wishes of the majority of those whom they affect. The worst tyranny is better than anarchy, since it sets some limits to violence, while anarchy gives none. Anarchy, moreover,

tends to tyranny, gives opportunity for it, and a sense of advantage in it. In a period of violence, the strongest soon shows himself, and a preponderance of power is secured, enlarged, established. The principles and modes of action which belong to a lawless period are favorable to absolute authority, easily chime in with it, and do not suffer ~~that~~ growing, organized opposition which belongs to more reflective periods. The condition of society also prompts it to seek shelter in the speedy, irresponsible action of one man. When robbery and violence are imminent, when a state of war is a state of nature, the order and safety which are most adequate and easily maintained are those which rest in a single will, backed by immediate power.

As, however, the commercial and social aims and labors of men expand; as they come to cherish more and more complex plans; as the sense of ownership, of individuality, and of rights increases, the extent, severity, and irresponsibility of law and the lawgiving authority become more vexatious. The opportunity to choose ends and means, and the liberty to do all that one chooses, become highly prized. General security, moreover, becomes so well-established, so much a matter of course; the barriers of society are so well known and so strong, that the sense of danger hardly exists, and the restrictions and vexations of authority no longer present themselves as the price of safety. In this enlarged life of the individual come at once the occasion, demand, and possibility of liberty. The desire for free institutions, in that strength which makes it a formidable social force, will not be developed much in advance of those conditions of enterprise and self-control which render freedom feasible, desirable. The restless passions of men may occasionally precipitate progress, and bring forth an era of lawlessness in the name of liberty; yet even then, while a portion of the coveted end may be missed, there will be gains which shall go far to compensate the momentary losses of convulsion. Political institutions shape themselves in the main to the character of the social forces at work, and grow out of the

conditions over which they preside. Irresponsible punishment accompanies outrageous crime, susceptible of no other restraint than that of fear; severe law hems in blind and stubborn passion; and liberty is the pliancy of law to private enterprise, its concession to general integrity and safe-conduct. The liberality of law is the demand and the reward of social and moral development, and leaves men more open to that higher, more immediate government that God exercises over them. Freedom would not be useful before it comes. It comes when it is useful—when the internal life can, with some pressure and power, claim it, and thus show its ability to use it.

Another allied development, revealing the discipline of man's moral nature incident to the growth of society, is civil and criminal law. There are here four points of interest—the difference at different periods in the crimes recognized and punished, the change in the character of penalties, in the spirit with which punishment is inflicted, and the manner in which this growth has been achieved. The modern codes include a large variety of cases, especially those of a social and commercial character, which either had no existence in an earlier, ruder state of society, or found no recognition in the administration of justice. The protection thrown about contracts, conveyances, mercantile paper; around education, character, and reputation; the safety afforded not merely to person and property, but to the full enjoyment of pure air, free light, unobstructed ways, safe and seemly surroundings; the vested rights of imbeciles, minors, and widows; the perpetuity of cleemosynary gifts; the laws of inheritance, and international law, serve, with innumerable other examples, to indicate the great growth of civil and criminal law, the interlocking of the two, and the manifold directions in which the moral sense has been quickened, and society has accepted new duties.

The change in the character of the penalties inflicted is almost equally striking. The chief crime known to society, that of murder, among the German tribes, and very gen-

erally among other nations, was punished with a fine, as if the claim instituted was not so much that of society against the murderer for its own protection, as that of the father, the family, the friends, for the weakness and loss occasioned by the removal of one of their number. The feelings of the parties aggrieved, rather than the public weal, called forth justice. In exactly this spirit the master has always claimed a compensation for the slave killed, while the real crime, that of murder, has been overlooked. The sense, then, of criminality at this point has deepened, the punishment inflicted has become more proportionate and fitting, and been rendered in the name and in behalf of society. If we add to this such facts as the more severe and general penalties inflicted on offences against chastity, and the softening down of the penalties for trespasses against property, as theft and indebtedness, we see that the notion of guilt has undergone entire revision, and been brought to a much higher standard. The moral element predominates, and the vindictive, retaliatory spirit of law is subdued.

The third point referred to is the change of feeling with which punishment is inflicted. The savageness, remorselessness, and brutality of earlier times are either wholly removed or greatly mitigated. It is astonishing to us, with our present sense of justice, that the criminal, especially when the offence was but slight, should have become at once an outcast, without sympathy or protection; that the accused party should have been liable to torture; that the whole administration of law should have been marked by the most lawless cruelty, giving to the bailiff, jailor, and executioner a character and office most brutal and repulsive. The growth of humanity in this department, the displacement of the blindness and insensibility of the past with intelligent, firm, impartial, yet kind and considerate justice are obvious and undeniable victories of the moral sentiments. Wholesome food, healthy employment, adequate protection, and more or less of instruction have taken the place of scanty and offensive food, indolence, crowded and filthy apartments,

severe exposure, and entire inattention to intellectual and spiritual wants. In connection with this change of temper, the stocks, whippings, mutilations, and the various forms of torture have disappeared; fine and imprisonment have become the almost exclusive forms of punishment; and the death-penalty, in those few cases in which it is reserved, is inflicted in private. Punishment is no longer made a spectacle, nor does it often assume such a form as necessarily either to brutalize those who inflict it or those who suffer it. Criminal procedure contemplates the interests of the criminal as well as those of the community, and is especially gentle, even parental, toward the young, in whom are still germs of hope. The growth of a motherly instinct in society towards its offspring, displacing the hasty, hard chastisement, the indolent, revengeful ways of an overseer, with tenderness and consideration, is now indicative of a true social and moral life.

The last point to be noticed in this change is the method in which it has taken place. It has been the result of a slow and steady growth of the moral sentiments called forth in connection with the administration of justice and the pursuit of the common weal. While Christianity has come in to accelerate and sustain the movement, it has been grounded all along in the conscience, has taken its origin back of any form of religious faith, and has felt indirectly the higher motive working its way down through the moral nature. The exigencies of life have drawn forth legislative act and judicial decision, and thus developed voluminous law, permeated everywhere with moral principle, and giving an increasingly just system of ethical precepts. A continuous development, like that of Roman law, rooted in the remote past — unfolding by its own vigor and interior life a wonderfully varied, just, and complete code, extending this by its own applicability and excellence over those Western anarchical tribes whose violence had been the overthrow of the empire, and giving to modern Europe the germs of still further and fuller systems — affords a most marked illustra-

tion of the moral discipline at work among men. The way in which the successive systems of civil, canon, and common law have affected one the other—the older causing its influence to descend upon, or pass over into, the younger by virtue of superior excellence; the manner in which a freer form of practice, as that of equity, has been made to soften and complement ordinary procedure; the introduction of legal fictions, by means of which, without the modification of existing law, more complete justice has been reached; and, in the growth of common law, the silent arrest of unsound or unjust precedents by a new decision, furnish remarkable instances of the steady unfolding and growing precision of the moral judgments of men.

Another direction in which the moral growth of society is indicated is its increased coalescence, the interest it collectively feels in the masses, and the greater responsibility which it accepts in connection with them. Men have discovered that one class cannot be neglected save at the expense of every other. The squalor and filth of a caravan of devotees making their pilgrimage to Mecca become, through the cholera, a matter of universal concernment. The crowded, unclean tenements of a large city are, for a like reason, objects of general attention. The mechanic presses the inquiry why he cannot obtain a better compensation for his services, and finds an answer in the numbers and low condition of those who compete with him for employment. Without lifting the lowest, those next above them cannot be much elevated in social well-being; and thus on to the highest rank. Men are interlocked, as the links of a chain, and rise and fall together. The middle and upper classes also find that they must either suffer under the severe, absolute rule of a few; or, dividing government among themselves, be exposed to the restlessness and revolt of the many; or, extending suffrage to these, so educate them, so open to them laudable ambitions, as that the public interest may be, and may be seen to be, the common interest. The republican government of a corrupt

city quickly convinces every citizen that his property, his comfort, even his life depend largely on the well-being of the many.

The periods in which individuals so loom up above the masses as to concentrate all eyes, and contain in themselves the fortunes of a nation, are rapidly passing. The good conduct of the tradesman we patronize, of the mechanic we employ, the servant we hire, is often a matter of as much private and immediate interest to us as the trustworthiness of rulers, hemmed in, as they are, and held to duty by constitutions and conditions more powerful than any one man or clique. As much as the great have been reduced in influence, so much have the weak been lifted up; and while, as against the many, no one is strong, through and by means of the many there remains the opportunity of the highest strength. Persuasion, influence, which develop the individuality of all, take the place of force, which swallows up the many in one. Society is now the seat of thought, of power; and in it the greatest and the least are at work. To those who love the towering, often the desolate, peaks shot up of old in single lives by the volcanic, blind eruption of tribes and nations under one impulse, there may seem to be loss in this; but to those who rejoice in the diffusion of heat, light, life, the fruitfulness of the broad campaign, there will be seen in it great gain.

This growing unity in society reveals itself even in the follies of men; and fashion — a tidal wave of social mimicry, a fellowship of frivolous impulses — sweeps steadily through a large share of the civilized world. In a more significant way dramatic, fictitious, and oratorical literature evince the increasing sense everywhere of the retributive and far-reaching character of social law. The Nemesis of remote, obscure crime, of inherent perversity, or of fitful impulse is habitually represented as pursuing the individual, in a consequential, inevitable way shaping after events; or, if for a time lost sight of, suddenly reappearing in ripe retribution. The novelist gratifies the critical moral sense of men by the

subtlety with which he traces the threads of spiritual influence woven centrally into the fabric of life, and reveals them suddenly returning to the surface, giving it its pattern and figure. The poet delights us as he gives expression to a passionate sense of high endeavor, of reward, of retribution; while the orator holds us back by threatened justice, or urges us on by the assurance that the invincible forces of truth are with us. Thus is society more and more knit together by a clear recognition of the forces, the living forces, at work everywhere in it.

The moral nature thus called out in all states and actions of men should show, and does show, growth—that its law is felt more profoundly, felt in new and higher forms of life. Personal ambition, pride of family, pride of rank have been the motives which have impelled improvement and held the race fast in the gains it has made. The arrogant individual, the aristocratic class, the hated caste, have presented powerful obstacles to retrogression, and furnished the few the strongest of selfish impulses. In place of these, there are now substituted more and more, in the growth of democratic society, the love of knowledge, the love of personal excellence, public spirit, and benevolence.

The higher development of the moral impulse is also shown in a much more careful, unwavering, and honest pursuit of truth than ever before. Blind acceptance, fanatical advocacy, bigoted adhesion, dead, formulated dogma even defying the moral sentiments, are less prevalent than ever before. More minds desire to know truth, and earnestly and patiently bring their intellectual powers to its discovery. The love of truth in earlier centuries frequently expressed itself in the unreasoning, obstinate way in which alleged principles were held; in the cold, sceptical, destructive way in which they were attacked. Though something of both of these phases of action still remains, there has been a most manifest growth in a simple desire for truth, in a candid purpose to inquire into the grounds of belief, and find in them a personal basis for rational faith.

This sincerity and activity and fairness of research are a high development of the moral nature, and tend to emancipate it alike from overbearing dogma and dishonest scepticism. They are, in fact, the assertion of the right of conscience to use the intellectual appliances at its disposal, and to unfold its own life according to its own law; the assertion of the veracity and trustworthiness and immeasurable value of its own action in the face alike of doubt and dogmatism.

The same progress is also evinced in the increasing weight of a higher class of motives. The direct feeling peculiar to conscience, and by which it enforces its commands, is an inseparable sense of obligation. This power may be strengthened from below by a fear of the consequences of disobedience, or aided from above by a desire for moral perfection, the fruit of obedience. Giving way to the one class of motives, the moral imperative runs parallel with the dictates of self-love, and leaves the heart chiefly under its influence; uniting itself to the other, it gives the soul the freedom of a religious impulse, lifting it into a holy and spontaneous life. None can doubt that the latter tendency is gaining ground on the former, that persuasion is displacing coercion, that love is outstripping fear in the race of motives, and that excellence is oftener urged than interest. When the one form of motive is felt, it is hidden; while the other is constantly invoked, and made the ostensible ground of all our best actions. The persecutions and intolerance, the prominence given to present and future punishments, stand in obvious contrast with the broader charity now prevailing, with the bold relief given to the grace of Christ and the parental love of God. Herein lies a moral as much as a religious change. It is the sense of holiness, of virtue, which elicits love, and gives to pure character its hold on the affections. When the moral impulses push upward into the liberty of love, it is as unmistakable an indication of their health and strength as it is of their weakness when they sink into the paralysis of fear.

This growth of the race is denied by few; though there

remains much diversity of sentiment as to that in which it chiefly consists, and as to the causes which have produced it. Buckle attributes it exclusively, in its subjective element, to our intellectual nature, and gives little or no weight to the moral forces. Others seem to think that religious belief and the moral movements consequent thereon have greatly retarded progress, and that the rationalistic element has forced a development in spite of those religious impulses whose foundations are in the conscience. It is impossible so to separate moral from mental forces as to put the two in contrast, much more in antagonism. The moral sense is dependent on thorough thought, on just and complete reasoning, for its development. It does not assign adequately and finally a line of action by its own direct insight. It calls the mind to the task of tracing the consequences of conduct, of carefully investigating, of completely unfolding the relations of actions, its motives, its near and remote, its direct and indirect results. From this wide survey of the lines of influence it pronounces safe judgments. All the negligence, haste, partiality, and short-sightedness of our intellectual processes reappear in the verdict of conscience; since this faculty does not penetrate and expound actions with superhuman insight, but judges them as presented to it by the mind. It is not mere action, but action in its antecedents, consequents, concomitants, that conscience declares to be right or wrong; and for a knowledge of those conditions which make it to be what it is conscience relies on the judgment. Hence it is impossible to separate moral from intellectual growth, for the same reason that it is impossible to secure increasing clearness and justness in judicial decisions without progress in handling testimony, in legal facilities, acumen, and logic. The better exposition goes before the better verdict. That the discoveries of science and the growth of philosophy should accompany any great quickening of the moral nature is, if not inevitable, natural; since they furnish the conditions of broader, deeper, safer moral principles and precepts.

It is not in intellectual points, so far as these stand separate from the moral nature of man, that modern pre-eminence is seen ; but in those features of society which especially reveal the moral temper. A broader, more general conscientiousness is a leading feature of modern, as opposed to earlier, times. Contrast the law of nations with the utter irresponsibility of former periods, the stronger amenable to no public sentiment in their handling of the weak. Accomplished Athens could, without compunction, slaughter and sell into slavery the entire population of a captured city ; while Rome showed clemency or rigor, as suited her purposes. The general existence and great severity of slavery, without even the disguise of a prejudice of race or color, evinces a social sentiment totally distinct from that of modern Europe. The Lacedaemonians could adopt as a policy the assassination of Helots whenever they showed more character or bravery, or patriotism even, than was thought consonant with their position or the safety of the ruling class. Thus thousands who had made themselves conspicuous against a common enemy found their reward in the secret blow of the dagger. Think of a modern society resting on such a basis as this.

Or compare the pollution and sodomy of ancient Greece with the relative purity of most modern nations ; the heartless punishments and the disregard of the weak which belonged to the Middle Ages, with the philanthropy of the present, cherished by multiplied and carefully collected facts, by the dry details of statistics, and the softening, sympathetic appeals of fiction. Every branch of literature bows to this labor of love — philosophy and song, the essay, the play, and the novel. Compare modern England with England of feudal times ; and, though we see the extremes of society still far apart, they are comparatively fused together by the large, prevalent, absorbing middle class. There is a philanthropy and providence which reach to the bottom ; the ferocity and arrogance of the higher, and the servility of the lower, classes are gone ; and the mass of well-to-do citizens,

united by mutual respect and sympathy, form the strength of the nation. If we were to separate the more strictly intellectual results of action, as discoveries and inventions, from the moral spirit from which in many instances they have sprung, and the moral fruits they have yet oftener borne, we should have the merest husk and shell of modern life, not those features of pre-eminence which give promise of yet further progress in light, liberty, Christian love. Man's moral judgments have been corrected, and his moral sentiments deepened, by all this boasted growth; and this fact it is which makes it a ground of congratulation and hope. Whatever have been the causes of progress at work, they have all at length yielded the same fruit — an increase of personal rights, of humane sentiments, and of the sense of obligation to one's self, to the family, and to the community. These results show the forces to have been, under all their forms, profoundly moral. To break the bonds of superstition and dogma, to multiply physical comforts, and to give leisure, serve only to throw each individual the more strongly back on his own moral sense, to evoke from within the guidance that has been lost from without, and to turn a mere struggle for existence into one for position and character. All this is the resurrection of the moral life.

Another theory, finding most complete expression in the works of Herbert Spenser, accepts the fact of progress, and explains it as the necessary result of the organic forces at work. The moral universe unfolds itself as certainly and inevitably as, on the nebulous hypothesis, diffused gaseous matter is consolidated into a solar system. The simple necessarily becomes the complex. Idea after idea, class after class, institution after institution, find occasion for existence in the increasing heterogeneity of condition, and separate themselves in the interacting, ripening elements of the intellectual world. Fetichism must come; but it also must give way to more adequate ideas. Barbarism lies in the line of growth, and, by the exigencies of the very forces in it, takes the incipient steps of growth, divides industry,

establishes and improves its distinct branches, and thus passes into civilization.

Doubtless, if there is to be growth, these are the forms it must assume. The lower conception must give way to the higher; the undivided and unorganized must assume distinct, organic structure. But the question still returns, whether there are any such actually operating and efficient forces in mind and matter conjointly — forces whose type is the physical one, — steadily pressing development, pushing the race from stage to stage of progress? We cannot speak of the nature of the case; this is nothing but the forces at work, and for these we inquire. Where is found the law of development, the inevitable, gravitating power of the moral world, binding actions into fitting bundles, and giving all an orderly arrangement, organic offices and relations? The intellect alone can furnish no such force. This may guide movement, but does not implant it. Either our moral or our selfish impulses must be relied on; and if the latter, their self-sufficient growth must be shown, not as a coherent natural order merely, but as a constant, everywhere-present fact. If these forces sometimes miscarry, they may always miscarry; since they therein show that they lack the efficiency of a general law. Nebulous matter must always, or may never, condense into suns and planets.

How, therefore, does this theory of the necessary development of society comport with the facts? A primitive, universal, and extreme barbarism is assumed, and the present state of enlightened society is referred to it as its latest product. This statement of the facts not only starts with an hypothesis, not only overlooks the supernatural influences of Christianity, and refers modern thought to native and inevitable forces, it also forgets many significant events in the history of the world. A force common to the race must, as already urged, show a like tendency everywhere, or, by the want of such a tendency, forfeit its claims to universality and necessity. Failing of absolutely general causes, we are of course thrown back again on the search for special causes,

productive of the special results of European, Christian society.

Now, if we look at large portions of the world, as India, China, and Asia generally, we find society altogether stationary or on the retreat. Our nebulous universe is ceasing to contract; nay, worse, is actually expanding. The movement is reversed, and we can neither check nor explain it. We are drifting back into chaos and night; our inceptive suns are going out, our inchoate planets dissolving into gas; and our theory — worst of calamities — which was the mere outward statement of one line of facts, is, in the presence of another, a forgotten programme.

There is also gross barbarism in many corners of the world. Does it show itself as the germ of life, or is it quite as likely the cast-off husk? Are the nations of Australia, of the Pacific islands, of the extremes of the American continents, and of Southern Africa portions of the race sloughed off from more civilized centres in the early nomadic history of the race, evincing a tendency to degeneracy? Or are they, as by the theory they ought to be, fresh, independent centres, not yet thrown into rapid circles of evolution, waiting on the centuries for a self-developing social life? Geographic and linguistic relations seem to show them to be cases of dispersion and degradation. Civilization has constantly shown a tendency toward certain centres, leaving large territories unaffected, and pushing forward only here and there in rapid development. It has also repeatedly exhausted itself on the old ground, transferred itself to new fields, and become subject to a new class of specializing influences. These facts are consistent with the unequal, variable action of moral and religious forces, but not at all in harmony with necessary, universal, organic tendencies. Gothic character, Roman civilization, and Christianity are sufficient to explain European society; but no inherent, inevitable law of progress, equally operative in the Western as in the Eastern hemisphere, in Africa as in Europe, is adequate for this purpose.

This theory passes into a third allied one, that of utilitarianism. Neither of them rely on the conscience as a force in the growth of society; but, confounding the useful with the good, strive to evolve from self-love the impulse, the elements of progress. The intellect corrects the mistakes of selfishness, enlarges its view, and finally elevates it into at least the appearance of philanthropy and love. Against this theory, assuming a little more freedom of the emotional nature than that of development, there yet lie weighty objections. Its analysis of the moral constitution is unsound, confounding it with that to which it is most diametrically opposed, to wit, selfishness. Moreover, selfishness is to be softened down to rational, measured self-love; yet the work is to be done by selfishness itself. The means of transformation is an increase of knowledge. But every selfish impulse is intensified by activity, and the mind is correspondingly blinded to the higher good which lies in the opposite direction. The angry man does, indeed, experience the sufferings of anger; but that mere fact, aside from the rebuke and light of a moral impulse, does not compensate the blinding effects of passion, and its increased power through habit. We do not get a sufficient purchase against sin by simply becoming familiar with it. If so, sin, lust, appetite, are self-correcting—a statement contradictory of individual and national history. Evil would thus undermine itself, be divided against itself, and, at least in one half of it, or one aspect of it, cease to be evil, and become good—a transient phase of a life-impulse. That mere familiarity with vice, indulgence, without extraneous influence or moral appeal, overthrows or weakens sin, either in the individual or the community, is a doctrine as new to experience as it is to ethics. That the consequences of wrong action, our moral nature being as it is, are fitted to make a strong appeal to the conscience is very true; but it is most obviously not true that the intense selfishness with which man, according to this view, is supposed to start, will, as selfishness, arrest and improve itself. This is to ask vice to see, expose,

rebuke itself. The malignant man may become more cunning in the school of experience, not more loving. The feeble admonitions of mere experience will be swept away before the next strong wind of passion, like the leaves of an autumn forest. Each gust, moreover, is more uncontrollable than that which goes before it; and no lifeless truth can, in the meantime, so fasten itself, save through the conscience, as to withstand the coming blast.

Nor, as before urged, can it be shown that all right action does commend itself to self-love, aside from the support of the moral nature. It is the holy ambition, the supreme satisfaction of the moral nature, that gives quality to our best actions, flavor to our best impulses, and puts them in successful comparison with more restricted, prudent, self-seeking conduct. It is exactly the ethical sense, neither more nor less, which gives us the idea of a transcendent good, and enables us to find it in the generous, upward, faithful impulses of the soul.

The true theory of society we believe to be, that it is the field of very diverse influences; all of them exercising control, and tending in their combined result to progress. These are self-love, the sense of duty, and love. The dominant force among men hitherto has been self-love, usually showing itself as selfishness, and exceptionally appearing as a justifiable regard of one's own interest. Even this impulse, as aided by the ever-present, though usually suppressed voice of conscience, has shown a power under favoring circumstances to push nations, here and there, fitfully forward into civilization. It has not evinced the strength and growth of motive requisite to hold and enlarge the ground gained. Some new weakness, like that of luxury or arrogance, has uniformly been revealed as the fruit of this form of progress, and in sure sequence has turned the steps of nations backward, and left them to go down again by the way they came up. This is most natural, most inevitable, under the purely selfish impulse; since temptations increase with affluence, and the stringency of restraints diminish.

The period of thrifty, temperate, frugal virtues is passed, and no higher life comes in to replace with exalted motives these lower persuasives.

Love, on the other hand, is fitted to take possession of the soul most fully in its highest conditions of good, to find in the abundance of intellectual and physical possessions the means of its best satisfaction, and thus to establish the spiritual life on a higher, firmer basis with each step of progress. Under it the moral sense is no longer an irksome restraint, a bit and bridle, but through its approval the source of new, profound, and increasing pleasure. Thus the eye of desire is no longer turned backward but forward. The sense of satisfaction is ever on the advance, and the lower impulses both of duty and of self-love, are caught up and transfigured with their nobler, their divine companion, love.

Let us redirect attention to some of the conclusions now reached. Restraint, discipline, government, everywhere pursue men. Three parallel strata of law — self-love, duty, love — are ready to take under their respective control every rational agent as he rises upward or sinks downward. The sense of law is more clear and prevalent on the midway plane of action than either above or below it. The most obdurate sinner is, by his very sin, his very selfishness, caught in the strong net of law through utility, the quasi ethics of commerce, and made to feel the tight, and, if he struggles against them, the cruel, cutting cords of confinement. If man presses upward into love, if he reaches liberty, it is yet a liberty pervaded by law, everywhere ordered and organized by it. Whither shall I go from thy spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there.

There is a government everywhere exercised over men, and that too of moral forces. There is in human society an omnipresent probation of ever-changing conditions. Lower influences play into higher ones and strive to restore man to their government, yet are not able to take their place. The

lower, harsher discipline is practically a failure, save as it is complemented and completed by the higher. It is able to reserve man for the higher, to hold him back from indefinite descent, but cannot by its own strength complete any movement it may inaugurate. Selfishness keeps alive the sense of right. The selfish man is only the more quick to discern the obligations of others to himself, to call conscience to the task of censuring the delinquencies of a neighbor. What a cry does this impotent recrimination of man by man, this discernment of a good that none reaches, send up for divine interposition, for the granting of a life whose conditions are present, yet made of no avail by the helplessness of the will and the affections, — a limp, living body, waiting a new inspiration of strength.

The lower government of self-love, though with a heaven-wide diversity of motive, does ultimately and remotely strive after the same results as those sought by love. The criterion of utility or of duty or of affection will, if thoroughly and wisely applied, reach the same formal, practical end. There lies between them this difference. The lowest cannot establish, cannot practically reach, cannot theoretically justify its own conclusions, its own lines of conduct, without a recognition of the higher, the moral pleasure which follows their acceptance. Utility is lost, included, swallowed up in duty, and duty in the play of the moral affections. The issues that are constantly raised in the collision of man with man may call forth this or that theoretical exposition, may sharpen perception with the keen insight of interest, yet counter-interests so spring up in the path of progress, so darken counsels, so weaken the hands that execute them, so misdirect and misrepresent effort, that not till conscience and love are able with equal pertinacity to take up the struggle, can it find a hopeful conclusion.

Now the existence of this lower, incomplete government, working ineffectually toward higher ends, those proposed by the supernatural, the revealed government of God, and the power which the motives of the latter evince to gather up,

compact, and complete the tendencies of the former, show that the two are parts of one system, and are maintained in one interest. The supernatural complements the natural, with the same significance that life combines, uses, lifts up physical and chemical forces into its own sphere. All growth, civilization, science, philosophy, do as much for revelation as they do for the moral nature. The strength of Christianity renews itself in each successive struggle. Love, which is its essence, stands more strongly forth than ever before as its working power. The incrustations of dogma broken off have only laid bare the diamond of central truth. Revealed religion shows itself in most complete harmony with natural religion, with the moral sentiments, by itself calling for exactly the same development, by coming forth from each conflict with unbelief, with a clearer discovery of its own power, by sweeping away conclusions which obscure, weaken, or misrepresent it, by throwing off non-essential, accidental concomitants, and by a better, bolder presentation of its immutable principles. A natural government which struggles with the evils that oppress it, that works partial good with inadequate means, that checks when it cannot quicken, and punishes when it cannot redeem, that holds the race aloof from complete anarchy and night, and waits expectant on higher powers, is a tangible, moral fact, a veritable foundation-stone in a moral universe, a recognized beginning of that whose existence we believe in, whose completion we hope for — the kingdom of God. A revealed religion which furnishes incentives to action, working in the line of all below them, using them, lifting them into higher relations, and giving them the completeness of a new, a spiritual life, which exposes the fictitious, superficial growth of man and of society under purely natural forces, and does, with a deeper impulse, what these are only in vain striving to do, shows itself divine.

ARTICLE III.

THE KÖNIGSBERG RELIGIOUS SUIT.

BY REV. J. ISIDOR MOMBERT, D.D., LANCASTER, PA.

AMONG the *causes célèbres* of the present century the “Königsberger Religions-Prozess,” or religious suit, is one of the most remarkable. Although proverbially notorious in Germany, the knowledge of it here and in England, until about a year ago, was very limited, and the occasional references to it in theological cyclopeadias mostly superficial and one-sided. A candid and impartial statement, free, on the one hand, from enmity to religion, and on the other from direct or indirect connection with the cause itself,—a full account, in short, of all that actually took place without any party-leaning, ill-will, or prejudice, is still a desideratum. Such an account cannot be had until the whole of the voluminous record, now in the custody of a Prussian court of justice, has become accessible to historiographers. As the case now stands we have on the one hand a host of unsubstantiated assertions, charging two ministers, now deceased, with founding, and quite a number of ladies and gentlemen, confessedly distinguished for intellectual culture, refined manners, social position, and decided religious character, with having belonged to, a sect whose tenets were antagonistic to Christianity and destructive of morals. On the other hand we have the indubitable proof in two judicial sentences that the charges of immorality and of the existence of a sect were unfounded, and a formidable array of published works, claiming that, at a time when vital Christianity was *rara avis in terris Germanicis*, two ministers and a number of godly persons of both sexes dared to front the prevailing looseness, nominalism, scepticism, and irreligion, with the then startling declaration that the religion of Jesus Christ requires its adherents to exhibit an agreement in profession and life, to

be living epistles known and read of all men; and that everything beyond and outside of this simple and earnest advocacy of a Christianity, interpenetrating with its hallowing and ennobling influences all relations of life, has no other foundation than the baseless fabric of malicious calumny. It is moreover necessary to state that a very remarkable book, drawn up from official sources, to which we shall presently more fully advert, has been before the public since 1862, in which the author not only triumphantly demonstrates the innocence of the accused, but shows, with inexorable logic and a rare familiarity with legal, forensic, and theological subjects, that the suit was conducted in flagrant violation of the Prussian directory, and that personal hostility to the accused, if not still greater hostility to the doctrines they taught and practised, kept moving the hidden machinery of the then prevalent administration of the law. The gifted author was so circumstanced as to obtain insight into the record, and his work, though compiled from official sources, is not authoritatively set forth, but the fact that its conclusions and disclosures have never been officially disputed, and that many of the leading theological and serial publications in Germany, which at one time had helped to propagate erroneous views, have made the *amende honorable* by retracting them, leaves no room to doubt the absolute correctness of its statements.

It is truly marvellous that under such circumstances W. H. Dixon, an English author, wielding a graphic and flippant pen, and by no means destitute of literary pretensions, should have unearthed all the scandalous fictions connected with the Königsberg Suit, dressed them up in a garish livery of his own manufacture, and thrust them before the world in a sensational book with the catch-penny title, "Spiritual Wives." He begins his brief preface thus: "The subject opened in these pages is so far new, that scarcely any of the facts are to be found in books." Had he taken the trouble to read Count Kanitz's work, a copy of which he might without difficulty have procured of any bookseller at

Königsberg, where he eagerly sought for materials, he would never have framed that sentence ; for its perusal must have convinced him that the marvellous stories which he retails with manifest gusto and ill-concealed flings at religion, so far from being facts, were airy nothings and slippery inventions of wanton imaginations. If Mr. Dixon knew nothing of the existence of the “Aufklärung,” he was unprepared to furnish this chapter “illustrating the spiritual passions of man,” as he grandiloquently styles his book ; if he knew the work in question, he wrote with the deliberate purpose of suppressing the truth, and of raising the accumulated fables of the Königsberg *chronique scandaleuse* to the realm of history. The foundation of much of Mr. Dixon’s narrative, as he explicitly states, is the so-called evidence of Professor Sachs, which, on account of its obscene and scurrilous contents, he prints in an appendix in German, and of which he says in the preface, “that it was the chief evidence used against Archdeacon Ebel in the great trials here recounted, and was sealed up by order of the Royal Court of Berlin, as a document affecting persons of high rank. How that paper came into my hands I must not say ; it is authentic and complete ; for that I pledge my word ; and if either the authenticity or the completeness of this paper shall come to be challenged by any one having the right to do so, I may then be in a position to require and obtain permission to tell the story of how it appears in these pages.”

The only intelligible conclusion to be drawn from this startling announcement is, that the Royal Court of Berlin placed this document, which had been sealed up for thirty years, at the disposal of Mr. Dixon, either by furnishing the original or an authentic copy, for otherwise he could hardly pledge his word for its authenticity or completeness. Mr. Dixon seems to have anticipated in the readers of his book a credulity equal to his own, and he parades his *ipse dixit* with an astounding degree of assurance. The slightest familiarity with the history of the suit and the high-toned dignity of the Prussian authorities is sufficient to show the utter

absurdity of the supposition that a royal court of justice should have delivered to a foreigner a document criminalizing persons with the very charges of which that court had *acquitted* them. Mr. Dixon, indeed, does not say that he obtained said document from the court in question, but the mysterious announcement of secrecy, accompanied by his pledged word for its authenticity and completeness, hints at an official communication, and since that admits of a manifest *reductio ad absurdum*, the only course left is to challenge its authenticity. Count Kanitz and Dr. Wilhelm Ebel, "having the right to do so," have challenged its authenticity; it remains now to be seen whether Mr. Dixon will make good his promise of telling the story how said document appeared in his book.

Mr. Dixon curiously enough draws a revolting picture of Sachs, the author of the mysterious document, who, he says, "in his latter days was known as Mephistopheles,¹ a name which he earned right well by his daring spirit, his cynical phrase, and his contempt for religion. He made a mockery of sacred things. In the lecture-room he would pause in a discourse on anatomy to pour out his venom upon some passage in Holy Writ. In the name of science he would protest, with a biting acid, against the sacred mysteries of our faith. In his secret heart he regarded preachers as the common enemies of our race, to whom no quarter need be shown by a man of wit. As a medical officer he pretended that he had cause to know that students of theology were the most abandoned of all the student tribe. One lad with a ruined constitution went to him for advice: "You are a student of theology?" said Sachs, with his usual sneer. "No, Herr Professor," replied the lad, "I am a student of law." "Then I would advise you to change your profession. You would make an excellent divine." This self-same Sachs was the chief witness for the prosecution; the mysteriously-found document for the authenticity and completeness of which Mr. Dixon has pledged

¹ Mr. Dixon, by the bye, insists upon spelling the word "Mephistophiles;" but as that is wrong, we have taken the liberty to give the correct spelling.

his word, professes to be Sachs's evidence, and be it remembered, it is the foundation of much of Mr. Dixon's narrative, in which (p. 152 sq.) we find the following passage. "It was agreed that Sachs was to be heard. The counsel for the defence now received from Diestel two written documents, which he laid before the judge. They were in Professor Sachs's hand-writing and bore his signature. They were addressed to the late Countess von Kanitz (Minna von Derschau), and contained a very long and detailed statement of his many and grievous offences against God and man, some of which were absolutely incredible and revolting. A man who had been guilty of such acts, said the defendants, was utterly unworthy to be heard in a court of law, in a matter affecting the honor of noble women, and of gallant and pious men. The court communicated with Professor Sachs. What had he to say? Were not these papers forged? Mephistopheles had to rub his eyes and to bow his head. This man of science, so keen of intellect, so shrewd of tongue, who mocked at religion, and held women in contempt, had to come forward in a court of justice with the plea that, in a moment of moral and physical weakness, he had been made the victim of a young lady — bold, inquisitorial, and of morbid fancy. While he was connected with the Ebelians, he had been placed under the spiritual guidance of the Countess von Kanitz; a lady of noble brain and overpowering will, who, in a moment of mortal weakness had drawn from him the statements now before the court, — were they true? They were not true, said Sachs in answer to the judge. But they are given in writing, in the first person, and are signed? yes; that was so; and yet the statements were not to be taken as his own. When he wrote them he was beside himself with grief. He did not know what he said and wrote. The lady pressed him to cleanse his bosom of its secrets; she hinted at the disclosures she would like to hear him make; he had a strong desire to win her favor; and he had, therefore, made those confessions of imaginary crimes.

Not only by word of mouth, in the heat of a personal

interview, but coldly, in his own chamber, under his hand and seal? Yes, even so; the lady was imperious; she would not take his oral statement; she sent him home to think the matter over and to write it down; he wrote what she wanted him to write. Poor Mephistopheles! What could the judge do under such circumstances? Without Sachs's evidence he had scarcely any ground to stand on; and Sachs was now proved by his own confession to be worse than the defence had called him—not only spy, informer, and apostate, but a rogue, whose written word was branded by himself as a deliberate lie.”

The story as reported by Mr. Dixon is simply a story. He might have learned the truth by reference to Count Kanitz's book, where the actual occurrences are recorded (p. 55 sq.). It is not true that Sachs had a private interview with a young lady. He besought his sponsors, Count and Countess Kanitz, to give him a hearing; he volunteered to confess all his shortcomings, craved their forgiveness, and begged to be once more honored with their friendship. They yielded to his entreaties and *saw him together*. Sachs in order to be spared the agony of an oral recital, proposed to furnish a written one. This is the true state of the case, and if the imaginative author of “*Spiritual Wives*” had only been less superficial and credulous, and exhibited a little more conscientiousness of statement, he might have avoided the imputation of deliberate invention to which his unguarded language lays him open.

The same remarks apply to the astounding revelations of a female church, and of principles of light, darkness, and union, all of which are pure fictions. Mr. Dixon's intolerable dramatic inventiveness and unpardonable ingratitude for favors received is singularly illustrated in the account he gives of his visit to the Moravian chapel at Königsberg; the obliging pastor showed it to Mr. Dixon, whose erratic pen perpetrated such extraordinary vagaries that the Moravian minister was compelled to brand his account as untrue in the *Königsberger Ostpreussische Zeitung* (No. 299) for 1868.

It may be proper to state here on the authority of Count

Kanitz that the so-called sect was simply a circle of congenial friends, who agreed that the conventional dance, card-playing, and scandal should be tabooed at their social gatherings; but that in their stead the discussion of rational subjects, of scientific, philosophical, theological and general interest, the reading of instructive essays or books, and music, should be the order of the day. The members of that circle were good Christian people, who, because they preferred such a rational and instructive mode of spending their evenings to the more popular and worldly way then in vogue, were cried down as sectaries, and their harmless gatherings branded with the vilest epithets which the Christ-hatred of the times could coin.

Mr. Dixon founds his story mainly on the evidence of Sachs, and coolly assumes the reader prepared to receive that evidence, with the grotesque fables he has elaborated therefrom, as gospel truth. In order to place the reader in a position to appreciate the audacity of this voluble and inventive writer, he must remember that Ebel and Diestel were *acquitted* of the charges, which ungodly and unprincipled men brought against them. He knows this, for he adverts to the final sentence (p. 159); but in order to justify his resuscitating of the infamous slanders, which obscene tongues and papers circulated in Germany thirty years ago *Dixon dixit* "the high matters in dispute were referred by this Court of Appeal to the still higher courts of Public Opinion and Universal History." His admirable qualifications as an exponent of public opinion and a historian, may be gathered from the following particulars; the evidence of the accused; the high tribute for virtue and godliness accorded to them by the courts, by ladies and gentlemen of undoubted honor and veracity, the contemporaries and acquaintance of the accused; the published accounts of the transactions by the persons implicated, the last and most remarkable of which is the book of Count Kanitz; the published retraction of misstatements or misrepresentations formerly made by newspapers and cyclopaedias; the whole

current of public opinion entirely changed in virtue of the light derived from the publications referred to — all these are deliberately set aside and disregarded by the author of “Spiritual Wives,” who gives us instead, (1) the evidence of Sachs, disproved in every particular during the trial; (2) a ridiculous account of his confabulation over a bowl of Roman punch and a bag of strong Suabian tobacco, with a jolly lawyer at Königsberg; (3) the traditions of the obscene gossip raked up by hook or crook, — these he manipulates after the manner of playwrights pandering to slippery tastes, weaves into the *story*, dramatically told, of spiritual wives at Königsberg, and calls this patchwork of calumny and ribald jest a chapter “illustrating the spiritual passions of man.” Mr. Dixon’s daring attempt to establish a connection between the religious movement at Königsberg (and by implication of the pietism of Germany — for he does not hesitate to fling the term “*Mucker*” at consistent Christians found at Halle, Heidelberg, Berlin, Hanover, Dresden, Stuttgart, Bremen, and Elberfeld) and Mormonism and Free Love, deserves to be denounced as an insult to religion and common sense, and to be held up to the scorn and contempt of men.

Without travelling to Königsberg, and the inspiration drawn from Roman punch and Suabian tobacco, we are in a position, from an appeal to the record and the voluminous literature of the subject, to form a tolerably accurate idea of it. Fair play and justice demand a statement of the case, as furnished by those who ought to know, and whose standing and reputation entitles them to a respectful hearing. This we propose to supply in the subjoined account, drawn up chiefly from Count Kanitz’s work, and other sources, enumerated at the close of this Article, premising that, while our limits preclude the discussion of lateral issues and scandalous reports, and the portraiture of the interesting personages connected with the suit, we do not put down a single word unsupported by evidence accessible through the book-trade to any of our readers desirous of further information.

Johann Wilhelm Ebel was born March 4th, 1784, at Passenheim, a small town in Ost-Preussen. His father was minister there until 1795, when he was called to the deanship of the Polish church at Königsberg. Johann went to the gymnasium there, and in 1801 entered the university. He wanted to study theology, against his father's advice, who deemed his *scrupulous conscientiousness ill-suited in a theologian of that period!* Chiefly in consequence of the representations of the director of the gymnasium, who had noticed in young Ebel remarkable qualifications for the sacred office, the father withdrew his objections, and the ardent youth entered eagerly upon the pursuit of theological studies. "I attended Hasse's Lectures on Paedagogics," says Ebel, "and taught with signal success in a primary school. I should probably have chosen the scholastic instead of the theological vocation, if in the providence of God I had not become convinced that our church system really rests on the immovable foundations of a well-established philosophy." How this was brought about he states thus: "I was eighteen years old when a friend of our family mentioned that he had made the acquaintance of a man (Johann Heinrich Schönherr) who had succeeded by proofs of reason to bring the declarations of the Bible and its whole contents into verbal agreement, and invincibly to defend them against the scoffers. Like a light from heaven this message shone with unspeakable delight in my heart, and a nameless joy took hold of my being. All questions hiding within seemed to be solved, all darkness dispelled, and I had at that moment the presentiment of the fulfilment of my deepest longings. From a child brought up in reverence of the word of God, the doubts and contradictions of it, which then were loudly broached by my teachers and fellow-students, could not fail greatly to disquiet my heart and to hold it in anxious suspense. When undertaking to meet and oppose them I had, after idle contentions with my adversaries, often sought with bitter tears a corner of my attic-room to pour out my grief before God, because I had been unable to save his word from defamation, or to

justify its sayings against the criticisms of the rationalists. In this soul-struggle, in fear and longing, I received the good news, that the revelations of reason and holy writ were in agreement, and that the man who had succeeded to establish this agreement was then living."

Ebel thereupon sought the acquaintance of Schönherr. He could not at once see the affinity of his philosophy with the spirit of the Bible, and "for years attempted to assail its positions with all the weapons furnished by study, and an incredulity begotten by contradictory philosophies; but he finally saw and owned with joyous astonishment the possibility of a knowledge in perfect agreement and unison with the divine revelation of the scriptures."

In 1804 Ebel was licensed to preach, and appointed assistant at the gymnasium of Königsberg. Count Dohna made him private tutor of his sons, and in 1807, in acknowledgment of the ability and faithfulness with which he had discharged this task, appointed him to the living at Hermsdorf.

In 1810 he was promoted to the position of teacher and preacher at the Friedrich's Collegium, then newly instituted as a gymnasium.

In 1816 he was elected preacher and pastor of the Altstadt church, the largest congregation at Königsberg. His *personnel* was very attractive; his tall stature, dignified carriage, and speaking features arrested attention, and were only excelled by the matter and manner of his preaching. The church was crowded; the fame of his pulpit ability spread far and near; his eloquent advocacy of the claims of true godliness shook the dry bones of philosophy, scepticism, and general irreligion then prevalent at Königsberg. The inventive Dixon draws as usual on his imagination when he describes Ebel as "bold, sentimental, and original; never scrupling to throw into his most solemn passages a homely phrase, an old saw, a snatch of song, even a touch of comedy, which all but forced his hearers into shouts of mirth. He could be as grave as Stanley, as sportive as Spurgeon, *but the aim of all his efforts seemed to be the awakening of souls*

to a quicker sense of the religious life." With the solitary exception of the italicized sentence, this description is simply a myth; but as myths and fancies are in close league with frivolity and double-entendres in this Dixonian novel, we promise to annoy the reader no more with references to his sensation pictures.

Of his preaching Count Kanitz says that "it stirred a new life in the dead masses; his eloquent portrayal of the divine attributes of love and mercy encouraged minds crushed and terrified by the calamities of the preceding wars to seek the peace of God, and exalted the patriotic enthusiasm evinced in the wars of liberation to grateful acknowledgments of the mercies of God. Ebel gratified at once the yearnings of the heart and the wants of the mind, and thus kindled the flame of true devotion in old and young, high and low, learned and unlearned, in students and young men going to or returning from the wars, so that hearers of all classes and conditions, even rare frequenters of the sanctuary, sought and found spiritual nourishment in his sermons. Many would write them down to communicate them to others. There was no rush, as in the case of sensation preachers; but a gathering of quickened spirits, who were not frightened by the preacher's earnest rebukes of sin and glowing exhortations to repentance. The lofty Christianity preached by Ebel pierced and quickened all the relations of life. Thus the conscientious labors of a faithful preacher and pastor enkindled a light at Königsberg, the bright beams of which shone afar. His preaching restored to their proper significance old Bible truths, whose import had been forgotten, perverted, and emasculated."

Another competent judge, his friend Diestel, delineates him thus: "The glowing zeal for the divine which fills his being is relieved by an ever-retiring modesty, an eager yearning for oneness and the peaceable adjustment of human affairs. He loves God and he loves men; hence his sympathy with the divine and the good in men everywhere and in every form. Reposing faith in the goodness of men, his

simplicity and impartiality draw it forth. His soul firmly rooted in God and ever eyeing his purpose, he is accessible to all, and ready to sympathize and co-operate with every interest compatible with the dignity of man. Many-sided, and endowed with great tact, he easily adapts himself to the most varied circumstances. The impulse of his loving heart to be all things to all men enables him to harmonize the true in differing views, and to scatter good seed wherever he meets with receptive soil. His intellectual constitution is averse to party and sectarian tendencies, to prejudice and onesidedness, and this characteristic has prevented the rise of sectarianism at Königsberg. The openness with which he meets all classes of men without respect of persons, simply because they are men, annihilates all sundering and separating differences. Wordlings and believers, rationalists and supernaturalists, men of the most opposite communions, find a rallying-point in his impartiality, support in his love, and in his comprehensive mind the means to a truly human and truly Christian point of view, 'where is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all.'"

We cannot make room for a detailed account of the circumstances which led to the separation of Schönherr and Ebel. The popularity of Ebel made him enemies, and he was decried as the founder of a sect, a mystic and pietist. In the beginning of 1826 a ministerial rescript, bearing date October 24th, 1825, warning all the consistories of the land against mysticism and pietism, and cautioning them against filling vacant positions with persons thus tainted, became known at Königsberg, and interpreted as an official opposition to the teachings of Ebel, which the rationalists and temporizers branded as mystical and pietistic. The severe ethics on which the enthusiastic Ebel insisted were understood to be unpalatable to the authorities, and those loosely connected with him speedily forsook him. Among them were Professor Olshausen and a young theologian. Compelled to explain their course, which was generally under-

stood and appreciated as time-serving egotism, they found the expedient of casting suspicion on Ebel's theological views at once the easiest and most profitable. Men were not wanting who eagerly seized the opportunity to make common cause with them, although the motives which impelled the latter were vastly different from those which prompted the former, one of whom at least made the most strenuous efforts to establish a supremacy of influence at the expense of Ebel, whereas the trio of further opponents consisted first, of a dissembler (Sachs), who, while professing religious ardor, indulged in dissolute practices, for which the faithful Ebel took him to task, and, finding his loving remonstrances fruitless, broke company with him, with the result that his fidelity met the reward of unmeasured enmity; secondly, of a man (Count F.) who ascribed the discontinuance of certain pecuniary privileges which through the liberality of his sister he had enjoyed for many years, to the religious views of herself and her husband; and as these were devoted friends of Ebel, whose lofty teachings were irksome and unpalatable to him, he sought to annoy them by opening a crusade against their loved pastor, whom he charged with spiritual tyranny, heretical doctrine, and immorality; thirdly, of an avowed enemy of vital religion, in the person of the provincial president at Königsberg (Schön), who, bent upon destroying the powerful influence exerted by Ebel's eloquent advocacy of positive Christianity, inaugurated his official career by causing Ebel's church to be pulled down, on the ground that a slight inclination of its tower imperilled the lives of the worshippers.

That church, one of the most beautiful at Königsberg, had stood five centuries, and the tower, soon after its completion, settled into a position of trifling deviation from the perpendicular. A comparison of semi-centennial measurements showed that the angle of inclination remained unchanged, and that consequently there was no danger; but although this fact was strongly urged, the president caused the church to be closed for a year, ostensibly for the purpose of testing its

security, but really for the purpose of demolishing the structure. The test was certainly unique. The ground was dug away from a pillar to a depth at which it stood under water, and was wholly without support; then, of course, the pillar gave way, the whole edifice became crazy, and the work of demolition was an imperative necessity. The author of this vandalism was *ex officio* president of the consistory, and with him were lodged the charges against Ebel and Diestel.

How they reached him remains to be told. Count F., to whom we have already referred, at first started them in a private letter addressed to a lady, who communicated its contents to Pastor Diestel, the friend and colleague of Ebel. Diestel replied to F., indignantly repelling his calumnies, denouncing his motives, and notifying him that their reiteration would compel him to publish the falsehood of his statements.

Count F. made Diestel's reply the ground of an action for libel, which according to the Prussian directory, was communicated to the local consistory. Among the documents handed in as evidence were not only Diestel's letter to Count F., but also the latter's original communication to the lady.

The consistory took hasty action by ordering the preliminary suspension of Ebel and Diestel (October 7th and November 26th, 1835), and moving the department of cultus to institute criminal proceedings against them on the ground "that they were suspected to have founded a sect of tenets conflicting with the Christian confession; and in part, at least, of immoral tendency, which sect was seeking, in the guise of religious asceticism, the gratification of unchaste desires." Four long and wearisome years were consumed in the conduct of the suit, until at last sentence was given by the Criminal Senate of the Supreme Court at Berlin, of the tenor that the two accused clergymen, "for having intentionally violated their duty, should be deposed and declared unfit for any public office; and further, that Dr. Ebel for having founded a sect should be taken to some public institution and detained there until he had given proof of amendment."

From this sentence Ebel and Diestel appealed to the Sen-

ate of Appeal of the Supreme Court, and after a further delay of eighteen months, the following sentence was given :

“ That the finding of the Criminal Senate of March 28th 1839, published August 30th, 1839, be so far modified that the accused, not for having intentionally violated their duty, should be deposed and declared unfit for any public office, but for having violated their duty from gross negligence ; to wit, that the accused Dr. Johann Wilhelm Ebel be dismissed from his office of archdeacon and preacher of the old city church at Königsberg, and that the accused Georg Heinrich Diestel be dismissed from his office of preacher of the Habersberg church at Königsberg ; and further, that Dr. Ebel be acquitted from the charge of having founded a sect, and that the finding of his detention in a public institution be cancelled.”

Ebel, after learning the final sentence, took the proper steps to dissolve his official relations, and in his farewell letter to his congregation made use of these words : “ The sentence of the Senate of Appeal of the Royal Supreme Court, communicated to me on the 2d inst., deprives me of the office of archdeacon of the old city church. God has honored his servant in stamping on him and his Christian ministry of nearly thirty years’ duration the seal of genuineness, but he has thereby at the same time uttered a word of deep significance to those who know my ministry of the Word.”

The simple comparison of these two sentences with the original charge shows that Ebel was really acquitted, and that his deposition was a crying wrong, at variance with the principles of justice and equity which characterize the humane code of Prussian law, and chargeable, not to the provisions of that code, but to their unlawful misapplication and non-application on the part of those to whom the conduct of the suit was committed. It must be borne in mind that while this celebrated suit was pending, the judicial process in Prussia was private ; and this circumstance explains the possibility of the results ; but all this is changed now, and

we need hardly add that with the now prevalent administration of the laws in open court, the recurrence of similar results is simply impossible.

Among the hearers and devoted followers of Ebel, was Count von Kanitz, a nobleman of high-toned integrity, a jurist of great learning, and a Christian of remarkable earnestness, exemplary consistency, and simplicity. Deeply interested in the momentous questions at issue, intimately acquainted with the life and labors of Ebel, and thoroughly versed in judicial matters, he strove from the beginning with indefatigable perseverance and invincible zeal to prevent the consummation of the almost incredible judicial wrong inflicted upon the two traduced and persecuted godly ministers of Königsberg. Unable to avert the blow thirty years ago, he has never ceased to the present hour (for he still survives) in his unremitting efforts to vindicate their memory; and by the publication in 1862 of a work entitled, "The Ecclesiastical Suit conducted at Königsberg in Prussia from 1835 to 1842, cleared up from official sources for Secular and Church History,"¹ has succeeded in showing with overwhelming conclusiveness that said suit was conducted in violation of law, that the charges brought against the accused were false, and that the accused were bright and shining lights, conspicuous for virtue, spirituality, and fidelity, whose lofty conception of the Christian life and apostolical earnestness in recommending and maintaining the application of Christian precepts to every relation of life, were the real cause of the bitter hatred with which they were visited. They were martyrs, and they bore their martyrdom in the spirit and for the sake of the blessed Jesus, "who when he was reviled reviled not again; when he suffered he threatened not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously."

We have hitherto confined ourselves to a condensed summary of the case, in order to give Count Kanitz the opportunity to develop the details, and for this purpose an

¹ Aufklärung nach Actenquellen über den 1835 bis 1842 in Königsberg in Preussen geführten Religions-prozess für Welt-und Kirchengeschichte.

analysis of his very able work is now presented to the reader. The preface, defining his position, runs thus: "The author of this work, whose outer and inner life is closely interwoven with the matter round which the suit illuminated in the sequel revolves, felt it his duty from the commencement of the judicial proceedings to co-operate in the establishment of the truth. His testimony having been declined by the authorities dealing with the case in the first instance, he submitted a statement to the King of Prussia, Frederick William III., bearing date October 18th, 1835, offering to bring his accurate knowledge of the accused and the accusers, and the motives prompting their charges, before the respective authorities, in order to obviate hasty action, which the known averse disposition of several high functionaries warranted to be apprehended.

"This led to the result that the examining authority was directed, in a cabinet order, bearing date November 7th, 1835, 'to request of Count Kanitz the information (or as expressed in another quotation of the royal mandate "the explanation") which, according to his statement, would serve to explain the state of the case, and shed light on the individuality of the persons concerned therein.' The Minister of Justice, moreover, on the 27th day of the same month, made it obligatory on the authority conducting the examination 'speedily and carefully to execute said supreme order.'

"The author, however, had only a short time to answer the royal request, for, on March 21st, 1836, he was again denied the use of the minutes of accusation, indispensable to the elucidation of the case, and of the record of the transactions, which had been granted to him since February 1st.

"Unsuccessful in setting aside the lateral influences which had occasioned said denial (which will be mentioned at the proper place), and in his efforts to prevent illegal acts, his co-operation in the determination of the truth had thenceforth to be confined to his testimony in court.

"At that time the question dealt with explanations of facts, which have become superfluous since the final sentence

in the suit, kept pending until the close of 1841, rejected all criminal accusations and only condemned a philosophico-theological *private view* and its alleged *dissemination*. But it is now of the last importance that the official record should be made to elucidate the influences which rendered it possible that in this nineteenth century *courts of justice* not only condemned *religious* and *philosophical views*, but treated their colloquial communication as crime, punished with deposition from the ministry.

"This work seemed to be prescribed to the author in virtue of his intimate relation to the transaction, and of his knowledge of the judicial record, insight of which was afforded him first by royal mandate and afterwards by the counsel for the defence, but its execution was impossible while the crowded business of official duties claimed all his energies. Not until the impaired state of his health, caused by many years' exertion, had compelled him to resign, did he find the necessary leisure, and by his residence in a milder climate, the needed invigoration for compiling from former extracts the official data essential to the elucidation of the matter.

"The author, in memory of the prince whose sense of right directed him 'to shed light on this matter,' hereby fulfils the object of the royal mandate in making the record disclose the truth, and likewise supplies the proof that the termination of this affair in a result at once illegal, unreasonable, and immoral, must not be laid to the charge of the humane Prussian law, whose administration has for forty years engaged all his powers, but rather to the *non-observance* and *transgression* of law, whereby in the conduct of this affair justice has frequently been down-trodden, liberty of conscience violated, and the holy exposed to scorn."

Count Kanitz's work consists of three parts, respectively entitled: 1st "Preliminaries of the Suit"; 2d "History of the Suit"; and 3d "Results of the Suit."

The leading points of the first part having already been considered, we begin our analysis with the second, which details the history of the suit; and notices:

1. *The encroachments of the ecclesiastical authority.* The president of the consistory compromised his official position by a private arrangement with the accuser "to furnish a brief recital of some facts in order to justify his interference against sectarism," and, instead of directing him to specify his charges to a judge, as the only lawful person competent to receive only facts and juridical proofs, referred him to a clergyman, and selected for that purpose an individual of known hostility to the accused. This ecclesiastic excused the informant from producing facts, and accepted in their stead, as doctrines, alleged expressions and views, and as proofs, letters actually written by Count Kanitz ten or fifteen years before, as well as a manuscript on philosophical subjects. He then invited a notoriously immoral person to his private residence instead of summoning him, as the law required, to the office of the consistory, and unlawfully interrogated him on subjects not specified in the accusation; although the statements of this witness were incredible and contradictory, as proved by the record, the ecclesiastic admitted them as evidence warranting further interference on the part of the consistory, manufactured them into a theological opinion, intended only for the use of the consistory, which, according to his own statements, would have been very differently worded had he been aware that it would come under the inspection of the accused. In virtue of this "theological opinion," the consistory summoned Ebel before them to be examined respecting the charges brought against him. Perceiving that his old adversary had been appointed his judge, and conscious of innocence, he requested to see the protocol of accusation, and this being denied him, he answered the summons on the appointed day, October 5th, 1835, and refused to submit to any inquisitorial proceeding until his just demand should be met. The propriety of his conduct is apparent from the circumstance that the first question put to him was, "whether he admitted the correctness of the allegation that he had founded a sect?" while the protocol of accusation contained no such allegation, and nobody had

brought such a charge against him. The production of the protocol would have shown this, and on that account it was withheld. The charge of sectarianism originated with the consistory, which declined the offer of Count Kanitz to shed light on the subject, preferred to hear only the accusers, and in violation of every principle of justice, allowed the informers to become witnesses for their own accusations.

On the basis of such vaporous and fictitious charges the consistory forthwith ordered Ebel's suspension from office, and in the letter communicating to him said order used this language: "While in our official judgment we acknowledge the blamelessness and zeal of your past ministerial activity, we cannot suffer this circumstance to stay further proceedings because it has been unable to ward off the hard accusations which have been brought against you." The ratiocination of this proposition is justly denounced by Count Kanitz as repugnant to law, logic, and experience; to law, because the weight it attaches to an accusation is in inverse ratio to the blamelessness of the person against whom it is made; to logic, because not every accusation is founded *per se*, and because no man is able to ward off an unfounded accusation, for the very reason that it lacks foundation of fact and reality; to experience, because history shows that often the very best of men are unable to ward off hard accusations. The consistory, not content with the suspension of Ebel, moved the supreme ecclesiastical authorities at Berlin to institute criminal proceedings against him and his colleague, Diestel, whose suspension had also been effected. The total absence of all publicity in the judicial process which then prevailed, rendered it possible that these innocent men were not only suspended from office, but actually treated as criminals.

2. *The precipitate interference of the courts and its consequences*, the author shows from the transgression of the following precepts of the Prussian law:

(1) The judge must strictly confine himself to the limits of the law.

(2) Only facts can be submitted to his judgment.

(3) He must maintain the equality of all persons before the law.

He points out that an inquisition may not be instituted unless the certainty or probability of an offence has previously been established, and its actual occurrence has been fully ascertained by judicial process, and proves from the record that, although both requirements were wanting in the case under notice, it was ordered that it should begin with an examination of the accused, and that a protocol of denunciation should be made and communicated to them. This actual inversion of the legal course of criminal procedure burdened the accused with a defence against a non-extant *corpus delicti*, to be determined by the examination, and placed the court in the extraordinary position of being in quest of a non-extant crime, instead of inquiring into the reality of a probable crime. At this stage of the suit, Count Kanitz was appointed by royal mandate to shed light on the matter, but to his great sorrow opposing influences speedily deprived him of the privilege of having access to the record.

3. The *illegal conduct of the examination* prompts the author to notice the direction of the Prussian Criminal Code, requiring the judge to bestow the same care in ascertaining the innocence as in determining the guilt of the accused, and to consider both the legal conception of the crime, and the penal law with its different modifications relating thereto. Yet nothing was done to fix the meaning of the term "sect," although the examining officer declared it as his judicial conviction that "the status of a sect imports a total separation from the established church." Instead of inquiring whether this criterion applied to the case, the inquiry assumed inordinate dimensions and entered improper spheres, "hunting for grounds of suspicion in all the provinces of Prussia and in almost every country of German speech, and weaving together gossip wholly irrelevant to the case and unconnected with the accused and their friends." "Fables and curiosa, collected in this way, became the subject of judicial proceedings and sworn examinations, and kept

the public in breathless suspense from November 1835 to August 1836. Idlers failed not to augment the material thus furnished with the inventions of a vulgar and lascivious imagination, which were eagerly published by a frivolous press. No relation was spared; all ordinary considerations of decorum were set aside; the family and all civil and social relations were rummaged by the intrusiveness of criminal interference." It is also charged that a witness, whose reputation as an immoral man is established by documentary proof, was allowed to testify in matters requiring morally pure perceptions; that the law was further disregarded in the submitting of *suggestions* and *captious questions* to the accused and the witnesses, and in unnecessary confrontations; that while great partiality was shown to the accusers, unlawful obstacles were placed in the way of the defendants.

The third part of the work, entitled "Results of the Suit," treats in the first section of the unmasking of the accusers and their witnesses, in the production of a most formidable array of charges, alleged to be substantiated by the record, which in juxta-position with the statements of the defence, place them in a most unenviable light, and establish with logical certainty the innocence of the accused. The second section seeks to demonstrate the overthrow of criminal justice in the first sentence against the accused by showing that its acquitting part, while it set aside the charges as unfounded, does not exonerate him by a formal acquittal, and that its condemnatory part is based on arguments utterly repugnant to current ideas of toleration and liberty. They were:

1. The application of Wöllner's notorious religious edict of 1788, directed against neology, to the case of Ebel, who strenuously fought for the supreme authority of holy scripture and the all-sufficiency of our Lord's atonement.

2. An appeal to the *Corpus Juris* of the fifth century for a definition of the term "sect," in order to prove, in the face of all legal and scientific authorities, the existence of a sect.

3. The misinterpretation of private letters exchanged by intimate friends, from ten to twenty years before.

“ Church History,” says Count Kanitz, “ supplies, indeed, in former ages, examples of condemnation in matters of faith by which benefactors of the human race were sacrificed to party-hatred because they opposed universal corruption, and false witnesses charged them with transgressions or crimes; but it cannot instance another judicial sentence drawn up in this century, which on all decisive points not only exhibited an utter disregard of truth, law, and logic (as has been shown in the *Aufklärung*), but in the absence of any punishable offence pronounced a judgment of condemnation on views and opinions, partly couched in coarse and injurious terms, bidding defiance to the advanced civilization and liberal tendency of the age, in order to suppress an activity singularly fitted truly and lastingly to meet its wants.

“ This sentence is therefore a standing document of the danger to which right and morality are exposed by every deviation from law, while the futility of its attempt to pervert truth into untruth bears witness to the purity and intangibility of a truly Christian life, which in spite of outward oppression and injury experienced at the hands of secular power, always has, and ever will, overcome the world.”

In the third and last section the author shows how the final sentence of the Court of Appeal condemns the whole suit; for in acquitting the accused of the charge of having founded a sect, it virtually admitted the illegality of all criminal proceedings. Its condemnatory part treats familiar conversation on philosophico-theological views and conversational expressions affecting a particular relation, as violations of official duty, and punishes them, in flagrant opposition to the Prussian law, which guarantees full liberty of conscience, and expressly stipulates that no person shall be called to account or disquieted for holding views and opinions.

Our limits preclude the production of the very interesting particulars of the *Aufklärung* and compel us to refer those desirous of further detail to that remarkable work, equally creditable to the head and heart of its gifted author.

Those who peruse it carefully and subject its statements and disclosures to the candid test of parallel literature, can hardly resist the conclusion that Ebel and Diestel were greatly persecuted, outrageously slandered, and innocently deposed from the ministry, and that similar proceedings instituted against the most exemplary, godly, and learned men, conspicuous for intellectual strength and culture, eloquence and holiness, and followed by a similar judicial procedure, would inevitably lead to the same results.

Count Kanitz justly observes "that it cannot appear strange that the men moved by the spirit, which ever awakens the Christian life, have always been assailed as sectaries and sect-founders, not because *they separated themselves*, but because *others separated from them*. The Jews and Pagans called Paul a sectary because he had infused the Christian vital element into defunct Judaism and immoral Paganism; the Catholics called Luther a heretic because he annihilated their dead works with the doctrine of justification by faith; the schoolmen gave the same name to Spener because he strove to animate the dead bones of a so-called orthodoxy by maintaining that spiritual experience must evince itself in active Christianity; and Ebel met with similar treatment at the hands of his contemporaries, because he exhorted his age voluntarily to respond to the love of God in harmonious reaction of thought and belief by means of a conscientious adherence to the verbal contents of holy scripture.

"Thus all inimical weapons turned against Ebel; falsehood, intrigue, perjury, ignorance, and violence, were without consideration or restraint applied to the whole persecution, both in the origin, conduct, and termination of the suit, and made to produce a record whose extensive and intensive condition is altogether *sui generis*."

The subjoined quotation from Lactantius (*Institut.* v.) seems to be singularly apposite: "What is the chief element of this great obstinate hatred? Does truth bring forth hatred, or are they ashamed to be ungodly before the righteous and

the good? Or is it both? For the truth is hated for this very reason, that the sinner desires full scope for his sins, and thinks that his wickedness can only then be gratified to the full when there is none left to disapprove of them. Thus the pagans want to exterminate the Christians as the witnesses of their wickedness and malice, for they loathe them as those who rebuke their lives. For why should a few individuals be good at so inconvenient a season, and reproach the public immorality by their good conversation? Why should not all be equally bad, thievish, unchaste, adulterous, perjured, lustful, and cunning? Such being the case it was not sufficient simply to oppress the Christians with outward power; they had to be morally annihilated; and how could that be done except by disfiguring their teachings and defaming their conversation?"

Ebel's own words after his deposition deserve to be placed on record: "Time in its development hastens to maturity; and God who willeth that all men should be saved, also willeth that they, by a free exercise of their will laying hold of salvation, should come to a knowledge of the truth. This knowledge, however, can only be found through faith in the declarations of the Bible. Our age needs a philosophy and seeks one; but it will continue a perplexed age until it learns philosophically to subordinate its reason to the word of God. This alone is the tendency and spirit of that philosophy, which, ranging itself below the Bible, advances the sole claim to be to the thinking mind a key to the understanding of the Bible, and repudiates the views and consequences which have been attempted to be laid to its charge; far removed from opposing the fundamental truths of the evangelical church, it rather establishes them, and is a sure weapon both against the infidelity and the religious phantom-life of the age.

"I here make this acknowledgment with profound gratitude to God; for while hundreds of my colleagues have been turned away from the Bible by other philosophies, this philosophical mode of thinking kept me from the loose seductions

of a tempest-tossed age, and supplied me concerning the evangelical confession of faith, with strength of conviction, which, in spite of incessant hostilities, immovably manifested itself in strictly biblical preaching.

“Committing therefore all things to him who gave to man the word of the Bible, which ‘as to its whole contents is to me divine truth,’ and confiding in him who thus far has led me in a wonderful manner, I cheerfully leave my former relation.”

It remains to add that Ebel after his deposition spent six years (1842–1848) with his friend E. von Hahnenfeld at Grunenfeld in East Prussia, passed two years (1848–1850) in the Tyrol, went thence to Hoheneck near Ludwigsberg in Württemberg, where he fell asleep in Jesus, August 18th, 1861.

Those of our readers who may desire fuller information on this famous trial will be glad of the subjoined list of works directly or indirectly connected with it. We would more particularly call attention to two volumes of sermons by Ebel, recently reprinted, and originally preached during the very period which gave rise to the trial; they are respectively entitled *Die Treue* and *Die Weisheit von oben her*, in which the departed “yet speaketh,” and utters no uncertain sound on many of the most interesting and important questions of the day. The splendid typography and chaste binding of the volumes seem to proclaim them loving mementos of the departed, and their contents bear ample testimony to the fidelity and spirituality of Ebel’s preaching.

Besides these two volumes of sermons the more important published works of Ebel are the following: *Die gedeihliche Erziehung*, an admirable work on Christian education, which we hope to see in an English garb. *Bibelworte* and *Winke zum Verständniss der Bibelworte*, a very useful Sunday-school book. *Verstand und Vernunft im Bunde mit der Offenbarung Gottes durch das Anerkenntniss des wörtlichen Inhalts der heiligen Schrift*, by Ebel and Diestel, Leipzig, 1837. *Zeugniss der Wahrheit*, by the same, Leipzig, 1838, in refutation of Olshausen’s book entitled *Lehre und Leben*

des Königsberger Theosophen Johann Heinrich Schönherr. Grundzüge der Erkenntniss der Wahrheit, Leipzig, 1852. *Die Philosophie der heiligen Urkunde des Christenthums*, Stuttgart, 1854-1856. *Compas de route pour les amis de la vérité dans un temps de confusion des idées offert par des amis de la vérité*, Königsberg, 1859.

Works in vindication of Ebel besides the exhaustive and unanswerable *Aufklärung* by Count Kanitz, are two condensed statements of the large work, and *Ein Mahnwort zu Gunsten der Nachwelt an die historische Literatur der Gegenwart*, by the same author. *Ein Blick auf die einstige Stellung der Oberpräsidenten Auerswald und Schön*, etc., by E. E. von Bardeleben, Stuttgart, 1844. *Die Liebe zur Wahrheit*, by Ida, Countess von der Gröben, Stuttgart, 1850. *Die religiöse Bewegung zu Königsberg*, etc., by E. von Hahnenfeld, Braunsberg, 1858.

ARTICLE IV.

MOUNT LEBANON.

BY REV. T. LAURIE, D.D., FORMERLY MISSIONARY THERE.

(Continued from page 471).

THE GEOLOGY OF LEBANON.

THIS has never been thoroughly explored. Dr. Henry J. Anderson, who was with Lieut. Lynch in his expedition to the Dead Sea, is the only writer on this subject, and his examination of the mountain was only partial. He commences his "Geological reconnoissance of part of the Holy Land" as follows:

"To the geologist Syria appears as a much disturbed, mountainous mass of secondary and later limestones with basaltic and tertiary interruptions. The calcareous deposits form the basis and body of the work. The Plutonic rocks are subsequent intrusions. Still later embankments of looser texture have lodged themselves irregularly in the cavities of

the re-excavated surface, and these again have been swept away by denuding processes of the order of our time.”¹

On the same page he says: “There must have been a time when the summits of Libanus and Hermon, with all the vast calcarean block from which they have been cut, lay at least ten thousand feet below their present level, under the waters of the Great Jurassic ocean. Since the epoch of the early Jurassic limestone the orographical relief of the whole land has been repeatedly obliterated and reformed. Long before the deposit of the chalk the land has been excavated or broken up by the prevailing agencies of the time into hills and valleys of the same order of dimensions as those which give its surface its present configuration. In this respect, as well as in the palaeontological character of its formations, the resemblance between the Syrian and the neo-Alpine geology is continually noticeable. The mountains may now be a few feet higher or lower than they were; the valleys and ravines may be engraved a little deeper, or cut back a little farther; the rivers may have gained or lost a few inches of mean depth; but the main landmarks and the great lines of Aram and Canaan are still there, and the last deposit of the chalk, so immeasurably old at the birth of its successor, seems scarcely older now for all the centuries that have elapsed.”²

“The mass of the main Libanus is a limestone much older than the calcareous accumulations upon its flanks; and these must have preceded by a very long interval the sandstones which occupy the lateral excavations, and are seldom found interstratified with the contiguous rocks. A careful examination of the strikes of the sub-Libanine chalk makes it almost impossible to admit the usual hypothesis of an elevatory movement along the axis of the chain, rupturing and rising above the superincumbent beds. The phenomena indicate rather the gradual emergence of a submarine mountainous

¹ Official Report of the United States Expedition to explore the Dead Sea and the River Jordan, by Lieut. W. F. Lynch, U. S. N. (Baltimore, 1852), p. 79.

² Ibid. pp. 80, 81, 82.

district from the deep waters of a cretaceous sea, the bearings of the chalky deposits being determined by the pre-existing slopes on which the sediments have been quietly deposited.”¹

The main body of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon is Jura limestone, hard, partially crystalized, and containing few fossils. Over this are more recent deposits of all degrees of hardness, and of different colors, sometimes a reddish brown, sometimes grey of different shades, and again pure white. It is also of all degrees of consistency, from the loose conglomerate of broken shells on the shore to the solid interior mass of the mountain. The surface limestone abounds with fossils in many places, and some are distinguished by fossils peculiar to their vicinity. Thus Hakil, three hours east of Jebail, and the rocks near the convent of Bkerky above the bay of Juneh, are noted for their beautiful specimens of Ichthyolites. So perfect are these that the writer once detected a Yankee knife trying an unusually perfect specimen to see if it was not manufactured; the inquirer was satisfied, but the Ichthyolite was sadly defaced. The Jurassic fossils of Syria are chiefly casts. Among these are Echinodermata, such as *Echinus Syriacus*, *Holaster Syriacus*, and many spines of *Cidaris*, which the people regard as petrified olives. The Testacean bivalves are represented by several varieties of *Ostraea*, *Nucula*, *Trigonia*, *Astarte*, *Arca*, *Cardium*, *Mactra*, *Venus*, *Lucina*, and *Tellina*, with an *Exogyra*, *Pecten Iso-cardia*, *Corbula*, *Pholadomya*, *Cytherea*, and *Orbicula*, and Testacean Univalves by several varieties of *Chenopus*, *Natica*, *Turritella*, *Nerinea*, and *Ammonites*. Some of these last are very large, and susceptible of a fine polish, which brings out the beautiful structure of the shell very finely. Some of the *Strombi* also are very large, and so are some of the *Hippurites*. Fine specimens of *Nerinea* may be picked up in the road as one goes up through the lower Ghurb to Abeih; and Bhamdûn is noted for the variety and abundance of its petri-

¹ Official Report of the United States Expedition, etc. p. 84.

factions.¹ Very fine geodes of quartz, chalcedony, and other crystals occur at Baabda and at Jezzin, and differ from those on Mount Carmel, called by the natives "petrified melons," in being jagged and deeply pitted on the external surface. Lebanon has made many valuable contributions to our geological cabinets, and is capable of making many more.

Broad sandstone strata run along the western slopes of Lebanon, and are readily distinguished by the more rounded form of the surface, and the dark growth of the pine (*Pinus Halepensis*) that finds its favorite soil in that formation, contrasting finely with the bright green of the ilex on the sharper ledges of the limestone. This sandstone is largely impregnated with iron, alumina, and lime. Some strata yield ninety per cent of iron ore. The colors are as various as those of the "bunter sandstein," red and yellow predominating, with all the intermediate shades of orange, and occasionally with patches of green.²

There is a sand in the plain of Beirût that is thrown up as a basis for the cactus hedges that line the roads, and is so impregnated with lime that it stands at a very acute angle, and retains its smooth surface for a long time after it has been smoothed by the spade.

The limestone strata dip at all angles in all directions, and in some places are almost perpendicular. Trap dykes intrude here and there, and greatly distort and displace them.

Dr. W. M. Thomson³ explains the scarcity of water in the Kesrawan, by the fact that for more than twenty miles the strata near the sea dip towards it at all angles from 90° downwards, thus carrying the springs so deep that they can find an exit only where the strata terminate under the sea. These strata are a striking peculiarity of lower Lebanon. They are frequently one thousand feet in perpen-

¹ These fossils are accurately figured in the plates of Lieut. Lynch's Official Report.

² Lynch's Official Report of the United States Expedition, p. 88; see also his "Narrative" (Philadelphia, 1849), p. 505.

³ *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), Vol. v. p. 4.

dicular height, and much more than that in thickness, and always indicate a scarcity of water.

Along the shore south of Jebail indurated white marl alternates with a fossiliferous limestone, sometimes interlaced so regularly with seams of dark chert as to seem like the layers of brick and mortar in a wall.¹ North of Nahr Ibrahim the surface along the shore is covered with black sand and pebbles, often cemented into a conglomerate. Here also is an old coast line, marked by a thick conglomerate of sand and recent shells, overlying the limestone unconformably, about twenty-five feet above the sea.

Ras esh-Shukâh is composed of chalky marl easily disintegrated;² but east of Arca this marl and the limestone are tilted up in all directions by dykes of trap, which, sometimes driven up from beneath like a wedge, have burst and broken the superincumbent strata. Many villages here are built of basalt, and the soil is unusually fertile and verdant, even in very dry seasons.³

Volcanic rocks are found in abundance around the base of Hermon, especially on the southeast, toward the basaltic plains of the Hauran. From the earliest ages earthquakes have been frequent and destructive in Lebanon. Dr. W. M. Thomson gives a thrilling account of the sufferings thus occasioned in 1837, when the shocks were felt from Beirût to Nazareth, but were most destructive at Safed, where six thousand perished out of a population of ten thousand.⁴

Ibrahim Pasha opened a coal mine near Cornayil in the Metn, but the veins were thin, and the coal of so poor a quality that it has since been abandoned.⁵ Iron is smelted in several places, but only two are worthy of notice; one an hour from Akura, and the other near Shweir.⁶ Three miles west of Hasbeiya are wells of bitumen, one of them a hundred and sixteen feet deep. The stratum of bitumen varies from five to fifteen feet in thickness, and the quality also

¹ *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), Vol. v. p. 6.

² *Ibid.* (1848), Vol. v. p. 9.

³ *Ibid.* (1848), Vol. v. p. 17.

⁴ *Missionary Herald*, 1847, pp. 443-440.

⁵ Col. Churchill's *Lebanon*, i. p. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. p. 94.

varies from a brown earthy, unctuous mass, to a pure black jet. The wells, though they have been wrought from remote ages, still yield an abundant supply.¹

The rock of Lebanon is sometimes worn into the most picturesque forms. Rev. J. L. Porter² describes this near the head of Nahr el-Kelb, where many lateral ravines come into the main glen, so that its sides are dotted with sharp peaks. These sometimes rise alone like obelisks, but more often are connected together by narrow ledges, like arched viaducts. In one cliff the horizontal strata are worn at the edges so as to resemble a large pile of cushions. Here and there are tall pillars supporting broad tops like centre tables, and in many places the cliffs are ribbed like the pipes of an organ.

Land slides sometimes occur in Lebanon. One took place a hundred and five years ago among the argillaceous cliffs in the Wady of Ain Zehaltch. A piece of land near Kefr Nebrakh with a hamlet on it, slid down fifteen hundred feet into the stream below, carrying houses, gardens, and trees pell mell to the bottom. It arrested the flow of the stream for seven days, and one man who was carried down on it, though uninjured in body, was ever after a raving maniac.³

SCENERY OF LEBANON.

If these natural curiosities are interesting, the mountain scenery amply repays the visitor who climbs to see it.

A magnificent view of Lebanon may be seen from el-Mutteiar, literally "the place of flying," the name of the peak behind Abeih, marked on the English Admiralty chart two thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven feet. Up toward Bhamdûn, the deep gorge of the western branch of the Damûr is dark with pines. Further to the right the glen of the larger branch extends up toward el-Kineeseh, and on the triangular plateau between them are forests, fields, and vineyards. The houses of that village on its nearest edge

¹ The Land and the Book, i. p. 335 ; Bib. Sac. (1846), Vol. iii. p. 186.

² Five Years in Damascus. ii. p. 289 ; Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 802

³ The Land and the Book, i. p. 82.

look like white shells dotting the line of the cliff. In the distance rising smoke marks the location of the hamlets whence it comes. That seemingly tangled thread hanging down the precipice is the path to the regions beyond, and, far above the whole the serrated crest of Lebanon reposes against the sky. Further to the south the opposite cliff gives place to terraces that, laying seige to its base, raise their scaling ladders towards its summit. They wind round the heads of the small side valleys like the seats of an ancient amphitheatre. The scene is grand, but hushed. No sound is heard save the deep monotone of the river, thundering over the rocks more than two thousand feet below. It varies only as the breeze bears it swifter or more slowly to the listening ear. It seems as though we could shout to those horsemen midway up the steep ascent, but long hours would be needed to reach the place. Beyond the ridge which they climb, that narrow strip of plain along the shore is old Phoenicia; that nearest object, like a little castle on the sands, is Sidon. Further on, where the hills come down to the sea, is Surafend the old Sarepta, and those white walls in the sea are all that is left of Tyre.

Now turn to the west, and look over the flat roofs of Abeih, with its terraced olive groves and gardens, down that succession of pine clad eminences, each crowned with its convent or its castle, rising out of sombre woods and green fields, varied by rugged rock and terraced valley, to the sea. That is like a mirror, here gleaming like silver, there less bright, as the breeze ripples the surface. The ships sit motionless, like white birds, on the water. Nearer we might discern the forms of old Homeric ships, such as bore the Grecian hosts to Troy, and other shapes, from the tall Polacca, with tall masts of one tapering spar, down to the Felucca and Arab Shukhtoor, with its lateen sails and comfortless accommodations. The steamship, with pennon of smoke, moves among them like the monarch of the sea. At first we search in vain for the horizon, and for a moment it seems as if the sea folded back above us in one continuous surface, till the eye learns

to distinguish the blue sea from the blue sky. The view is beautiful when the sea is covered with clouds; then their upper surface seems like a sea of snowy foam. It is seldom continuous; openings here and there give glimpses of the water below, beautifully diversified by the light and shade of overhanging clouds. These constantly assume new forms, uncovering a part of the sea to hide it again, and open new vistas elsewhere, like the changes of a kaleidoscope or of a dream.

And this recalls a morning scene in August, high up on Sunnîn, at the base of the highest precipice that seems to wall out the east. We stepped out of the tent in the morning into a shroud of mist, apparently composed of the dust of gold, and full of a strange unearthly glory. Behind us the mass surged against the cliff like huge billows of cloud, sometimes laying bare a part of it so suddenly and so near that it seemed falling on our heads, and again hiding and revealing it, till the rock seemed as unstable as its misty covering.

Toward the sea at first we could discern nothing save the illumined misty chaos; then we caught glimpses here and there of jagged cliff and woody vale below us. At one place a long thread of silver glittering in the heart of the vapor seemed inexplicable, so near, so bright, and well defined, till the mist moving there also, disclosed a neighboring ridge with a little brook flashing in the morning light, and far below white-walled convents and green terraces, villages and olive groves, dotting the lower ridges, till, beyond them all, the broad bosom of the sea reflected back the light.

Looking from beneath, one sees only the limestone reflecting the rays of the sun. The terrace walls hide the verdure of their upper surface, so that the mountain seems made up of immense masses of naked rock, severed by deep ravines, plunging to the plain; but viewed from above one sees the terraces green with growing grain or spreading vines or the glossy leaves of the mulberry. The uncultivated surface has its patches of pine or oak, while village and

convent are set in irregular green frames of the foliage of the olive.¹

Each district has its own peculiarities, and every eminence gives its special grouping of the beauty all about it. Few words may suffice to describe the different objects in each landscape, but they are clothed in such a variety of forms and present such a diversity of grouping that no description can do them justice. Even the same scene appears in such varied aspects, as it is viewed in sunshine or under clouds, at morning or at evening, in summer or in winter, that its beauties never weary. One always finds something to admire which he never noticed before.

CLIMATE OF LEBANON.

Arab poets say that Lebanon bears winter on his head, spring upon his shoulders, and autumn in his bosom, while summer lies sleeping at his feet.² In Beirût there is neither snow nor frost in winter, though very thin ice may sometimes be seen on the flat housetop in the early morning after a cold rain followed by wind during the night, but nothing of the kind is ever seen on the ground, and yet on the highest peak of Lebanon the snow never melts. The cedars are inaccessible seven or eight months out of the twelve, but at Tripoli, which is in sight from them, the leaf of the orange never fades. At the sources of the Jordan the heat and vegetation are almost tropical. The mercury stood there at 98° in the shade, though on the day previous it did not rise above 32° on the top of Hermon.³ On September 1st Rev. J. L. Porter found the temperature 41° at sunrise and 52° at sunset, the evening previous on that mountain.⁴ Snow rarely appears on Lebanon lower than two thousand feet. In the Bukâ'a it falls every winter, and renders the roads over the higher parts of the mountain impassable for weeks together.

¹ Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, ii. p. 493; Dr. Alexander's *Kitto*, ii. p. 802.

² W. K. Kelley's *Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 86.

³ J. L. Porter in Dr. Alexander's *Kitto*, ii. p. 805.

⁴ *Five Years in Damascus*, i. p. 296; query: is the 32° in Dr. Alexander's *Kitto* a mistake of the printer for this 52°?

Fresh snow covers Sunnîn in November, and disappears usually in April, though in the sheltered nooks near the summit it remains all the year round. At Homs in July the mercury ranges from 70° to 93°, with an average of 80°. June and August are more cool. In September it goes from 68° up to 82°, and in winter the ground is usually frozen under several inches of snow. At Blûdân, on Anti-Lebanon,¹ in the hottest days of summer the thermometer seldom rises above 80°, and the nights are almost always cool and pleasant. Dr. Kerns found the temperature at Beirût to average in January 54° in the morning, 63° at noon, and 58° in the evening, highest 70°. In August 83°, 89°, 84°, at the same hours, highest 97°, while at Bhamdûn² in the same August it averaged 65°, 71°, and 70°, at the same hours, highest 84°. ³ The evaporation from the sea at Beirût, and other points along the shore, renders the same degree of heat more uncomfortable than it would be in the dryer air of the interior.

Dr. King, in the *Missionary Herald* for 1825, gives a record of the temperature at Beirût for January, February, and March, at nine o'clock A.M. and three P.M.

	9 A.M.			3 P.M.		
	Lowest point.	Highest.	Mean.	Lowest point.	Highest.	Mean.
In Jan.	49° (13th)	59° (29th)	54°	51° (13th)	64° (29th)	56°
In Feb.	35° (19th)	59° (9th)	48°	37° (19th)	63° (9th)	51°
In March,	48° (25th)	62° (19th)	56°	50° (25th)	64° (19th)	58°

On one half of the ninety days there fell more or less rain, and on two days there was snow and hail. The general course of the wind was southwest, and less frequently northeast, but the rain always came with the wind southwest.

Dr. H. A. De Forest⁴ gives the average temperature of

¹ According to Rev. J. L. Porter, in Robinson's *Biblical Researches* (1856) p. 487, four thousand eight hundred and forty-two feet high, but given in his *Five Years in Damascus*, i. p. 280, four thousand five hundred and twenty-four feet.

² Three thousand five hundred feet according to Dr. De Forest, and three thousand seven hundred and ninety-two according to V. Wildenbruch, in V. de Velde's *Memoir*, p. 171.

³ W. K. Kelley's *Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 87.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1844), Vol. i. pp. 221, 222.

December 1842 at Beirût $60^{\circ} 13'$, though the coldest day that season was March 23d, 1843, when the mercury stood at sunrise 50° , at two P.M. 57° , and at sunset 53° . The warmest month in the summer of 1842 was July, which averaged 83° , though the hottest day was August 7th, which was 77° at sunrise, 95° at two P.M., and 83° at sunset. The difference of the extremes observed that year was 45° . The temperature at Bhamdûn from July 20th to October 15th, averaged 12° lower than Beirût. During the year ending April 30th 1843, rain had fallen at Beirût on seventy-three days, December and January twelve days each, and February and April nine days each. From June 2d till September 21st there was no rain, and only four slight showers till November 1st.

During the summer, sea winds rise and go down with the sun, and five sixths of the time they blow from the west or southwest. About eight or nine o'clock P.M. cool breezes begin to come down from the mountain, and make the nights comfortable.

At Beirût the almond tree, the Syrian harbinger of Spring, blossoms in February, and sometimes even in January. The palm tree not only flourishes on the adjoining plain, but even one thousand feet up the mountain side its feathery branches may be seen waving in the breeze. It is strange to look out on orange trees laden with flowers and fruit in the summer air, and take in at the same glance the snow on the crest of Sunnîn. Here, seasons are separated by many degrees of latitude; there, by a few hours walk up or down the mountain side. In Lebanon a gentleman of leisure may almost choose his own climate. He may chase the spring as she leaps from cliff to cliff, and pitch his tent among her crocuses on the edge of the retreating snow, or he may abide with summer on the sunny shore. The Sirocco (which the Arabs call *esh-Shlook*) blows occasionally in March and April.¹ Rev.

¹ Robinson's *Biblical Researches* (1856), p. 35; for a lively description of its effects, and the varieties of it, see *The Land and the Book*, i. p. 454; ii. pp. 311, 312.

J. L. Porter¹ says that it is severely felt in Lebanon, but not so much in Anti-Lebanon. But Dr. W. M. Thomson, a resident of Lebanon experienced its greatest power near Aleppo and in the wadies near Hasbeiya.² The barley harvest begins on the plain of Phœnicia in the end of April; high up on Lebanon it begins in July, and is finished before the end of August.³ From the beginning of April till June the climate of Beirût is delightful. In summer the foreign residents retire to the nearer ranges of the mountain. The hot season lasts from the end of May till the end of October, and with the exception of an occasional shower in July, and a day or two of rain near the close of September, the summer sky is almost cloudless.⁴ In the middle portion of the mountain snow seldom remains on the ground long at a time, even in exceptional seasons not more than ten days; and generally geraniums, dahlias, and all kinds of vegetables remain unsheltered in winter without injury. In its highest villages the mercury rarely falls to 30°; in winter and in summer it stands from 65° to 75°.⁵ Dr. Robinson⁶ speaks of snow at Hasbeiya in March as an unusual occurrence.

With the exception of fever and ague and other fevers during the hot months in unfavorable localities, the climate of Lebanon is healthful, much more so than other parts of Syria. The cholera has never yet entered the mountain, though it has raged very fatally at Damascus and other places in the vicinity.⁷ Dew is almost unknown along the ridges of Lebanon.

The natives are a healthy, robust race, and some of them have great physical strength. It is not uncommon to see a porter on the marina (wharf) at Beirût walk away with

¹ Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 805.

² The Land and the Book, i. p. 454.

³ J. L. Porter in Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 805, and Col. Churchill's Lebanon, i. 31.

⁴ J. L. Porter in Dr. Alexander's Kitto, ii. p. 805 says that from June 1st, to September 20th, rain never falls; but see Col. Churchill's Lebanon, i. p. 31.

⁵ Col. Churchill's Lebanon, i. p. 30.

⁶ Biblical Researches (1856), p. 9.

⁷ Col. Churchill's Lebanon, i. p. 32.

a bale of cotton manufacture weighing six hundred pounds on his back.¹

PRODUCTIONS.

Almost all the cultivated land in Lebanon is in the form of terraces. These are of all sizes according to the nature of the surface, generally long and narrow, and rising successively above each other, like the steps of a stair. More than a hundred have been counted in one continuous ascent.² Emerging from some rocky gorge one enters a secluded valley, a little paradise of verdure in an amphitheatre of hills. Dr. Anderson says: "The valley of Fureidis (Little Paradise) is one of the most attractive combinations of trees, green fields, and running water in this or any other part of Syria, and abounds in little pictures which make its name a pardonable exaggeration."³ On all sides of such a vale are green flights of steps, as if leading up to some great temple. The flat-roofed houses of the village cling like swallow's nests on the face of the cliff, the roof of one serving as street or courtyard for the next above. In the district of Kesrawan this economy of space is most complete. One wonders how man could ever think of cultivating such steep rocky cliffs. Precipices originally accessible only to goats are hewn into terraces with almost the regularity of the seats in the Coliseum, and are resplendent with foliage. There are miniature fields of grain where it would seem that only the eagles could have sown the seed. Fig trees cling to the bare rock, vines are trained along narrow ledges. One writer says they are planted in the valley of the Kadisha, wherever a lodgement could be found for a basketful of earth on the face of the precipice. A single perch of clear soil can scarcely be found, but every portion, however small, is carefully cultivated. In more than one place in the valley of the Nahr el-Kelb, Rev. J. L. Porter⁴ found wheat growing in grottos and under natural arches. Col. Churchill says⁵ that "the

¹ W. K. Kelly's *Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 88.

² *Ibid.* p. 77.

³ Lieutenant Lynch's *Official Report*, p. 98.

⁴ *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. p. 289.

⁵ *Mount Lebanon*, i. p. 19.

idea of manuring the soil (for grain crops) is unthought of," but every device that ingenuity can devise or patient toil accomplish, has been employed to lead the waters of the upper brooks to the highest point they can be made to reach, and the result is everywhere an astonishing fertility. The limit of cultivation runs along at the height of about six thousand feet.¹ Above this the mountain is mostly bare. In one place it is appropriately named el-Jûrd, which means "anything scraped clean," and near the summit it is exactly so. Not a bush nor a plant is to be seen, and the constant action of snow and frost has splintered the rock into pieces so small that the highest summits have a rounded outline unlike the sharp peaks of some of the lower ranges.

Silk is the staple production of Lebanon. The wild mulberry has been grafted with the Persian variety, which has a larger and darker leaf, but a few trees in every plantation are left ungrafted for the nourishment of the young silk-worms. About the end of April the mulberry terraces are thoroughly ploughed and weeded, while the women spend fifteen or twenty days attending to the hatching of the eggs of the silk-worm. The men then cut off the new mulberry twigs, and carry them home to the women, who pick off the leaves and spread them over the worms, renewing the supply at first every six hours, and oftener as the worm grows older. At the end of fifty days it begins to form cocoons, and a week after, these are all removed and sorted. The silk of Lebanon is excellent, and used to be manufactured in Venice, Damascus, and Egypt; now it is exported mostly to France and England.²

Next to this the vine furnishes the most important crop in Lebanon. It is sometimes planted with the mulberry, so as to be supported by it, but it is oftener left to lie on the ground especially in the higher parts of the mountain so as to ripen earlier. After the April ploughing, both vines and mulberry trees are ploughed at least three times during the

¹ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, ii. p. 86.

² Col. Churchill's Mount Lebanon, i. pp. 24, 41.

summer, and watered by turning the streams at certain intervals on the terraces. And as water is generally scarce, and each man must take his turn, village arrangements in this respect are not always carried out without some friction. The vines are pruned annually in March, though the time varies with the altitude of the vineyard above the sea.

The grape harvest, beginning in some places in July, and continuing in others into September, is a very busy season. Grapes sell at about thirty paras per rotol, or half a cent a pound, and they are most excellent. They form a very important part of the food of the people for three months. A large quantity is made into raisins, and also into wine.¹

The grapes in ancient times were trodden in excavations in the solid rock. Dr. Robinson describes one eight feet square and fifteen inches deep, its bottom sloping gently toward another, lower down, four feet square by three feet deep; a hole in the lower part of the rocky partition between them allowed the "must" to flow from the press above into the wine vat below.² Constructions of solid masonry sometimes take the place of these rock-hewn arrangements. The juice is stored away after it has been properly fermented, and then only is it called wine. The molasses made by boiling down the juice before fermentation to twenty-five per cent of the original weight of the grapes is never called wine, or even classed among drinks, but is regarded in all respects as our molasses. Indeed in many parts of Lebanon they know no other. It is called dibs, Hebrew דִּבְס, while the wine is called Hhamar, Hebrew חֲמֶר, and also Nebeed.

Every peasant raises his own tobacco for smoking only or snuff-taking; chewing is unknown; Jebail and el-Koora produce the best.

The olive is cultivated extensively in the lower part of Lebanon, but does not flourish so high as three thousand

¹ For a detailed and accurate account of the different processes of wine making on Mount Lebanon, see Dr. E. Smith in *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1846), Vol. iii. pp. 385-389.

² *Biblical Researches* (1856), iii. pp. 137, 603.

feet. It prefers a limestone soil to the sandstone. In that respect it is the opposite of the pine. Of Asher, whose lot fell in the southern border of Lebanon it was said that "he should dip his foot in oil" (Deut. xxxiii. 24). The tree is of slow growth, but lives to a great age. It does not bear till the seventh year, nor is the crop worth much till it is ten or fifteen years old.¹ In the plain of Beirût is an olive grove covering a surface of about twenty square miles.² It is owned by a large number of proprietors, most of whom belong to the aristocracy, and depend on it for much of their revenues.

Olive groves are rented in two ways. The renter receives one third of the oil he makes for the labor of ploughing and manuring the ground and gathering and manufacturing the fruit into oil. But if at the beginning of his lease he pays one fourth of the value of the trees, then he has one half of the oil produced. Dr. W. M. Thomson gives a very graphic picture of the gathering of the olives.³ This harvest takes place only once in two years.

In renting ground on Mount Lebanon the tenant pays one fourth of the estimated value of the trees and vines it contains, performs all the labor, and receives one half of the silk, fruit, wine, raisins, and molasses, and then receives back one fourth of the estimated value of the trees and vines at the time he leaves it.

His house, built of stone, usually consists of one room, fifteen yards long and eight yards wide. This is rent free, and is kept in repair by the landlord. In it the silk-worms are generally reared, though sometimes they have booths built on purpose for this.⁴ These houses have flat roofs of earth, and as the winter is what may be called the rainy season, these are sometimes covered with a luxuriant crop of grass, which, when summer begins, "withereth afore it grow-

¹ The Land and the Book, i. p. 73.

² Col. Churchill's Mount Lebanon, i. p. 123.

³ The Land and the Book, i. p. 74-76.

⁴ Robinson's Biblical Researches (1856), p. 595.

eth up" (Ps. cxxix. 6). So also "in a very rainy day" "their continual dropping" on beds, family stores, and family also, twice furnish Solomon with an illustration of a contentious woman¹ (Prov. xix. 13; xxvii. 15). As the floor is of the same material, much trodden and seldom swept, one can easily see why a woman on missing a piece of money, instead of ransacking her bureau drawers should "sweep diligently till she find it" (Luke xv. 8). As such a thing as a chimney is unknown in ordinary houses, one has frequent opportunities during the winter of feeling the force of the wise man's comparison of the effect produced by a slothful messenger on the man that sends him, to the effect of smoke on the eyes (Prov. x. 26).

The houses of the nobility are much better than those of the common people, though there is not so great a difference as between the castles and ordinary dwellings of Europe in the ages of Feudalism. They are extensive structures of hewn stone, with walls of immense thickness, and built with more or less of pretension to elegance.

The palace, erected by the Emir Beshir at Beit ed-Din² near Deir el-Kamr, with its courts paved with tessellated marble, and spacious Maidan, is the largest and most costly in Lebanon. It is furnished with luxurious oriental baths. The walls of some of the apartments are covered with elaborate mosaics of trees, flowers, animals, and birds. Forty years were spent in building it; artizans were employed from Aleppo and Damascus. The stables had accommodations for five hundred horses, and the water that sparkled in its "Jets d'eau" and irrigated the extensive olive yards on the neighboring terraces was brought from Ain el-Maaser, near Kefr Nebrakli, in an aqueduct constructed by the combined efforts of the mountaineers, who were summoned to the work just as they are summoned to the field in time of war.

¹ See Missionary Herald, 1842, p. 55 for a vivid picture of such a flood.

² Col. Churchill's Mount Lebanon," iii. 262-272; Syria and the Holy Land, xiii. p. 155.

If during a lease any terrace needs rebuilding, the expense is divided equally between the tenant and the landlord. If new ones are to be made the landlord pays three fourths of the cost. Labor about 1850 was worth four piastres a day; now it is valued at seven piastres, or fourteen pence sterling. The ordinary food of the people is bread and olives. The writer has often seen laboring men carry this with them to their distant fields for dinner, illustrating the faith that could say: "Though the labor of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat, yet I will rejoice in the Lord" Besides this there is a very extensive use of olive oil at home. Lebben, or sour milk, is another article universally used. Then, besides fruits in their season—and among these must not be omitted that of the prickly pear (*Cactus Indicus*) which the Arabs call "Subbeir" and eat with great relish,—lentiles (*Gen. xxv. 24*), onions, and bourghul, or cracked wheat, form the common articles of food. In addition the laboring classes have a little meat on rare occasions, as at Christmas and Easter.¹ Dr. Robinson's host at Rûm "said he was able to get about a pound and a half of flesh in a year."²

It is difficult to give a complete list of the trees of Lebanon. In the forests grow the pine (*Pinus Halepensis*), the cedar, Arabic , identical with the Hebrew  (*Cedrus Conifera*). Oaks of many varieties, as *Quercus pseudo coccifera*, and *Quercus aegilops*, or *Valonia* oak, and the evergreen oak, *Quercus ilex*; these abound more especially on the eastern side of the mountain and in Anti-Lebanon. Then there is the terebinth, the juniper, from which pitch is made by the mountaineers, the plane, the poplar, the willow, the hawthorn, the arbutus, the maple, and the laurel, especially the bay tree. The Pride of India grows in the gardens near Beirût. Of fruit trees there are many varieties. The date palm, the banana, the orange, and lemon tree grow at the foot of Lebanon, on the shore, also the low pineapple.

¹ Col. Churchill's *Mount Lebanon*, i. pp. 36-40, 123.

² *Biblical Researches*, 1856, p. 40.

The pistachio (Arabic, *fistuc*), and sycamore (*Ficus Sycomorus*), are well described in the Land and the Book.¹ The carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*) produces the "husks that the swine did eat" (Luke xv. 16). The fruit is in the form of pods, sometimes eight or ten inches long, resembling that of our honey locust tree, but thicker and more solid; the sweetish pulp about the seeds is a common article of food, and is much used in connection with the juice of the grape in making *dibs* and the sweetmeat called *Hullawi*. The plum, apricot, peach, pomegranate, quince, fig, almond, English walnut, black walnut, the pear, and the apple, flourish at different altitudes on Lebanon.

THE CEDARS.

At the upper end of the valley of the Kadisha, on a plateau that seems created on purpose for their home, stands the celebrated Cedar grove (lat. 34° 13' 45"; long. 36° 1' 25"). The highest part of Lebanon lies behind about three thousand feet above them, and throws out immense ridges on either side of them nearly as high, as if stretching out its arms to protect them from injury. The trees stand alone in the centre of this vast amphitheatre, occupying a space about two hundred and ten yards in diameter. As one looks up from below, the eye rests on no other living thing, nothing but immense rounded masses of rock above, and a sloping mass of bare detritus at their base, while in the midst of all they enjoy a perpetual Sabbath. The river is called Kadisha (The Holy) according to Father Dandini A.D. 1600,² "for that it takes its source from the mountain whereon grow the cedar saints."³ This is not the only spot in Lebanon where they are found,⁴ but this is the home of the patriarchs.

¹ The Land and the Book, i. pp. 22-25.

² Voyage du Mont Liban, Paris, 1685, pp. 83, 84.

³ Syria and the Holy Land, p. 111 note; compare Robinson's Biblical Researches (1856), p. 590.

⁴ Rev. G. E. Post, M.D. (Hackett's Edition of Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, p. 1624) has found an extensive grove of cedars near el-Hadet of several thousand small trees, and another large one of about ten thousand very small trees

Three centuries ago Belon counted twenty-eight; a century later D'Arvieux reported only twenty-three; Pococke, a hundred years ago, found them reduced to fifteen; Burckhardt, in 1800, counted eleven or twelve, which is all that now remain of the larger ones. Rauwolf, himself a botanist, seems to have sought for younger trees in the sixteenth century, and found none,¹ but now nearly four hundred trees have grown up around them. Rev. S. H. Calhoun counted three hundred and ninety-three in 1856, and in a letter to the writer, dated July 21st, 1868, says: "Here I am, writing on an extempore table of cedar board, under the shade of the grand old cedars. We have been measuring the larger trees again, and find them still forty-two feet in circumference. That these large ones were here in the days of David I cannot doubt. Nor can I doubt the literal truth of the statement that the Lord planted them:² "The cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted." He gives their height above the sea, at six thousand seven hundred feet; V. de Velde,³ six thousand three hundred and fifteen, on the authority of Major Scott, and Russegger has it six thousand four hundred. This last writer thinks that the smaller trees may be two centuries old, but that the age of the twelve larger ones is incalculable. He is inclined to admit that they may have seen two thousand years.⁴ Lord Lindsay on entering the grove found the air perfumed with their odor — "The smell of Lebanon" (Cant. iv. 11). The graceful repose of the young trees is in marked contrast with the frantic attitude of the patriarchs. Flinging

east of Ain-Zehalta. Above Baruk, and extending southward several miles, he found still another grove, vying with that at Besherrech in magnitude and beauty, and numbering, large with small, from twenty thousand to thirty thousand trees. The southern end of this is a grand collection of two hundred and fifty trees, from twenty-seven feet in circumference down. Most of these groves have been very much injured by wood-cutters and pitch-burners, but they show that Lebanon might, under favorable circumstances, again become famous, as of old, for her cedars.

¹ Robinson's *Biblical Researches* (1856), p. 589.

² Ps. civ. 16.

³ *Memoir*, p. 171.

⁴ *Syria and the Holy Land*, pp. 112, 113; see also *Letter of Rev. S. H. Calhoun, Bibliotheca Sacra* (1857), Vol. xiv. p. 201.

abroad their knotted limbs like Laocoon, they look as if they had been struggling for life with evil spirits, and God had granted them deliverance that they might testify to a scoffing age of the ancient glory of Lebanon. On this spot one feels the force of the description of the cedar "with fair branches, and of a shadowing shroud — his top was among the thick boughs" (Ezek. xxxi. 3) though as to "high stature" their congeners in California far exceed them. Rev. J. L. Porter writes: "As I sat there alone, the Psalmist's magnificent picture of a storm seemed more vivid than ever before. A huge branch of one of the oldest trees had recently been broken by a tempest, and in its fall had partly destroyed a younger tree. There it lay amid the ruin it had caused, as if to illustrate the words: 'The voice of Jehovah breaketh the cedars; Jehovah breaketh the cedars of Lebanon'; and as I read them, I looked out upon those great waters whence the voice of the storm came (v. 3), and upon those mountain sides up which it rolled." ¹

Rev. S. H. Calhoun ² found two trees of great size standing about twelve feet apart, and high up a large branch of one had become so firmly united to the other that the bark had grown over the point of junction. What is more remarkable the taller of the two would fall, owing to an extensive defect near the ground, were it not thus sustained by its stronger companion.

In 1845 the writer found a small unfinished chapel then erecting by the Maronites in the grove, and a priest to guard the trees from injury, too late, however, to save the larger ones from the wanton mutilation of travellers, who have stripped the bark from large places in nearly all of them, in order to inscribe their names. The oldest which Dr. Robinson saw was dated 1791.³ Rev. C. G. Young⁴ read the date 1745, and Irby and Mangles noticed the date of 1640. Such names as Lamartine appear among the *ignotum vulgus* who thus seek for fame.

¹ Giant Cities of Bashan, p. 290. ² Bibliotheca Sacra (1857), Vol. xiv. p. 201.

³ Biblical Researches, 1856, p. 588.

⁴ Wayfarer's Notes on the Shores of the Levant, p. 105.

The cedar of Lebanon is an evergreen. The wood is "almost as hard as oak, with a grain as close as box."¹ It takes a high polish, and the color is richer and deeper than pine. It long retains its fragrance, and is so bitter that no insect will touch it. The cone is blunt at the end, very compact and symmetrical in structure. It comes to maturity only once in two years. The branches shoot out horizontally, and rise above each other like successive shelves of foliage.²

As to other productions of Lebanon, Col. Churchill³ says that the same piece of ground produces three crops of potatoes within the year, and the rot is there unknown. Peas grow both summer and winter. Okra (*Hibiscus esculentus*), Arabic, "*Barmia*," — the egg plant (*Solanum esculentum*), Arabic, "*Badinjan*," — Tomatoes, known among the Arabs by the name of "*Banadora*," — a large variety of cucumbers, musk and water melons, and kindred plants are found; among them the *Ecbalium elaterium*, or *Momordica elaterium*, which yields a powerful drastic purgative. Squills abound on the sandy plain of Beirût. Lupines are cultivated by the acre as food.

The tangled thickets of shrubs, flowers, creepers, mosses, and lichens that cover every uncultivated foot of soil in the lower parts of Lebanon, would furnish a paradise to the botanist. Only a few of the more common can here be mentioned. It is the home of the rose, the myrtle, and the jessamine. The name of this last we get from the Arabic "*Yasmeen*." Tulips, anemones, both scarlet and purple, sweet-peas, mignonette, hyacinths, and jonquils (*Narcissus*) abound.⁴ The eye can follow the line of the brooks in the deep valleys by the thickets of oleanders that adorn their banks. Rhododendrons crown the peaks higher up, with the rock rose, ivy, barberry, and honeysuckle. A blue convolvulus is common, and beautiful cyclamens. One of these the Arabs call

¹ Giant Cities of Bashan, p. 291.

² For a good general account of the cedars see Robinson's Biblical Researches, iii. (1856), pp. 588-594.

³ Mount Lebanon, i. p. 26.

⁴ Col. Churchill's Mount Lebanon, i. p. 27.

Douwaeket el-Jebel (Little Cock of the Mountain). Poppies, pinks, geraniums, lilies,—among them a green lily,—the star of Bethlehem, blue bells, and an immense variety of thistles are common. In spring the whole mountain is covered with flowers, and the early rains of autumn call them forth a second time from their hiding places. The althea and snapdragon flourish in the damp gorge of the Litany, the latter on the mountain as well. Lieut. Lynch saw the pink valerian, the broom, Arabic "*Retem*," with its fragrant straw-colored flowers, and several kinds of heath and ferns on Mount Hermon. The two last grow on Lebanon also, and the same may be said of the vine resembling the morning-glory he saw in Wady Barada, and the pink larkspur and yellow honeysuckle he found near Baalbek.¹

A lady long resident in Beirût adds the following to those already mentioned: Several varieties of amaranth, clover of various kinds, the iris or fleur-de-lis, chrysanthemum, jack in the pulpit, fragrant violets, like those of England, marshmallows, orchis, ambrosia, gilly-flowers of several kinds, thyme and lavender, mustard, ranunculus, acacia, snowdrops, crocuses, daisies, red and blue forget-me-not (*Myostis arvensis*), ricinus communis, taraxacum, and a large yellow bean which the Arabs call *Târmûs*.

ZOÖLOGY.

The zoölogy of Lebanon has not received the attention it deserves. Its wild animals are not yet extinct. The large Syrian bear still ranges the upper parts of the mountain, and lays waste the vineyards now and then. Dr. De Forest, when visiting the highest part of Lebanon above the cedars,² on going down toward a large bank of snow, started up one from a nook beneath him. Bruin rose sluggishly and moved slowly away, and while looking at him, the Doctor heard a heavy fall from beneath the crag on which he stood, among the loose stones below, and soon saw a second bear limping

¹ Narrative, pp. 482, 494, 501.

² Journal of American Oriental Society, iii. p. 356.

slowly after his mate. The panther, rather than leopard, as some call it (Hebrew פנתר, Arabic فهد), is confined to the more inaccessible solitudes, where he is seldom seen and less frequently destroyed. The hyena and jackal still prowl around deserted ruins and rocky dens; foxes have not forgotten their cunning; wild boars root up the more remote fields, and wolves wage war on the flocks, after their manner. As Anti-Lebanon is more thinly peopled than Lebanon, wild beasts there are proportionately more abundant. Vast herds of gazelles may be seen there leaping across the plains.

Among birds, eagles are numerous, as we would expect in a region abounding with inaccessible cliffs. Some of them have no feathers on the head and upper part of the neck, illustrating Mich. i. 16: "Enlarge thy baldness as the eagle."¹ Rev. J. L. Porter,² high up on Anti-Lebanon, was once roused from sleep by the rushing sound of wings, and looking up saw twenty-four large eagles wheeling around him, most of them coming within pistol shot. Vultures are numerous, and hawks in endless variety. A species of daw frequents the higher districts. Snipes and woodcocks abound wherever there is water. The swallows know their appointed time for a visit to Lebanon (Jer. viii. 7), and so do the turtle-doves and cranes. Dr. W. M. Thomson³ tells an interesting story of a stork caught at Safed, bearing a letter from a German countess in a silver casket. The sparrow is caught in large numbers with bird-lime by the boys, and is still sold in the markets of Beirût as cheap as the price mentioned Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6. The katta, or Syrian quail, is seen in large flocks in the spring, going north, and is hunted by falcons, as is also the large Syrian partridge. The Emir Beshir, in the months of January and February, used to go with his officers and retainers to the mountains, and while more than fifteen hundred men beat the woods in every direction, as soon as the game was raised, he loosed his

¹ The Land and the Book, ii. p. 491.

² Five Years in Damascus, ii. p. 315.

³ The Land and the Book, i. p. 503.

falcon, and fifty horsemen followed it with their dogs to secure the prey. A large number of falcons were used on such occasions, and the amount of game secured was large. The throat of the bird is cut as soon as caught, and the head and blood given to the falcon. So David prayed (1 Sam. xxvi. 20): "Let not my blood fall to the earth, as when one doth hunt a partridge on the mountains."¹

ROADS.

Quite recently the French have constructed a carriage road from Beirût to Damascus, and the huge lumbering diligence now plies between those cities; but previously wheel carriages were unknown in Lebanon, and the roads were bridle-paths that barely allowed two loaded animals to pass.

One generation has literally followed the footsteps of another, till the path is often worn deep into the solid rock. The road from Beirût to southern Lebanon passes through the range of hills that lies south of the city, and there horse's hoofs and winter rains have worn the chalk so deep that now the head of a man on horseback does not come up so high as the original surface. Farther on, the road passes between hedges of cactus, whose dropsical, distorted joints, full of spines, defy intrusion. But not till it begins to climb the mountain can its peculiarities be appreciated. As viaducts across the deep side valleys are out of the question, it winds round the head of each, ascending as it goes, and it is beautiful to stop in the centre of such a detour and survey the verdant terraces, which above, below, and on either side, rise, tier on tier, to the top. The noisy stream plunges down the centre like the cutwater of a ship, only it is shaded by trees and fringed by flowering shrubs. Such is the near view; but far below, beyond the olive grove that flows out of the valley, widening as it goes, and filling the plain to the base of the mountain on either side, the blue Mediterranean forms fitting background to the whole. Sometimes the road

¹ Col. Churchill's *Mount Lebanon*, i. pp. 130, 200; the *Land and the Book*, i. 310.

climbs obliquely up the face of a beetling cliff, the horse carefully planting his feet in the holes worn by his predecessors in the polished surface of the rock. Again it is literally a stair for a long distance up the mountain. In ascending, it is easy for the rider to fix his eye on the step above, but not so easy in returning to look down from the unsteady saddle and twisting horse on the giddy view below. In such places the horse lowers his head, and cautiously scans the rock before he moves; then gathering his four feet together on the edge of the first step, he drops down his fore feet to the next; this feat accomplished, he brings down his hind feet one at a time, and again gathers all together for the second plunge, and so on to the end. While the writer was in Beirût he met the commander of one of our national ships descending this road. He had started for Abeih; but, appalled by the difficulties of the ascent, returned ere he had got half way to his destination; and an Armenian from Constantinople, who thought to cut off one of the zigzags of the ascent, slid, horse and all, down the smooth surface of the rock, only when his steed stopped somewhat abruptly at the bottom, he kept on ingloriously to the ground.

V. de Velde describes the road from Afka to Ajeltoon as "in the fullest sense of the word, execrable."¹ Rev. J. L. Porter thus describes the path up the northern side of the Kadisha: "It was no child's play to climb that mountain. The road is a mere goat track, now in a rocky torrent bed, now on the brink of a fearful ravine, now over a slippery crown of naked limestone, and now up rude stairs that seemed let down from heaven itself. Sometimes one stirrup rang against the overhanging cliff, while the other was suspended over a fathomless abyss."² Dr. Robinson, however, caps the climax³ by telling how the horse of his guide in clambering up the steep road to Râm in Jebel Rîhan (southern Lebanon) fell over backwards! It ought to be added, however, to the credit of our missionary ladies, that they think nothing of

¹ Memoir, p. 192.

² Giant Cities of Bashan, p. 287.

³ Biblical Researches (1856), p. 39.

riding up and down the same road that made the commodore strike his flag, and do so continually.

POPULATION.

Dr. W. M. Thomson says : " Lebanon has about four hundred thousand inhabitants, in more than six hundred towns, villages, and hamlets." ¹ Col. Churchill ² puts the population, in round numbers, at four hundred thousand, and estimates the Maronites at two hundred thousand, ³ of whom thirty thousand were capable of bearing arms,—in this agreeing with Dr. Thomson ; but while the latter says that the Druzes in all Syria number one hundred thousand, ⁴ Col. Churchill ⁵ says they number only sixty thousand souls, and counts in Lebanon only fourteen thousand males, out of whom they can muster six thousand warriors, as fearless and as obedient to orders as ever took the field. J. L. Porter, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, estimates the Druzes in Lebanon at twenty thousand fighting men. The lists for the poll-tax paid to the Emir Beshir by all males between fifteen and sixty in 1839 and 1840 give seventy-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-nine Maronites, and eighteen thousand three hundred and twenty-one Druzes, eight thousand and twenty-nine adherents of Greek and papal Greek churches, two thousand nine hundred and seventeen Moslems, and two thousand three hundred and eleven Metawalies, with some other smaller sects, making a total of one hundred and ten thousand three hundred and thirteen poll-taxes in Lebanon. The sheikhs and clergy are not included in the enumeration. ⁶

The following statements are simply condensed from an elaborate Article on " The Maronites " in the *Missionary Herald*, ⁷ without any attempt to reconcile them with what has just been written. The Article was prepared by missionaries in Beirût familiar with the subjects of which they treat.

¹ The Land and the Book, i. p. 24.

² Mount Lebanon, i. p. 54.

³ Mount Lebanon, iii. p. 99.

⁴ The Land and the Book, i. p. 246.

⁵ Mount Lebanon, iii. p. 100.

⁶ Syria and the Holy Land, p. 91.

⁷ *Missionary Herald*, 1845, pp. 314-319.

The Maronites in Lebanon number one hundred and eighty thousand souls. They are of Syrian origin, as appears from their liturgy, which is still Syriac, though they now speak Arabic. They write the Arabic in Syriac letters, which style is called *Karshûny*. They have two ranks of nobility, sheikhs and emirs. The former belong to the families of *Khâzin*, *Habeish*, and *Dehdah*. The latter to the families of *Shehab* and *Abi el-Lem'a*.

Their patriarch resides at the convent of *Kanobin* in summer and that of *Bkerky* in the winter. He styles himself "Patriarch of Antioch and all the East."

They have thirteen bishops. The diocese of *Sidon* extends from *Akka* to the *Damûr*, and as far east as *Anti-Lebanon*. It contains four convents and one nunnery. That of *Beirût* from the *Damûr* to *Antelias*, contains ten convents. That of *Cyprus*, including, besides that island, *Lebanon* from *Antelias* to *Nahr el-Kelb*, contains eight convents. That of *Damascus* including, besides that city, from *Nahr el-Kelb* one half of *Kesrawan*, contains four convents and eight nunneries. The diocese of *Baalbek* reaches from the middle of *Kesrawan* to *Jebeil*, and contains five convents and seven nunneries. That of *Jebeil*, from the district of *Futûh* to near *Tripoli*, contains nine convents and one nunnery, and that of *Tripoli* extends thence to *Akkar*. *Ehden* constitutes a diocese of its own, and so does *Aleppo*.

Their priests numbered at that time from seven hundred to a thousand. In the forty convents enumerated above, were one thousand one hundred and two monks, and in the seventeen nunneries five hundred and seven nuns. Of the monks about six hundred were in priests orders.

The patriarch is elected by the bishops from their own number, and is confirmed by the pope. The bishops are elected by the people of the diocese, and approved by the patriarch who consecrates them, assisted in the imposition of hands by the other bishops. There are some bishops without dioceses, acting as superiors of convents, and vicars or agents of the patriarch. The priests are usually married,

but never after ordination ; second marriages are not allowed. They are elected by the people of the parish from among themselves, and no candidate can be forced on them without their consent. If a parish becomes dissatisfied with its priest they can accuse him to the bishop, who has power to suspend him from office for canonical cause. Every priest must pass an examination in Arabic and Syriac, at least so far as to be able to read it, if he cannot interpret it, and also in casuistry, besides giving evidence of good character. He receives ordination either from the patriarchs or from a bishop, and his duties are to baptize, ratify espousals and marry, visit the sick and administer extreme unction, say mass daily, read prayers in church, at least on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, hear confessions, give the communion, and once a week read over by himself the book of offices according to the Rubric. Their income is a stipulated portion of the produce of the parish, such as grain, olive-oil, silk, etc., paid at the harvest season of each article, and two piastres each for masses, baptisms, espousals, marriages, and burials. The whole varies from two thousand to nine thousand piastres. They are not allowed to trade, labor as mechanics, or pursue any other profession. The income of the bishops is derived from glebes, presents when they officiate at baptisms, marriages, funerals, etc., and for permission to marry within the prohibited degrees of affinity ; also four piastres for each mass, and varies from ten thousand to twenty-four thousand piastres. The patriarch has an income of two piastres from each adult Maronite, minus the percentage of the bishops for collecting it ; of five piastres from each priest, of six piastres for every mass he celebrates, and one hundred thousand piastres from his convents, amounting to two hundred thousand piastres in all.

There is a school in every large village or town, parents paying a stipulated sum for each book a child learns to read. In some places school funds aid in the support of the teacher, and sometimes the bishop pays for the tuition of the poor. The income of teachers is from six hundred to one thousand,

and even as high as five thousand, piastres per annum. Nothing is taught but reading. About one third of the men learn to read, but none of the women except perhaps a few of noble birth. There were in 1845 three general colleges situated at Ain Warkah, Râmieh, and Mar Abdah Herherîya, with incomes varying from thirty thousand to two hundred thousand piastres, three diocesan colleges at Mar Yohanna Maron, Mishmâsheh, and Kurnet Shehwan; also two schools for monks at Bir Suneih and Kefifan. No mathematics, not even arithmetic, is taught at any of them, only reading and casuistry at the monkish colleges, and Syriac, Arabic grammar, logic, moral theology, and preaching at the others; at Ain Warkah, Latin, Italian, rhetoric, physics, and philosophy are taught, and doctrinal theology was once introduced, but discontinued because it tended to Protestantism. During his whole course the charity student—for each diocese may send two—is not allowed to leave the premises, nor to converse with any outside the school, nor with the servants, and with each other only in the time appropriated to recreation. When at the age of sixteen he must take an oath of obedience to the patriarchs, and be subject to his orders. No regard is had to rank or wealth in admission or treatment afterwards, and those found incapable of enduring the regulations of the school are sent away. The course of study is from five to eight years, according to the proficiency of the student on entering.

The population of some of the large towns is as follows: ¹

Beirût (lat. 33° 54' 55"; long. 35° 27' 35", at castle on northeast of city) which Dr. Robinson in 1838 gave at fifteen thousand, he counted thirty thousand in 1856.² Dr. W. M. Thomson² puts it at from forty to fifty thousand in 1858, and Mr. G. C. Hurter now (1869) assures me it is as high as eighty-five thousand. The commercial advantages of Beirût as the great entrepot for Syria, and the large acces-

¹ Dr. W. M. Thomson gives the statistics of the chief cities and towns in Syria in the *Missionary Herald*, 1842, p. 19.

² *Biblical Researches* (1859), iii. 9.

³ *The Land and the Book*.

sion of fugitives from the massacres of 1860, who never returned to their homes, account for this very marked increase.

Tripoli (lat. $34^{\circ} 27' 0''$; long. $35^{\circ} 47' 50''$) Rev. J. L. Porter¹ puts at thirteen thousand, probably counting the city alone. Dr. W. M. Thomson,² including the mina or seaport a mile and a half from the city, estimates it to be eighteen thousand.

Zahleh, the largest town on the mountain, Dr. Thomson puts down at eleven thousand, and Mr. Hurter thinks that its population is not much diminished by the massacre. Previous to that Dr. Thomson estimated Deir el-Kamr (lat. $33^{\circ} 43' 25''$; long. $35^{\circ} 35'$) at seven thousand. Col. Churchill³ says "some eight thousand," but that has been a good deal diminished, for it suffered more than any other place in Lebanon at that time. Rev. S. H. Calhoun says (April 1869): "Deir el-Kamr, which had a population of six thousand or seven thousand, has not more than three thousand now."

Hasbeiya (lat. $33^{\circ} 25' 13''$; long. $35^{\circ} 41''$), which previous to 1860 contained six thousand inhabitants, has not diminished so much.

Sidon (lat. $33^{\circ} 34' 0''$; long. $35^{\circ} 21' 30''$), according to Dr. W. M. Thomson, who resided there, numbered ten thousand a few years since, and the population there is on the increase.

Damascus (lat. $33^{\circ} 32' 28''$; long. $36^{\circ} 15' 30''$), Lieut. Lynch, on the authority of Dr. Meshakah,⁴ reckons at one hundred and fifteen thousand; Dr. W. M. Thomson says one hundred and twenty thousand. I have no means of ascertaining its present population, but it is a city so favorably situated by nature, that even after the greatest calamities it soon recovers its accustomed prosperity.

Rev. C. G. Young⁵ says that the Maronites have eighty-two monasteries in Lebanon, of which sixty-seven are for

¹ Giant Cities of Bashan, p. 286.

² The Land and the Book, i. p. 24.

³ Mount Lebanon, i. p. 193.

⁴ Narrative, p. 489.

⁵ A Wayfarer's Notes on the Shores of the Levant, pp. 143, 172.

monks, with one thousand four hundred and ten inmates, and fifteen for nuns, with three hundred and thirty; besides these are three hundred and fifty-six churches, served by one thousand two hundred and five priests. He says the papal Greeks have ten convents, the Catholic Armenians three, and the Syrian Catholics one.

Col. Churchill¹ says there are upwards of one hundred monasteries and ten thousand monks in Lebanon, more than half of whom are Maronites, who hold in possession "nearly one fourth of the entire surface of the mountain." W. K. Kelley says: "Besides a numerous secular clergy, Lebanon has more than ten thousand monks in two hundred convents, more than two thirds of whom are Maronites."²

The districts of Mount Lebanon are political and not geographical divisions, and have no settled boundaries. They date from the year 1713, when after the famous battle of Aindara, which destroyed the powerful faction of the Yemeni, the Christian emirs and Druze sheikhs who had enabled the Emir Heider Shehaab to gain that decisive victory, obtained his consent that the mountain should be divided into districts, the leading chief in each becoming responsible for the payment of the taxes due to government. The amount to be raised by each was settled, and the Emir Heider gave to each feudal chief a mukataa, or contract, to that effect.³ Yet the word *مقاطعة* means also a section, a district, a province, from the root *قطر*, to cut, to sever. Many of these districts are small, and are constantly changing, according to the exigencies or favoritism of the government. Even in the largest of them great changes are made almost every year. Dr. Robinson gives a list of nineteen;⁴ viz. el-Tuffah, el-Kharnub, Jezzin, esh-Shûf, el-Arkûb, el-Manasif, es-Sahhar, es-Sahil, el-Ghurb, el-Jûrd, el-Metn, el-Kesrawan, el-Fetuh, Jebeil, el-Betrûn, ez-Zawieh, el-Munciterah, el-Kûrah, and Besherreh; but he should have included ed-Dunniyeh⁵ and

¹ Mount Lebanon, iii. pp. 89, 93.

² Syria and the Holy Land, p. 94.

³ Col. Churchill's Mount Lebanon, ii. 972; iii. 30.

⁴ Biblical Researches, iii. (1841); Appendix, 187-196.

⁵ Ibid. p. 186.

esh-Shukîf¹ in the list, which would have made twenty-one. E. G. Schultz obtained a list of twenty from the Emir Beshir Haidar, thirteen of them Druze districts, and seven Maronites. Col. Churchill mentions only eighteen, omitting es-Sahil, el-Muneitirah, and ed-Dunniyeh, and adding another, Rihan.

The English admiralty map, besides those mentioned by Robinson, gives Tarabulus, Ard Tannurin, Ard Akluk, Akurah, Ibbet, and el-Haity, but omits es-Sahhar and el-Batrûn, showing how unsatisfactory and unreliable these political divisions are.²

Rev. S. H. Calhoun writes (April 3d, 1869) of the effect of the massacre of 1860 on the population of Lebanon: "The Maronites were greatly weakened by the slaughter of so many of their principal men, and of its male population generally. Still it is coming up again, and after the lapse of nine years one would not note the difference without particular inquiry, except in particular places, as at Deir el-Kamr. The victorious Druzes, on the other hand, are at present the losers. Their numbers are diminishing on Lebanon by the emigration of many families to the Hauran, and their influence is on the wane through the many deaths that have occurred among their sheikhs. This latter fact is a singular one. The heads of the Jimblat, Amad, Abdul Melik, and Telhûk families have gone."

ANTIQUITIES.

The first object that strikes one on landing at Sidon, Beirut, Jebail, or Tripoli, is the number of granite columns, from ten to twenty feet long, and one to two in diameter, that form a floor to the shallow harbors, are piled up like cord wood to form piers, or are built into the walls of more modern structures. The style is Grecian, and the material is from Egypt; for, though Lieut. Lynch speaks of granite "in situ," in Anti-Lebanon, and at Baalbek,³ there is none in Pal-

¹ Biblical Researches, iii. (1841), p. 136.

² See letter of Dr. Thomson, V. de Velde's Memoir p. 26.

³ Narrative, pp. 483, 501.

estine or Lebanon except what has been imported. Granite is found on the eastern slopes of Mount Casius.¹ These pillars must have been brought into the country very early, for they are built into structures that date from the time of the elder Ptolemies, and of course must have belonged to ruins then.² They are found among the ruins of Baalbek three thousand feet above the sea, and at Afka on the western face of the mountain, four thousand five hundred and sixty feet high.³ We can easily see how they were transported from the quarries at Syene to the sea, and thence to Phoenicia; but how they were raised so high on Lebanon without anything deserving the name of a road, is certainly a mystery.

The cities along the coast contain such numbers of old foundations, cisterns, tombs, sarcophagi, and ruined structures that even strangers soon cease to notice them. Whenever excavations are made for the foundation of new buildings, fresh objects of interest are brought to the light. In 1854 several copper pots full of beautiful gold coins of Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander were dug up in a garden at Sidon, and deposits of smaller coins have more recently been found in the same vicinity. In Mugharet Tubloon, an ancient Phoenician cemetery there, the sarcophagus of King Ashmunazer or Ashmunyyer, son of Tabnith, son of Ashmunazer king of Sidon, was discovered January 20th, 1855, and on it the longest Phoenician inscription that has yet come to light, and in most perfect preservation. It was found twelve feet below the surface. The lid, a very hard and finely polished piece of marble, eight feet by four, contains twenty-two lines closely written, and scholars have found little difficulty in reading them, from their close resemblance to the Hebrew. The sarcophagus was carried to Paris for a translation of the inscription,⁴ and copies of the original with transcriptions

¹ W. M. Thomson, in *Missionary Herald*, 1841, p. 234.

² W. M. Thomson, in *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), Vol. v. p. 7.

³ Allen's *Dead Sea*, etc., ii. p. 154, quoted by V. de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 171.

⁴ See *The Land and the Book*, i. p. 199.

in Hebrew and critical dissertations on the text have been published by Professor E. E. Salisbury and W. W. Turner.¹

The ruins at Jebail (Gebal) resemble in the size of the stones and the style of finish the substructures of the temple at Jerusalem. Some of the stones are twenty feet square, and as the word rendered "stone squarers" in 1 Kings v. 18 is in the Hebrew (v. 32) גִּבְלִיִּים, Giblites, or men of Gebal, it looks as if they had copied the models of their native town in their work for the Jewish king. At any rate the men of Gebal were intelligent and enterprising mechanics, for as we have seen they were also the naval architects of ancient Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 9).

At the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb the road on the south side of the stream is a terrace hewn out of the face of the cliff, about a hundred feet above the sea, for nearly half a mile² (the writer would say, from his recollection, not half so long); a more ancient road runs parallel with this on a higher terrace, and on the inside of this higher pass are nine tablets or panels cut in the face of the rock. Three of these are Egyptian, in which Professor Lepsius finds the cartouche of Rameses II., the Sesostris of Herodotus; and six are Assyrian, which Mr. Layard regards as the work of Sennacherib. They are all much defaced, and hardly legible. The lower road was made by the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, in the latter part of the second century, according to the following inscription at the north end of the pass:

IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIVS ANTONINVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS
PART. MAX. BRIT. MAX. GERM. MAXIMVS PONTIFEX
MAXIMVS MONTIBVS INMINENTIBVS LICO FLVMINI
CAESIS VIAM DILATAVIT³ PERM.
ANTONINIANAM SVAM.⁴

Antiquities are found in all parts of Lebanon, but there is

¹ See Journal of American Oriental Society, v. p. 227-259.

² W. M. Thomson in Bibliotheca Sacra (1848), Vol. v. p. 2.

³ Dilatavit is Delatavit in the inscription.

⁴ Robinson's Biblical Researches, 1856, pp. 618-624; The Land and the Book, i. p. 57, 59; Giant Cities of Bashan, p. 283; Ritter's Erdkunde, xvii. pp. 531-546; Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 210.

no one ruin of very large extent. The best specimen of a Roman bridge to be found in Syria is at Maameltein at the northeast corner of the bay of Junch.¹ Its span is thirty-eight feet four inches, width thirty-three feet nine inches, and height twenty-six feet.

The aqueduct that supplied ancient Berytus with water crossed the Magoras on a two story tier of arches; it then passed through a tunnel in the western cliff, with numerous shafts rising to the surface, and was carried across the plain on masonry so massive that it has long served the purposes of a quarry.² Sarcophagi abound in many parts of Lebanon and the Bukâ'a. South of Beirût one stumbles on them sometimes alone and sometimes in groups in the most unexpected places. The "remarkable ancient sarcophagi," mentioned by Dr. Robinson,³ were found accidentally by the writer in 1845, while spending the summer at Beshamon, and others may have found them before that.

There are many ruined temples on and around Lebanon. There is a small one at Bisry on the Auwaly. V. de Velde⁴ mentions another at Amiyûn, and a third at Bezîza. The temple at Fakhrâh near the natural bridge on the Nahr el-Kelb faces the east, and measures one hundred and ten feet by fifty-five. The walls are partly standing, but the rose-colored limestone columns, four feet in diameter, with Corinthian capitals are all prostrate.⁵ Dr. Robinson⁶ calls them three feet nine inches in diameter, and says that the outside is blue from long exposure. Not far from this is a square tower called "the castle," which Dr. Robinson is disposed to regard as a tomb. An inscription records its erection in A.D. 43.

At Afka (Apheca) the walls of the celebrated temple of Venus have fallen inward, and the destruction is so complete

¹ *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), Vol. v. p. 2.

² Robinson's *Biblical Researches* (1856), pp. 14, 22.

³ *Later Researches*, p. 18.

⁴ *Memoir*, p. 31.

⁵ *Five Years in Damascus*, ii. p. 291; *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), Vol. v. p. 3

⁶ *Later Researches*, p. 613.

that it is difficult to make out either its plan or its size. It was destroyed, as already mentioned, by the emperor Constantine, on account of the abominable impurities connected with the worship of the goddess.¹ There are two rude oratories at Naûs above Deir Dimitry.² Is the name a corruption of the Greek *ναός*?

The temple at Sufiry in the district of Dunniyeh has some of its walls standing, though the columns are all fallen. On one side are three doors, the largest twenty-five feet high and eight feet wide. Some of the stones are twenty-two feet long.³

The famous temple of Venus at Arka stood on a mound two hundred feet high, and about a mile in circuit round the base. High up in the face of the rocky precipice under the temple is the entrance of a tunnel from which once issued a beautiful waterfall. The water was brought from the mountain through tunnels and over arches. Sixty-four granite columns have been thrown down the precipice in front.⁴

The ruin at Deir el-Kulah (Convent of the Castle) is described by Dr. E. Smith.⁵ The site commands a beautiful view of the city and plain of Beirût, with the shipping in the harbor, and on the south the Nahr Beirût passes almost directly beneath the spectator, in a chasm so deep and precipitous that the river is not visible, and the immense walls of rock rise up like huge bastions, while the snowy battlements of Sunnîn and the rounded dome of Kineeseh look down on the spectator from the east. The gorge is so inaccessible that panthers are said still to find in it a hiding place. The temple faces the northeast, and is one hundred and six feet by fifty-four. The portico had a double row of columns, six feet in diameter, and portions of four of them are still standing. In a long Greek inscription now in the kitchen

¹ Robinson's Biblical Researches, 1856, pp. 603-608.

² The Land and the Book, i. p. 361.

³ Bibliotheca Sacra (1848), Vol. v. p. 13.

⁴ Bibliotheca Sacra (1848), Vol. v. p. 15.

⁵ Bibliotheca Sacra (1843), pp. 557-563; see also Giant Cities of Bashan, p. 293, and Robinson's Biblical Researches, 1856, pp. 14-17.

of the convent, the idol is addressed as Baal-Markos, sovereign lord of sports. In other places were Baal-Berith, "lord of the covenant" (Judg. ix. 4), Baal-Zebub, "lord of flies" (2 Kings i. 2); but this "high place" was dedicated to the "lord of sports," and the account of Baal-Peor (Numb. xxv) tells us of what sort they were.

It may give a more accurate idea of ancient ruins in Lebanon, if guided by Dr. De Forest, under whose hospitable roof the writer spent his first winter in Syria, we follow up the eastern declivity of the mountain, from the point where the Damascus road descends toward the Bukâ'a, as far as Fum el-Mizab, and then crossing over to Anti-Lebanon return along its western base, and cross back to our starting-point. His account of the journey is in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.¹ At Judeithéh, just below Khan el-Mureijat is a ruined temple of Juno, and near it an inscription on a block of limestone that may have been the base of a statue, stating that the brothers Balbicanus and Cemfilus, at the dying request of their mother Petilia Lucia, had erected it as a votive offering to Juno for the health of the emperor Hadrian and his children. West of the fountain at Niha is a ruined temple one hundred and seventeen and a half feet long and fifty-six feet wide. The stones over the central door, which is sixteen feet wide, had a rich tracery of vines and grapes, and broken Corinthian capitals are scattered among the rubbish. On the opposite side of the stream are the ruins of a similar structure, while a steep climb of forty-five minutes brings us to Kūlaat Nîha, a temple ninety-two and a half feet by forty-six, commanding a fine view of the Bukâ'a. The walls of these old temples were hewn smooth after they were erected, and in this case the process was not carried above the first row of stones. In front there were three courses in the foundation, and seven others carried the wall up more than thirty-five feet. In the interior there were six columns on each side, those at the corners being double. Five minutes to the west of this is another ruin, about thirty

¹ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, iii. p. 349-366.

feet square, built of large stones, roughly cut. Half an hour beyond, the people of Kūsŭrnabeh have built their houses around the foundations of an ancient temple. Another half hour brings us to the ruin Burj esh-Shaarah, fifty feet by twenty-five, standing in a court two hundred and seventeen feet by one hundred and twenty. A portion of a church alongside of it is yet entire. Passing by several antiquities of less importance we come to the beautiful Lake Yemmoneh, two miles long in the early spring, though nearly dry in the autumn, and there, facing the principal fountain, whose waters fall in a pretty little cascade, is a ruined temple, fifty-six by thirty-six feet, on an elevated platform two hundred and sixty-five feet by two hundred and five, its columns three and one third feet in diameter. The name of Adrian is roughly inscribed on the smooth face of the rock here and there in this vicinity. At Deir el-Ahmar is a small ruin with Corinthian capitals to its pilasters. Crossing to Nakleh under Anti-Lebanon we find massive foundations twelve feet high, with ten feet of solid wall above them. Passing by the magnificent ruins of Baalbec, and not wearying the reader with a list of tombs, broken columns, substructures, and other antiquities at a dozen different villages, we reach the weather-worn temple of Mijdel. Its east end and north side are nearly entire. Dr. Robinson¹ gives its size, eighty-two feet long and forty-six feet wide. The columns of the portico, four and one third feet in diameter, are fallen. Three doors, as usual, opened from this into the interior. The grand central one is fourteen feet six inches wide, with sculptured door-posts twenty-four and one sixth feet high, six feet wide, and four and one fourth feet thick. The five half columns on each side of the interior are fluted, and alternating with them are two niches, one above the other. In one side a course of three large stones, each twenty-one feet eight inches long, and five feet eight inches high fills out the length. With the exception of the smaller temple at Baalbec this is the best preserved ruin in the region, and the view from it is mag-

¹ Later Researches, p. 493.

nificent. On the east it looks across a narrow valley to the rocky sides of Anti-Lebanon. To the west it looks across the variegated carpet of the Bukâ'a to the snowy crest of Lebanon, and northeast the fertile plain stretches away to the head-waters of the Orontes.

Leaving Mejdal, and climbing the eastern side of Lebanon by a road that passes through Kubb Elias, an hour from that place brings us to the Shukif eth-Thaur (Cliff of the Bull), so called from the figure of that animal, cut with much spirit, and of the size of life, on the north side of a large detached rock at the foot of a rugged precipice; forty minutes more brings us back into the Damascus road.

A believer in tradition may find much older antiquities in this region. The tomb of Elisha is shown to him at Furzul. The grave of Noah will be pointed out at Kerak only seventy yards long,¹ because the knees of the patriarch are doubled under him. Not far from Sirin is, on like authority, the last resting-place of Seth, more than a hundred feet long, and "a few hours further east is the largest and oldest cemetery in this world of graves, containing the tomb of Abel, placed above the collected bones of all who perished in the flood."

We have given the size of several of the stones in the ancient temples of Lebanon; we close with the measurement of the block still in the quarry at Baalbec. It is sixty-eight feet in length, seventeen feet two inches wide, and fourteen feet seven inches in thickness.²

Since writing the previous paragraph, a letter received from Rev. S. H. Calhoun, dated April 3d, 1869, says: "You have been, I believe, at Baalbec; I have often visited those stupendous ruins, and with constantly increasing interest. I had heard that a traveller had found his way into a room hitherto unknown, through a small aperture in the wall of the southern subterraneous passage. On a late examination

¹ See *Five Years in Damascus*, i. p. 278; W. M. Thomson "The Land and the Book," i. 353, says "a little more than one hundred and thirty feet long"; "Syria and the Holy Land," p. 95 gives "at least sixty feet."

² Robinson's *Biblical Researches* (1856), p. 505.

I was convinced that it was a chapel for worship. The door was originally twenty feet high, opening to the south, and opposite it stood what was probably an altar. The roof was arched and ornamented. I am inclined to think it was a chapel for sun worship at noon-day, as the immense temple above was for the worship of the same luminary at his rising. Thus Baalbek was, so to speak, the capital of sun worship."

"One would naturally suppose that a temple of the sun would in its longer diameter correspond exactly with a line drawn east and west. Instead of this it varies ten or twelve degrees. The reason for this deviation seems to be that the western end is made to face with great exactitude the highest point of Jebel Sunnîn, perhaps with reference to some chapel for worship on that summit, or because the morning worshipper would see the rays of the sun lighting up that point a full half-hour before they reached the temple itself."

ARTICLE V.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE APOSTLES.¹

BY S. R. ASBURY, RESIDENT LICENTIATE AT ANDOVER.

INTRODUCTION.

THE subject of which the present work treats forms the second part of the Theology of the New Testament. A presentation of the apostolic doctrine, apart from the doctrine of Christ as contained in the Gospels, presupposes that the former, though closely connected with the latter, yet forms

¹ Abstract of *Die Lehre der Apostel*, dargestellt von Hermann Messner. Dr. Messner is now Professor Extraordinary in the University of Berlin, and editor of the *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*. He is said to be a man of thoroughly evangelical and progressive views. Other works referred to in the Article are: *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, von Chr. Fr. Schmid, Professor in Tübingen (Stuttgart, 1859); *Die Petrmische Lehrbegriff*, by Lic. Dr. Bernhard Weiss, Professor in Königsberg (Berlin, 1855); *Neander Die Pflanzung der Christlichen Kirche*, etc. [*The Planting of Christianity*, etc.].

an independent, distinct whole. Our first task is to define the relation between the two.

We may designate this relation as one of great and surprising unity, together with peculiar differences. By the old idea of inspiration, which regarded the scriptures as a single united divine revelation, these differences were altogether excluded, and all investigation into the object or occasion of the composition of any book was forbidden. By some recent theories of inspiration these differences are emphasized into irreconcilable contradictions. In opposition to both these views we regard the teachings of the apostles as differing from each other, according to their individual characters and the circumstances in which they wrote, but at the same time possessing essential unity with the teachings of Christ. Both in the order of nature and of the Bible facts are presented before doctrine. The teaching of Christ prior to the accomplishment of his Messianic work necessarily consisted of hints only on some points, while others had to be left wholly untouched. It is these germs as given by Christ which were developed by the apostles, each according to his own individuality, which the Holy Spirit did not suppress, but glorified. Christ did not leave a doctrinal system; he is not, however, to be regarded as having merely given the impulse to the productions of the apostles. He was conscious of all the truths which they developed, and in his teaching were included all their peculiar forms, the sententiousness of James, the dialectics of Paul, the intuitiveness of John. The peculiarities of the apostolic doctrine which distinguish it from the teaching of Christ are, its closer relation to church doctrine and systematic theology, especially in those apostles who developed the teachings of Christ most fully; the greater discursiveness of the apostles, which was needed in order to produce firm conviction in the minds of those whom they addressed; and the peculiarities occasioned by the difference between the Messianic and apostolic epochs, especially in the complete separation of the new from the elder dispensation.

In this discussion the word "apostles" is used, not in the

wider meaning which it sometimes bears, but in the more restricted sense of those who were chosen and instructed by Christ himself as his witnesses, who also enjoyed the special influences of the Holy Spirit to enable them to penetrate more deeply into the truth, to exercise greater attraction over other men, and to continue themselves Christ's prophetic office. The canon contains writings by but few such apostles, but these were the most influential in founding and guiding the church, and include representatives of all the different tendencies of Christian doctrine. Paul must be regarded as equal to the rest in apostolic rank, both on account of his special qualification as a witness of Christ, and the confirmation which this received in his powerful grasp of the truth and his success in imparting it. Other writings in the canon have been regarded by some as not apostolic — the Epistles of James, Jude, and to the Hebrews, the Apocalypse, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and the Acts; but these must not be omitted in the discussion, since the decision as to their origin depends in great measure on the determination of their doctrinal contents. The same may be said of the authorship of the second Epistle of Peter.

With reference to the general character of the apostolic doctrine, it should be observed that the intimate connection of the apostles with Christ confers dignity on their writings, and entirely sets aside the view propounded by Geuss, that these were but imperfect attempts to solve the great problems of Christianity, such as have since been made by uninspired men. The doctrine of the apostles shows by its peculiar form and contents that it was not the result of mere reflection, but accords with their claim that they possessed influences which distinguished them from ordinary writers.

The question as to the sources of the doctrine is connected with that as to its subject and centre. It is not a general doctrine of God and religion, but the whole finds its centre and meaning in Christ. The apostles were prepared for their vocation by the contemplation of the Messianic work and life of Christ, and the understanding of this life was

opened up to them by the express testimony of Christ concerning himself. But the words of Christ were not the only source, since the apostles make many distinctions not touched upon by him. The common source of all and the ground of unity was the spirit of Christ, the operation of which was conditioned by the personality of each and the progress of his development. Another source was the Old Testament with reference to those general ideas which it has in common with the New Testament. But as Christ himself adopted these ideas their source is found also in his teachings. Paul's doctrine seems to be independent of that of the other apostles, in so far as it was derived from express revelation. He received a revelation at the time of his call (and did not go up to Jerusalem to be taught), and also other special revelations. These he distinguishes from the ordinary teachings of the Spirit (1 Cor. xi. 23 ; xv. 3, *παρέλαβον*).¹ His doctrine is thus, not the result of study, but the development of revelation. The words of Christ were known to him before his conversion, but were not understood without the instruction of the Holy Spirit.

The authenticity of some of the apostolic writings has been called in question ; we cannot therefore altogether ignore the criticism of them as sources of doctrine. It will be found, however, that the settlement of critical questions will generally result from the presentation of the doctrinal contents of the various writings. It will thus also be seen that they are all very far superior to those which are generally admitted to be spurious.

We have to regard the apostolic doctrines, at the same time, according to their marvellous unity and their manifold differences. The latter though chiefly formal are not wholly so. They proceed in part from the requirements of the various churches at different times, and in part from different general views of the same truth. Thus there are in the church divergent forms of doctrine which may all find their

¹ But see Bernard's Bampton Lectures on the Progress of Christian Doctrine, Note viii. ; and Ellicott's Commentary *in loc.*

foundation with equal right in the scriptures, and which are not only possible but necessary to exhibit the manifold richness of the Christian spirit. What the different apostolic forms of doctrine are, and in what relation they stand to each other, is hereafter to be examined.

In the performance of this task several methods may be adopted. Hahn and others first assume a general system, from which they afterwards separate the doctrinal conception of the particular apostle. But thus they attribute to the whole system much which belongs only to individuals, and in the presentation of this system the arrangement of the doctrinal ideas is according to an entirely abstract scheme. The plan here adopted is the reverse of this method. The doctrinal views of the apostles will first be considered, each by itself, and then their mutual relation as forming a system. It must be remembered that none of the New Testament writings contain the system of an apostle in its completeness; the presentation therefore can be only approximate. The exposition of each form of doctrine will be prefaced by a brief survey of its general characteristics, and those points will be examined first which stand in the foreground in the view of all the apostles.

I. General Characteristics of the Views of the particular Apostles.

Schmid has demolished the theory of de Wette and Cölln, which distinguished Jewish and Hellenistic Christian writings, and three main forms of Christianity, the Palestinian, Alexandrian, and Pauline. If a Pauline form is distinguished, why may not others be ascribed to other apostles? There is in such a theory danger of attributing to one what is common to all. A better method is to distinguish the forms of doctrine by the individuality of the several apostles, James, Jude, Peter, Paul, and John. The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse will have to be considered either as distinct forms, or as different phases in the doctrine of Paul and John.

In order to understand the various expositions of doctrine, and ascertain their proper sequence, we must find the thread which connects them, or the inner relation in which they stand to each other. This, as already shown, must be traced in the fundamental conceptions of each with respect to Christ, his person, work, and the character of his redemption. These again are closely connected with the views held concerning the relation of the revelation in Christ to that of the Old Testament. As it has been well remarked, the doctrinal views with respect to this question assume a middle position, which is both original in that it is not a compromise between opposing views, and conservative in that it saves from the extremes both of Ebionitism and of Marcion and the Gnosis. There is a far greater divergence between these heretical forms and the apostolic than between the different apostles. The fact that some prefer to regard the old and new covenants from the side of their unity, without by any means denying the distinction between them, though not choosing to render it prominent, while others, presupposing the unity of the revelations, attend rather to their differences, making these the main object in their exhibition of the Christian truth, gives rise to a variety of apostolic forms of doctrine, which in depth and circumference can be compared to no other. The latter form, however, which represents the old covenant as imperfect, the new as perfect, in that it does not promise, but possesses salvation, will alone give a satisfactory solution of the questions as to the person and work of Christ. It is easy to perceive to which sides James the apostle to the Jews and Paul the apostle to the Gentiles lean. From the extreme brevity of his Epistle it is more difficult to decide as to the view of Jude; but as he stood in close connection with James the brother of our Lord, we infer that he was on the same side. With reference to Peter the strong Pauline influence said to be manifested in his first epistle and in his speeches in the Acts has been exaggerated. Such an influence doubtless existed, but not in such force as to overrule his own peculiar tendencies. He leans more to the view of

the unity of the old and new covenants, and is thus more intimately related to James than to Paul. The Epistle to the Hebrews seems to contain both views. The fundamental conception is that of Paul, at least in a milder form, while the particular ideas are those of Peter. The epistle is, however, rather Pauline than Petrine, in that it emphasizes the imperfection of the old covenant, and the impossibility of adhering to it, and yet partaking of the blessings of the new. The Apocalypse is related to the Old Testament in form, in which it differs from the Gospels and Epistles of John; on the other hand its more developed doctrine of the person of Christ separates it from the writings of James and Peter. The old covenant itself presents such a rich development that no single apostle can exhibit the whole of its relations. We find therefore that different apostles regard it according to its different sides, their preferences being due to their individual characters, and not to the occasion of their writing. Some emphasize the relation of the New Testament to the law, others to the prophets, others again to the worship. Thus different forms of doctrine may arise out of the same revelation, according to the relative prominence given to the different elements of the old dispensation. James and Paul regarded the new covenant predominantly in its relation to the law, Peter and the Apocalypse in its relation to prophecy, the Epistle to the Hebrews in its relation to worship. The position of John is more difficult to determine, yet on due examination it will be found that he views the new covenant chiefly in its relation to Old Testament prophecy.

A further division of the apostolic forms of doctrine may be made of those which regard the new covenant predominantly on the side of its unity with the old, into those which regard this unity with special reference to the law and those which treat it with special reference to prophecy. The same division may also be made of those forms which insist on the differences of the old and new covenants. Thus with respect to prophecy in one case, it is shown how all the Old Testament prophecies are fulfilled in Christ, in the

other how much more there is in the fulfilment than in the prophecy.

As to the order in which we should treat the different doctrinal ideas there are two views. According to the first, which considers them all as equally important, though regarded from different sides, those doctrines are placed in immediate juxtaposition which connect the redemption of Christ with the law, and then those which connect it with the prophecies of the Old Testament. The second view regards the various doctrines, not as co-ordinate, but as subordinate, to each other, recognizing in them a process of development. According to this genetic method we proceed from the lower to the higher stages of development. Those forms of doctrine which accent the unity of the old and new covenants are less developed than those which accent their differences. We therefore begin with James, Jude, and Peter, and proceed to Paul and John. As the Epistle of Peter seems to have more reference to the prophetic scriptures, of which the centre is Christ and his salvation, than to the law, it should follow James, and form the link between James and Paul. Jude, as far as we can judge from his brief Epistle, renders the peculiarly Christian ideas more prominent than James; we therefore give him an intermediate position between James and Peter.

THE DOCTRINE OF JAMES.¹

Introduction.

The Authorship of the Epistle. — The idea of its interpolation to bridge over the difference between Paul and Ebionitism arose from the statements of Hegesippus as to the position of James, which are in contradiction to those of the Acts. The Epistle contains a view of Christian truth which has nothing in common with Ebionitism, but which is in full harmony with the apostolic period. It exhibits an expecta-

¹ Schmid's mode of designation is "The Apostolic Doctrine according to James," etc., which more fitly expresses the essential unity of the doctrine of the apostles (Cf. Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Tim. i. 3; 2 John ix. 10).

tion of the speedy *parousia* of Christ, and an undeveloped form of doctrine which could not have been presented at a later date. Of external testimony in its favor the strongest is its adoption by the Syriac version, which omits several of the Catholic Epistles.

For what Readers, and when written.—This is not very clear. The superscription would lead us to suppose that it was addressed to the Jews out of Palestine, but as there is no attempt to awaken belief, this being assumed, they must have been believing Jews. Perhaps, as Christians are the true Israel, it may have been addressed to the Christian churches out of Palestine. It is evident that James regarded the Jewish Christians as the nucleus of the church. It must have been written during the apostolic period, though not at the very beginning of it. Settled churches were already in existence (v. 14). The supposed reference of ii. 14 sq. to Paul's doctrine of justification in his Epistles to the Romans and Galatians is too doubtful to serve as a *datum*.

The Fundamental Conception. The Perfect Law. The Word of Truth. The Law of Freedom.

The view of the new covenant which runs through the Epistle is that it is a more perfect law. Wherever James mentions the new covenant he designates it as a law (i. 25 ; vii. 8, 9, 10, 12 ; iv. 11). The Epistle contains moral precepts which agree with this conception, as does also the emphasis on works as the fruit of faith. God is designated as lawgiver and judge (iv. 12). James also speaks of the law as λόγος, and more particularly as λόγος ἀληθείας, λόγος ἔμφυτος (i. 18, 20, 22). That λόγος here does not mean the knowledge of Christ is evident from the doing of the word being spoken of in the same way as the doing of the law. Were the law that of the old covenant the Christian character of this Epistle could not be maintained ; but James distinguishes it from this by speaking of it as the λόγος ἀληθείας. The designation *perfect law* (i. 25) also implies opposition to some law which is imperfect, and what other can this be than

the Mosaic? This is confirmed by the expression "the word of truth." By comparison with the Sermon on the Mount, with which this Epistle is related, we interpret this as implying that the dispositions of men are to be regarded instead of their outward acts only. The law of freedom (i. 25) is opposed to a law of unfreedom and servitude. It is that which does not compel the outward observance of the law, but fulfils it freely from love.

The perfection of this new law consists in this, that it *imparts power to do that which it requires*. James ascribes to this new law a renewing power (i. 18; i. 21), a power to effect the salvation of men. With this it agrees that in this passage the word of truth is also designated as λόγος ἔμφυτος, i.e. such as comes to man, not as the old law, outwardly, but as penetrating to his inmost being. The old law *shows* the will of God, the new law *effects* it.

Is it thus declared that believers are no longer bound to the ritual part of the Mosaic law? Not directly. It is implied that they have the power, and may fulfil it freely from love. What is strange is, that James, who insisted on such strictness in the observance of the ritual, confines himself here to the ethical, part of the law. It may be explained thus, that he might presume on such an observance among those whom he addresses. It is plain from his epistle that he did not ascribe to the observance of the ritual any justifying efficacy, and urged it not as a duty, but from free piety towards the law. He declares the condition of justification before God to be faith and works, and these works are not external legal works, but works of love. This accords with what we learn of James's position toward the Mosaic law from Paul's Epistles and the Book of Acts.

Christ the Fulfiller of the Law, the Lord of Glory.

The question arises: Who, according to James, raised the law of servitude to a law of freedom? He does not expressly say, but as he ascribes the new birth to faith in Christ, it must be he who has elevated the law of the old covenant to

the perfect law. It has been an objection to the Christian character of this epistle that Christ is so seldom mentioned. The doctrine concerning Christ is certainly less developed than in some others, but the Epistle is not on Old Testament ground. It is the regal office of Christ which predominates. According to James he is Lord (v. 8) in a sense in which the term is elsewhere applied only to God. In the beginning he speaks of God and Jesus Christ in immediate connection. Christ is also the Judge (v. 9), a title which presupposes the possession of divine glory and power. This is all that James teaches expressly about Christ. It shows that his idea of God is a Christian one, though in v. 4 he uses the peculiarly Old Testament name of God — the Lord of Sabaoth. But other elements of doctrine which are not definitely stated may be supplied by inference. James speaks in v. 8 of Christ as a judge, but in iv. 12 ascribes judicial activity to him only from whom the law proceeded; therefore the perfect law, the law of freedom, must by him be attributed to Christ.

There are two elements in his conception of the perfect law: 1. That by this law, as the word of truth, the divine will in its whole circumference and depth is applied to the consciences of men; 2. That it not merely requires its fulfilment by men from free love to it, but gives them also the power therefor. According to the first element Christ is to be regarded as the perfect teacher of divine truth, as is shown by the allusion to the words of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount. In accordance with the second, the regenerating power of the perfect law is (i. 18) ascribed to faith in Christ. While the prophetic and regal offices of Christ are so prominent, it is strange that his high priestly office is neither expressed nor to be inferred. This omission does not imply any contradiction to the other apostles, but only a less developed system than theirs. James speaks in v. 15 of the forgiveness of sins, but in the Old Testament sense without any reference to the effect of Christ's death. He declares that by the law of liberty a new divine life is received, but how the guilt of the former life is first expiated

he does not explain. We are not to infer from this that he was uninformed as to the efficacy of Christ's death, though it accords with the fundamental conception of the Epistle that the significance of this side of the work of Christ was relatively less fully disclosed to him.

Sin and the Law.

In James's view of the imperfection of the law is involved that of the condition of the human race as one of sin and death, which accounts for the law being one of servitude. By the works of the law man cannot be justified, because the human will strives against the divine law. Sin is so deeply engrafted in man's nature that it is active even in the regenerate life (iii. 2). Since it is the contradiction of his will, God as the author of the law cannot be spoken of as its cause. James emphasizes the personal guilt of sin, but refers it rather to particular conscious transgressions than to a sinful disposition. Hence by *ἀμαρτία* he always designates actual violations of the law (i. 15; ii. 9; v. 15). We are not, then, to conclude that he regarded the lust of which he speaks as morally indifferent. It is the first stage of sinful development. He speaks of it as universally existing, but makes no declaration concerning its origin. It is implied that man is still free to resist its influence. But if the will, which (i. 15) is regarded as the productive principle, agrees with the evil desire, the conscious particular transgression of the law follows, and this has death for its consequence, which is thus the common offspring of lust and the human will. That sin does not consist only in these particular transgressions, but in a sinful *habitus*, follows also from the idea of the new birth, which is represented as a radical renovation of the whole inner life. The immediate consequence of sin, which God in his holy law has inseparably connected with it, is death. He does not discuss its nature, as it would be known to his readers, but from i. 15; v. 20 it appears that he does not exclude from it physical, but has directly in view moral, destruction, with which the feeling of miserable disunion must be always connected.

Regeneration.

That which distinguishes the perfect law from the law of the old covenant is the power which resides in it to effect a complete renovation of the inner, moral condition of man. James speaks of regeneration in one passage only (i. 18), but the idea is not an isolated one. It results from the connection of the law of freedom with the present condition of mankind. His slight mention of it accords with his consideration of actual sin and works in preference to evil inclination and faith. He does not understand by it complete cleansing from sin (iii. 2). Every man ought to be perfect, but the fulfilment of the law by believers is not absolute. Regeneration is that fact by which lust is not destroyed, but robbed of its power, so that the fulfilment is possible. Its source is in the divine will, not in natural life, and thus the whole Christian life is primarily attributed to God. The new life springs from the new birth. Works are the result of faith.

A peculiarly Christian character has been denied to this Epistle by some, on the ground that its morality is not definitely connected with Christian ideas, but still rests on the basis of Old Testament ethics. It is true that the connection is less definitely exhibited than in the more developed doctrinal systems. Its moral precepts are based on general religious ideas, such as are common to the Old Testament. But not altogether so. Thus in v. 7 the exhortation to patience in the endurance of suffering is founded on the Christian idea of the second coming of Christ, and in ii. 5 the poor being rich in faith is presented as a motive to love them as brethren.

Faith and Regeneration.

Their relation is not definitely expressed, but seems to be presupposed. It is by faith in Christ as the Lord of glory (ii. 1) that the new law receives the power ascribed to it of effecting the regeneration of men. James has a double conception of faith, and only when this is not perceived can it

be said to be a low one. The first conception which is found in the polemic passage (ii. 14-26) is that of historic belief or assent, a conviction of the existence and activity of God which possesses no ethical quality. It has no connection with love and confidence towards God, and may be found in a life altogether estranged from him. James does not disapprove of this faith (ii. 19), and even designates it as *πίστις*. This is remarkable, but may probably be explained as the language of his opponents, which he adopts. He regards it as a lower grade of faith, but worthless in a man whose life is ungodly. It is his object in ii. 14-26 to show that such faith cannot possibly effect justification before God, and to illustrate this by examples from Old Testament history. His second view of faith is of a much higher and profounder character. According to i. 3; v. 15 it is connected with an undoubting confidence in divine power and goodness, and full devotion of the heart to God. It presupposes that man renounces his own power. In v. 15 it is represented as the soul of prayer and the whole Christian life, and in ii. 5 it is implied as the necessary condition of partaking in the kingdom of God and his salvation. His conception of faith, however, appears in a less developed form than that which connects it definitely with Christ. Faith is represented as trust in the divine power and help, rather than an appropriation of the redemption from sin and guilt by the death of Christ; the latter idea never being expressly brought out in this Epistle.

Faith and Works.

It is clear that the lower grade of faith can be found without works, but there cannot be faith in the higher sense without its producing a new life. When James ascribes justification to works he means such as are produced by a living faith. If, according to i. 3, 4, faith produces patience, and patience is a perfect work, it follows that from faith is evolved the whole new life. James's doctrine thus far surpasses the legal point of view. The perfect law recognizes such works only as are rooted in faith.

Justification.

James uses this term in the sense of the Old Testament, of Christ and of Paul, not of an inward transformation, but of the recognition of man on the part of God as just, and his installation into all his rights. This is clear from ii. 23. In this verse faith must be used in the higher sense, since Abraham exercised more than mere historical belief. The condition of the justification of man before God is, then, according to James, faith and works at the same time. The emphasis seems to be on works; but these have no more value than mere historical belief, except as the product of true faith. In ii. 23 he quotes scripture in which faith is represented as the condition of salvation, but this is explained by v. 22 as faith made perfect by works. Abraham was justified by faith because his faith did not remain imperfect, but was developed into act. This view does not depend entirely on the polemic reference of the passage, but on the fundamental idea of the Epistle, that the law is brought to perfection by Christ, who gives power to fulfil it. There would be this difficulty in supposing that James ascribes justification to works only, that he represents these as not in this life the perfect fulfilment of the law. The perfect law takes into account the disposition of men and its expression in words. In the life of the regenerate sin is broken but not fully destroyed. Hence, if works justify, it must be because God overlooks their imperfection. This would seem to lead us back to faith as the principle of justification; but James has not presented the idea of faith as that by which the sinner appropriates the grace of God in Christ, but only as the principle of a new life. This is connected with the undeveloped form of his doctrine of Christ and the atonement. Thus it harmonizes with the Epistle as a whole, and does not necessarily imply any reference to the teachings of Paul. It is not probable that the latter had found much currency among the Jewish Christians, and the Epistle is not of a character to clear up any such misunderstanding as

might have arisen. We cannot believe that James directly combated Paul after acknowledging him as of equal apostleship with himself (Gal. ii. 9).

The rest of the discussion must be deferred till we consider the doctrine of the apostles in its comparative aspects.

THE DOCTRINE OF JUDE.

Jude is the brother of James (v. 1), but, as we infer from v. 17, not an apostle. He is not the son of James, mentioned Acts i. 13. He was one of the brethren of our Lord, and therefore equal in rank with the apostles (1 Cor. ix. 5), especially among Jewish Christians. We should expect that his doctrine would be more closely related to that of James than of Paul, and this we find to be the case, though, from the brevity of the Epistle, it can be presented only in its tendency, not as a complete system. Objections have been raised to the genuineness of the Epistle, on account of its use of apocryphal writings and its similarity to 2 Peter. The latter objection is set aside by the view now generally held that Jude was the original. The internal evidence is in favor of this view. While 2 Peter no longer ventures to maintain the near approach of Christ's coming, the author of this Epistle still lives in expectation of it (v. 21), and connects it with the idea of judgment which runs through the Epistle.

The time of its composition was the later apostolic period, as we infer that the apostles mentioned in v. 17 were not then living. The chief reference must be to Paul, since the prophecy of v. 18 is found in his writings. The author of 2 Peter (iii. 15) also appeals to his agreement with Paul. The Epistle was directed against heretics, whose evil lives were supported by their erroneous views. It contains, also, traces of gnosticism in the references to the angel-world and to the denial of the *κυριότης* of Christ. The fundamental idea which runs through the whole is that of the final judgment, which is prepared for by various manifestations of divine justice. The heretics believed that they were de

livered from judgment by the reception of divine grace. Jude would show by a series of examples that grace does not exclude judgment, but carries it in its bosom. Law and judgment are correlates. Hence this Epistle is a sort of supplement to that of James, which regards the gospel as the perfect law.

Christ the only Lord and Ruler.

It is distinctly expressed by Jude, what is only implied by James, that the salvation of the new covenant is procured by Christ, since the words "by Jesus Christ" in v. 25, though omitted in the received text, have a preponderance of testimony in their favor. Christ is mentioned more frequently than by James. Jude's doctrine of redemption also approaches the more developed form, as is seen in vs. 20, 21, where it is attributed to a threefold causality, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Christ is spoken of as by his second coming completing the work of redemption; but it is not explained on what foundation this rests. In so brief an Epistle we cannot expect all points to be touched upon; but the omission of this leads us to suspect that Jude, like James, regards the new covenant as a glorified law.

The Person of Christ.

With respect to this point, also, the views of Jude are related to those of James. The designation of Christ in v. 4 as the Lord and only Ruler indicates that Jesus is regarded as alone participating in the divine power and glory. The prominence which he gives to the divine glory of Christ is connected with the thought of the judgment, which runs through the Epistle. Jude feels himself impelled by the prevalent errors to maintain the *κυριότης* of Christ. We proceed on the assumption that *τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον*, v. 4, is the correct reading, and that *θεόν* after *δεσπότην* is, according to the best ancient testimonies, to be omitted, and that, further, the words *τὸν μόνον δεσπότην* must be referred, not to God, but to Christ. This reference

to Christ is most natural on account of the absence of the article before *κύριον*, and it is moreover required by the fact that the relation to God was spoken of in the immediately preceding context. If these words in v. 4 refer to a denial of the *κυριότης* of Christ, it is then most natural to understand a similar reference to Christ in v. 8, though a more general one also need not be excluded. As warning of impending judgment is the main import of the Epistle, it is most natural to understand the *κυριότης* of Christ here as that glory and divine power which is manifested in the judgment. Christ is thus represented as the Mediator, but without particularizing the kind and manner of his mediation; but he is apprehended above all as the completer of salvation.

The peculiarly Christian ideas of Jude will appear more definitely if we regard the doctrine of the Epistle concerning the new salvation according to its subjective side. There is not so much said of faith as in James; *πίστις* occurs only twice, and in both cases in an objective sense; but such expressions as *ἡγιασμένοι* (v. 1, T. R.), *ἄγιοι* (v. 3), *κλητοί* (v. 1), *τετρηγμένοι* (v. 1), remind us of the more developed forms of doctrine, and especially the fact that in v. 20 the subjective Christian life is brought into connection with the Holy Spirit.

The reference of Jude to apocryphal traditions and writings has not been considered, since it has no essential connection with the doctrinal substance of his Epistle, but pertains only to his particular arguments. It seems certain that this reference on the part of Jude was not a mere accommodation to the point of view of his readers. But, in our estimation of this Epistle, it should not be overlooked that it is only ideas which are common to all the other New Testament Epistles that Jude thus seeks to illustrate.¹

¹ Schmid remarks with respect to the didactic portion of this epistle, (a) That in it all the essential points of the Christian consciousness are touched upon. (b) That the main thought and real motive both of its polemic and parenetic portions, is the divine judgment, and that this doctrine of the judgment is the continuation and completion of the doctrine of the Epistle of James, i.e. of Christianity as the perfect law of liberty.

THE DOCTRINE OF PETER.¹*Introduction.*

Among the sources for the exhibition of the doctrine of Peter we must not include Second Peter, since the doubts as to its genuineness, are due not merely to modern criticism, but to the tradition of the ancient church, and are not removed by the consideration of its doctrinal contents. The true sources are the First Epistle of Peter and his speeches in the Acts. The exhibition of the Petrine doctrine will show that the fundamental conceptions are the same in both. The genuineness of First Peter is universally acknowledged; for it presents the apostle in exact accordance with the idea we form of him from the Gospels. The idea that it has a Pauline character must be rejected on a close examination of its doctrine. There are many ideas in the Epistle which are not found in Paul in the same form, and *vice versa*. Paul may have exercised some influence over Peter; but we do not find his peculiar phrases in the Epistle. Still, the Petrine doctrine may be regarded as the mere undeveloped, preliminary stage of the Pauline.

With respect to the readers of the Epistle, the view seems at first most natural that Peter, as the apostle of the circumcision, wrote to the Jewish Christians. But it is evident that Peter had not himself preached to those whom he addresses; and an unbiased exposition will show that the doctrine applies equally well to converts from heathenism.

The historical position of Peter in the apostolic church is between James and Paul. He did not hold that Jewish descent entitled to a share in Christ's redemption; but he did believe this to be the original birthright of the Jews,

¹ Weiss treats of the doctrine of Peter under the following heads: 1. Peter the apostle of hope. 2. Peter the apostle of the circumcision—including his views of the Old Testament, of faith and obedience, bondage and sonship, his doctrine of sin, and of the Word, of the Spirit, and of God. 3. Peter the apostle of Jesus Christ—his doctrine of Christ, of redemption, and of the conditions of securing it, as repentance, baptism, faith, and communion. 4. Peter the copresbyter—his doctrine of the church. 5. Peter and Paul.

and that the heathen could participate in it only through acceptance of the Mosaic law. Missions to the heathen were not at first approved by him, and, though he was specially directed to extend his labors to them, he seems never to have been at home in the work. That his views afterward underwent a change may be supposed, but cannot be proved. Peter's sphere of activity doubtless affected his apprehension and presentation of Christian truth. Thus he emphasizes the unity rather than the differences of the two economies. He also expected the Jewish Christians to observe the law from piety towards it, not for the sake of legal justification, though, according to Acts xv. 10, he exonerated the Gentile Christians from such observance.

In an apostle of such strong individuality and occupying so important a position we should expect to find a peculiar apprehension and presentation of doctrine. Brückner and Neander, however, fail to recognize any distinct doctrinal tendency in his Epistle. It is true that in Peter, as in James, there is a predominance of ethical ideas; but in the former these are brought into close connection with ideas which are definitely Christian. In James the *λόγος* is the new moral law; in Peter it is the tidings of the Messianic work of Christ. In both, however, the new covenant is represented as the perfection and confirmation of the old.

The Fundamental Conception.

The fundamental conception of Peter is the fulfilment of prophecy in Christ. Weiss denies and Neander ignores any such conception. But the Epistle is not a mere collection of disconnected views, and Weiss acknowledges that the emphasis Peter lays on hope is not to be explained by a paracletic purpose, but by the whole character of the Epistle. In i. 3 hope is designated as the aim of the new birth, and in iii. 5 as the most characteristic quality of the holy women of old. Peter is the apostle of hope as Paul is of faith. In his speeches in the Acts he proves the Messiahship of Christ by showing that the Messianic predictions are fulfilled in him.

The difference between this view and that of the Epistle is, that in the latter this fulfilment is represented as still in part to be realized, and therefore in part the subject of hope.

The Person of Christ.

As Christ was the centre of Old Testament prophecy, the testimony of Peter must relate chiefly to him. The emphasis on the doctrine of Christ as the Messiah is indeed peculiarly Petrine. Christ as the predicted Messiah is the servant of God. This designation occurs repeatedly in the speeches, and though not expressly in the Epistle, is implied in the passage ii. 18 sq. It is characteristic of Peter, and expresses a less lofty conception of Christ than the phrase "Son of God," which he never uses. The perfect sinlessness of Christ is, however, connected with this idea of service. Another designation characteristic of Peter's view is "Prince of life," ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς (Acts iii. 15; v. 31). It is not indeed found in the Epistle, but agrees with its Christology. It is equivalent to "author of life," and thus refers to the resurrection. The words "it was not possible" in Acts ii. 24 refer to the promise in Ps. xvi., and in view of this expression, "Prince of life," obtain a deeper significance.

In accordance with prophecy concerning the servant of God, Christ appears in the two conditions of humiliation and exaltation, which are also repeated in the life of his followers. The sitting at the right hand of God, which Peter expressly mentions (iii. 22), involves his possession of the fulness of divine glory. Still, the term "Lord" appears not to be used in such a wide sense by Peter as by Paul. Is the spirit of Christ (i. 11) the spirit which he always possessed, or the spirit of God which was communicated to him at his baptism, and afterwards dwelt in him in all its fulness? The real pre-existence of Christ is an idea not found elsewhere in the Epistle, and we therefore refer this expression to the idea of the apostle that salvation was ordained of old. He acknowledges the divine decree of redemption as eternal, and leaves it to be understood that the person by whom it was accomplished was also eternal.

The Messianic Work of Christ.

No emphasis is laid by Peter on the prophetic office of Christ, though the preaching in the kingdom of the dead (1 Pet. iii. 19) and to the living (Acts x. 36) is regarded as part of his Messianic work. The benefits conferred on humanity by Christ are attributed rather to his resurrection, ascension, the effusion of the Spirit, and his second coming, than to his death; but as these benefits are received only in connection with the forgiveness of sins, the substitutionary sufferings of the servant of God are an essential part of his Messianic work. The view according to which his death was the main object of his mission is not expressed by Peter. The universality of sin is involved in the death of Christ, as also in his distinction from the human race as the only just one (iii. 18), and in the necessity of regeneration (i. 3). But Peter resembles James in considering rather the single actual sins of men than the disposition which lies back of them. He neither traces their origin nor connection with the sin of our first parents, there being no occasion for this to illustrate the fulfilment of prophecy in Christ. In his sermons in the Acts Peter endeavors to show that the death of Christ is not opposed to his Messianic dignity, being the accomplishment of prophecy. In the Epistle, in relation to the forgiveness of sins by the death of Christ, he does not go beyond what the Lord himself taught, or what was foreshadowed by the Old Testament prophecies and types. Thus the characteristic ideas of Paul on this subject are absent from the doctrine of Peter. In the Epistle the sufferings of Christ are regarded as exemplary for believers. The innocence of the Saviour, which Peter so insists on, is exhibited in his patience under suffering; and since this was not endured on account of his own sin, it must have been for the sin of man. There can be no doubt that Peter viewed the sufferings of Christ as expiatory, though he does not develop the idea of an atoning sacrifice (iii. 18). How these sufferings are brought into relation to the forgiveness of sins and the holiness of God, he does not explain.

As to the inner connection between the death of Christ and the new life of believers, it is represented that the pattern which Christ sets before us constrains us to imitate it. Paul's idea of real life-communion with Christ on the cross, into which we are introduced by baptism, is not found in Peter. A living communion with Christ is indeed expressed in v. 14, "all that are in Christ Jesus"; in iii. 16, "good conversation in Christ"; and in ii. 2, 3, where he is regarded as the means of spiritual nourishment; but these expressions have no further influence on the development of the Petrine doctrine, and differ specifically from Paul's idea of communion with the death of Christ. On the other hand we distinctly find in Peter the resurrection of Christ brought into inner relation with the new divine life, the resurrection being represented as producing the new life (i. 3.) and as the means of salvation (iii. 21).

The ministry of Christ in the kingdom of the dead is also regarded by Peter as a fulfilment of prophecy. The source from which he derived this idea must have been Ps. xvi. 10, which in Acts ii. 27, 31 he applies to Christ. If the soul of the Messiah was not to remain in Hades, it is implied that it went to Hades and left it before the body had time to become corrupt. As the Saviour instructed his disciples in the Old Testament scriptures after his resurrection, he may have opened up the meaning of this Psalm. It is certain that the idea could not have been obtained from Jewish theology or the popular conception. It might have flowed from the doctrine of the universality of Christ's redemptive work, but most probably came from the Old Testament prophecy. Peter speaks of it as known to his readers, mentioning it only twice and incidentally (iii. 9; iv. 6). It was the offering of salvation by the spirit of Christ, not through his apostles, to those who had never had the offer made to them in life. As the final judgment alone decides the eternal destiny, it was to give them the opportunity of obtaining new life, or of securing their condemnation by the rejection of the Saviour. The dead addressed are all those who died

before Christ, of whom those in the time of Noah are given as an example. Its object was to effect a new divine life in those who had it not. They were, according to iv. 6, already suffering the judgment of God in their bodily nature, being deprived by death of corporeity; but they might, by obtaining new life through Christ, escape the death and final judgment of the spirit.¹

The Resurrection of Christ.

Peter lays great emphasis on the resurrection, not merely on account of its miraculous nature, but because it fulfils prophecy and proves the Messiahship of Christ (Ps. xvi. 8-11). It is also connected with the prominence of hope in his system, since it produces the hope that what is yet wanting in the fulfilment, will be realized hereafter by the manifestation of the divine glory in Christ. With the resurrection begins the exaltation of Christ, of which the ascension to the Father forms the second stage. Connected with this is the mission of the Spirit, a new proof of Messiahship, since it also was prophesied. There is thus a presentation of the Trinity, but only in its functional aspect. Peter makes no disclosures concerning the immanent relation of the Son and the Spirit to the Father. There is also special emphasis on the completion of the work of Christ by his second coming, which on its subjective side is hope. So great importance does he attach to the idea of the approaching *Parousia*, that he bases his moral exhortations upon it. Freedom from the power of sin does not free from the ordinances of the world. Believers may submit to these till they are done away with by the second coming of Christ and superseded by the condition of glory. The ethical ideas of the Epistle are thus closely connected with its eschatology.

The Messianic Salvation.

We do not find in this Epistle the Pauline doctrine of

¹ This is the view of the passage almost universally held by German theologians. Cf. Schmid (pp. 440-443), Weiss (p. 177 and references in note, and p. 227 sq.), also Martensen's *Dogmatics*, § 171.

justification by faith, nor that of adoption in the Pauline sense. The relation of believers to God is represented less as that of filial love than of obedience, which accords with the conception of Christ as the servant of God. Peter's idea of the universal priesthood of believers depends, not so much on that of the priesthood of Christ as on the effusion of the Spirit as characteristic of the Messianic age. The priesthood of Christ, his sacrificial death, and his office of intercessor are not expressly mentioned. That he regards the gift of the Spirit as the fulfilment of divine prophecy, is evident from Acts ii. 17.

The church of Christ takes the place of the Old Testament people of God; but in his earlier sermons Peter regards the church as consisting primarily of Jewish converts. In the Epistle he does not enter into the relation of Jewish and heathen converts or their freedom from the law. In the Christian church the ideal set forth in the Old Testament is first realized. It is a peculiar people, a flock of God. The expressions in ii. 9, which are evidently appropriated from the Old Testament, have been supposed to imply that the church is elected as a whole, without reference to individuals. But this is opposed by the expression (ii. 8) "whereunto they were appointed." If individuals were appointed to destruction, it is implied that the election also extends to all individual members of the kingdom of God.

The *condition of participation* in the Messianic salvation is, according to the Epistle, faith with hope and baptism. In the sermons in the Acts we find a change of mind (*μετάνοια*) also mentioned with faith. This is omitted in the Epistle, as addressed to those who had already experienced the change. In his earlier discourses he requires the Jewish Christians to observe the law; but in the later, faith and baptism are the only conditions spoken of. Faith is nowhere expressly set in opposition to the works of the law. It is also characteristic of Peter that he ever and exclusively treats of faith as obedience. Unbelief is disobedience; the Christian life is a life of obedience. Faith is primarily

regarded as the complete surrender of the heart to God, in which the invisible has the same certainty as that which is visible and certain to the senses (i. 8); and in this confidence there is an act of obedience. As faith is also trust in divine power and grace, it includes faith in the fulfilment of prophecy, in the near future of the kingdom of God, and thus becomes the foundation of hope. Faith is the source of hope, and hope of the new life; and in this sense faith is the source of good works. But Peter does not, as Paul, regard faith as the subjective condition of justification.

Baptism is mentioned in one passage only (iii. 21), where it is designated as the desire (Eng. Vers. "answer") for a good conscience, which essentially coincides with a change of heart. Some light is thrown upon it by comparison with the flood, of which the point lies, not in the destruction of the old man, but in the saving efficacy of the water ("doth also now save us"). It is not a common lustration, since it is the desire for a conscience at one with God; not a vow or promise of a good conscience, but a request to be admitted into the condition of reconciliation, and for the forgiveness of sins, which is obtained through the merits of Christ. The view of baptism peculiar to Paul, as introducing to a life-communion with the crucified and risen Saviour, is as foreign to this Epistle as the idea of communion with death and resurrection itself.

In the above it has been sought to present, not those ideas which are common to other apostles, but those which are characteristic of Peter. These abundantly testify that he could not have borrowed his doctrine from Paul.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER.

Our task here is a double one. We have to present the doctrinal conceptions of this Epistle, and also to compare them with those which are certainly Petrine. We are thus to decide the question whether this Epistle is to be ascribed to Peter, which is generally denied by modern Protestant theologians.

While Peter in his sermons and First Epistle represents himself only as a witness of the death and resurrection of Christ, the Second Epistle bases the apostolic dignity of its author on the fact that he was a believing witness of the transfiguration of Christ on the holy mount. The First Epistle refers to the oral proclamation of the gospel by Paul, the second to the doctrine of Paul as contained in his writings. This presupposes a collection of the sacred writings, and therefore a later date of composition, and, indeed, a considerable interval between the two Epistles. In the first it is implied that the apostle had not himself preached to his readers; on the other hand, the author of the Second Epistle in i. 16 proceeds on the supposition that Peter had thus preached. If it can be shown that this Epistle makes use of that of Jude, it is decisive against the Petrine authorship; and this is evident from one circumstance, namely, that the passage ii. 11 is unintelligible without the explanation afforded by Jude 9. The greater diffuseness also betrays a later hand. This difference in style is acknowledged by the early church, as well as since the revival of criticism. The external testimony in respect to Second Peter is less than for any other book in the New Testament canon. The view which distinguishes some parts of the Epistle as genuine from others which are not so has been altogether given up. The presumption, then, is against the Petrine authorship; but the question will be more clearly decided after the comparison of the doctrinal contents of the Epistle.

The Fundamental Conception.

According to Schmid this is the same as that of First Peter, namely, that the salvation by Christ is the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. This statement is however based only on i. 19-21, which is not sufficient. The passage merely states that the transfiguration of Christ rendered prophecy more sure; this being a riddle which did not present its own solution. The prophets, being moved by the Holy Ghost, did not themselves understand the words they uttered.

The fundamental conception is rather the same as that of the Epistle of Jude. The idea of the divine judgment is common to both. None of the points which we have seen to be characteristic of Peter are touched upon, while the transfiguration, which is mentioned by no other apostle, is made especially prominent.

Schmid finds a close relationship in the doctrinal bearing of the Epistle to that of Peter, in that it does not didactically expound the difference between the Old and New Testaments; and there is certainly in this a point of contact between the two. But this applies equally to the Epistles of Jude and James. The fundamental idea of the Epistle being that of the divine judgment, we should rather conclude that the author resembled James in regarding the new covenant as a new law. But as this is not confirmed by particular statements, it is by no means a safe conclusion. All, then, that we can definitely and safely say, is that the relationship of this Epistle to that of Jude (the fundamental conception of both being that of approaching judgment) is closer than to that of Peter.

The Judgment and the Second Coming of Christ.

Since the second coming of Christ is the only doctrinal point which is discussed in the Epistle in a didactic manner, we start with it in presenting the doctrines of the Epistle.

In this doctrine we might find a close connection with the theology of Peter, were it not evident that this point was rendered prominent by the occasion of the Epistle. There is no prominence given to hope here, as by Peter, but the reference is mainly to *gnosis*. The Epistle is directed against real heretics. We have to do with an antinomian gnosis, arising from a perversion of the doctrine of Paul. The denial by these gnostic heretics of Christ's second advent seems to indicate a post-apostolic date of the Epistle, since in the apostolic period there was a general belief in its immediate proximity.

The author, in opposition to this denial of the divine judg-

ment, proves its possibility, like Jude, by reference to the revelation of divine judgments in history, not from the inner essence of Christianity. He differs from Jude, however, in laying special weight on the divine judgment which was executed in the deluge, as having more than any other the characteristic of totality. According to him the origin of the earth and its first destruction by the flood exactly correspond. Water was the element by which both the creation and the destruction were effected. He regards water as the material of which the earth was formed (ἐξ ὕδατος) and at the same time as the means by which it received its present form (δι' ὕδατος). The final destruction is to take place by the element opposed to water. In these points, he goes beyond, if not in opposition to, the teachings of the rest of the apostles. As Neander remarks, we feel uncertain whether these "correspond to the practical spirit of the apostolic teaching, or whether they do not display a later spirit, mingling much that is foreign with the religious interest."

In distinction from Peter, the author has adopted the idea of the renovation of the earth in consequence of the Parousia. With this it is connected that in place of regeneration he sets forth participation in the divine nature, and instead of the substitutionary sufferings of Christ the transfiguration. It might be supposed that these points were emphasized as supplementary to the teaching of Peter, were it not for other more radical differences.

The Date of Christ's Second Advent.

The author no longer ventures to represent this as near, but is rather concerned to explain its delay. The doubts springing from this delay he ascribes to the transference of the ordinary earthly measure of time to God, to whom it is inapplicable (iii. 8), and to a misapprehension of the plan of divine love, still to leave room for repentance (iii. 9). It is an object of the gnosis to perceive these reasons for the delay, and at the same time to understand how believers on their

part may hasten the approach of this last catastrophe (σπεύδοντας τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρας, iii. 12), without doubt by laboring to carry out the plan of the divine love with respect to the world still unconverted. To harmonize the doctrine of this Epistle with the hypothesis of its composition by the apostle Peter, we must suppose that in the interval between it and the first epistle, he had greatly changed his views as to the date of the Parousia; which however is scarcely probable, as the interval must have been very brief. The latest apostolic epistles still speak of it as near, and such doubts as are here combatted could only have arisen after the course of history had proved the contrary.

The Doctrine of Christ, his Person, his Work.

The doctrine of the Epistle concerning Christ is related to that of Peter, in that it is confined to his condition after his incarnation, and especially his ascension. He is represented as now in possession of unlimited power and glory; in iii. 8 all glory is ascribed to him, and in one passage (i. 1) he seems to be called directly God. His divine glory, which he received after his exaltation to the Father, was once manifested in the earthly life of Christ, in his transfiguration on the holy mount (i. 16-18), and therefore the author attributes the greatest importance to this fact. The manner in which the author speaks of himself as an eye-witness of the transfiguration, and the significance he ascribes to it with respect to the whole work of Christ, shows an essential difference not only from the Petrine form of doctrine, but from that also of the other apostles. As Neander remarks, the apostles are accustomed to accredit themselves as witnesses of the sufferings and resurrection of Christ. As Neander also sets forth, the phrase "holy mount" betrays traces of a later date, as we cannot suppose Mount Zion, to which it was usually applied, to be here meant.

With respect to the work of Christ, the contrast to the doctrine of Peter is still greater. Neither the death of Christ, nor his resurrection nor his ascension and sitting at the right

hand of God, nor the mission of the Spirit is expressly mentioned. When in ii. 1 he designates Christ as the ruler who ransomed us from the bondage of sin, he leaves it altogether undetermined in what manner this liberation took place. There is a certain resemblance between this Epistle and that of Jude, in that both designate Christ as *σωτήρ*, but do not expressly declare *how* salvation is wrought by him, and that both refer to the purification from former sins (2 Pet. i. 9), but do not define the connection of the forgiveness of sins with the death of Christ; while in Peter we find a much more developed doctrine on these points.

In respect to the doctrine of redemption itself and its appropriation, there are similar essential differences. The author attributes redemption to the divine *ἀρετή* and *δικαιοσύνη*, which is not directly contradictory of Peter, who, however, founds it on the divine grace. The new birth is represented as a participation in the divine *φύσις*. This mode of expression might give rise to the suspicion of a tendency to the pantheistic view of the relation between God and the world. But as there are no other traces of this view, we may perhaps understand by this participation in the divine nature the reception of the eternal, immortal life of God by regeneration. Then in expression only, and not in thought, would there be a difference between this Epistle and the other apostolic teachings.

With respect to the appropriation of redemption, the Epistle is distinguished from that of Peter by the absence of the idea of hope, though there was ample occasion for its expression in connection with the doctrine of the second advent. Its place seems to be occupied by *γνώσις* (and *ἐπίγνωσις*), which word occurs with remarkable frequency. In i. 5 faith is regarded as the root of knowledge. True *γνώσις* is distinguished from false by its connection with morality. The more that virtues are united in a life, the deeper and richer will be the gnosis. The exhortations to acquire it presuppose that it is not the possession of a few favored Christians, but may be obtained by all. In i. 8 it is repre-

sented as the aim of the whole moral life; the latter forming only a necessary preparation for it. It is regarded also as a higher stage of faith, to which believers must advance. Since the author would certainly, in a letter in which he is constantly exhorting his readers to gnosis, give further explanations of what belongs to its domain, it is natural to suppose that his statements respecting the mode of origin and destruction of the earth, his exhibition of the reasons for the delay of Christ's coming, and the significance of the transfiguration, fall into the sphere of gnosis.

It cannot, then, be denied that there are some points of contact between this Epistle and the Petrine form of doctrine. Since, however, the differences are much greater than the resemblances, and as they are due not to the particular occasion of the Epistle, but to its fundamental conceptions, we may regard it as a safe conclusion that the apostle Peter was not the author of this Epistle. It is not our province to determine positively the time, place, and author of the composition. But, as Schmid correctly intimates, it contains genuine apostolic ideas, and its general tenor is excellent. There is no reason for supposing so late a date of composition as that which modern criticism assigns to it. While it resembles the Epistle of Jude more than that of Peter, there are essential differences between them. The views concerning gnosis, the transfiguration, and the late date of the second advent are elements which are quite foreign to Jude. The Alexandrian coloring, observed in the Epistle by Schmid, is also confirmed by the peculiar view of the relation of faith and gnosis.¹

¹ The subsequent portion of Messner's work, comprising the doctrinal systems of Paul, of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and of John, will be considered in a second Article.

ARTICLE VI

THE BRETHREN OF OUR LORD.

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Who were the brethren of the Lord? His brothers, or cousins? They are mentioned fifteen times in the New Testament, and in each instance the original word is ἀδελφός.

Now by etymology and usage this word means brother. It is a compound of *a* copulative and δελφύς, meaning *matrix*. If therefore the sacred writers had wanted to make it sure that they spoke of uterine brothers of Christ, ἀδελφός was the word to use. When speaking of the brothers of Christ they have chosen this particular word in every instance. That this was choice in them, and not chance, is evident from the fact that in every other case in the New Testament where cousin is meant, some other expression is used, and not ἀδελφός. Those writers were not short for terms. They had a language as rich in these specifications of near kinship as our own. If they wanted to say cousin they had a word for it, and they used it, as in Col. iv. 10, where Mark is called cousin to Barnabas; the word is ἀνεψιός, which means literally cousin (See also Tobit vii. 2, LXX). Again, in Acts xxiii. 16, Paul's sister's son is spoken of as ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀδελφῆς Παύλου: this means nephew, but by a change of the proper name alone, would mean cousin. Again the more general term συγγενής, meaning kinsman, relative, is used in the New Testament no less than eleven times, often meaning cousin. Thus, in Luke i. 36, Elizabeth is called συγγενής to Mary; they were cousins. In v. 58 the same word is translated cousins, where it speaks of her "neighbors and cousins," οἱ συγγενεῖς. When Jesus, on the way home from the temple, was lost, and his parents sought him "amongst their kinsfolk," the word used is the same: ἐν τοῖς συγγενέσιν.

This line of search will show plainly that the sacred writers were not compelled by poverty of language or custom to say brother if they meant cousin. If it be true that they meant cousin where they have used ἀδελφός, while three other legitimate New Testament expressions were open to them — two of which were unmistakable, — it is certainly strange that they did not even once in these fifteen times say cousin, or Mary's sister's son, or Joseph's brother's son, or kinsman, and so make their meaning plain. Especially is this strange, if we must suppose that they wished to teach that Jesus had no younger brothers. They chose to say brothers every time; and this, in the circumstances, must be considered a strong presumptive argument that they meant brothers, and not cousins. It is a sound rule of interpretation that, wherever it is possible, words are to be taken in their simple and literal meaning.

It is urged against this view, that the word ἀδελφός is not always used in its exact etymological sense; that the meaning is often greatly extended. According to Jewish usage it covers a wide range of relationship, and so may include that of cousin. Besides it is commonly used without regard to natural kinship. In far the greater number of cases in the New Testament it cannot mean brother according to the flesh.

This objection is made up of fact and inference. We may admit the one, but not the other. The fact is that the word ἀδελφός is used oftener than otherwise in an extended or a metaphorical sense. The inference is, that the use of the word ἀδελφός in the New Testament is not of itself a strong presumptive argument that the meaning is true, natural brother; i.e. that it does not furnish presumptive evidence against the theory that these so-called brothers of Christ were only cousins. This inference is altogether unsupported either by the literal or the metaphorical use of the term in scripture. Let us examine it. Look first at the usage of the word in the literal sense, i.e. meaning relationship by blood. Notice that in the Bible ἀδελφός never means cousin unless you beg the question, and take for granted that it has this meaning

in this particular connection. No parallel case can be found. The assumption here would require us to admit an exceptional use of the word, without a parallel in scripture, uncalled for, and repeated fifteen times without any qualifying word or phrase.

Now look at the actual extension of the meaning of the word, and we shall see that far too much stress has been laid on the indefiniteness of meaning attached to the word ἀδελφός in scripture. What are the facts? In the original scriptures the word when not used metaphorically is always used in its narrowest literal sense, meaning strictly brother. In the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, to be sure, there are just two cases, only two, where the word is used literally and yet does not mean own brother. In other cases, where it means countryman, one of the same tribe, ally, companion, without implying any degree of relationship by blood, it cannot be said to be used literally. But in Gen. xiii. 8 and xxix. 12 Lot and Jacob are called brothers of Abraham and Laban, when in fact they were nephews. Yet Lot very likely was brother-in-law as well as nephew to Abraham; if so that would dispose of one of these two cases. Besides, in both instances, scripture explains itself; the matter is not left in any doubt.

But granting that these two cases are every way in point, see what assumptions are founded upon them. It is claimed first that the early Hebrew אָח is exactly equivalent to the New Testament Greek ἀδελφός; and then secondly that because this Hebrew word אָח in a single book written seventeen centuries earlier than the gospels, is twice extended so as to mean nephew, the extension being fully rectified in the same book; therefore in these fifteen instances from five different writers in a later and far more copious language, the Greek word ἀδελφός must mean cousin. This last assumption rests somewhat heavily upon the first; and the first is left like the bull in the eastern cosmogony, whose great horns support the world.

Turn now from the literal to the metaphorical use of the

word, and see what bearing that has upon the question. The meaning of a metaphor we learn only from the same word in its literal signification. Thus when the psalmist says: "The Lord is my high tower," we can tell what he means only as we learn exactly what a high tower is. We do not come at it by way of a mountain or a tree, but by way of a high tower, and nothing else. The precise literal meaning of the word is carried over into new relations, and that is a metaphor.

By an easy metaphor Christians are often called in scripture "brethren," "brethren in Christ," etc. Now what does this mean? What is the exact literal meaning that is brought over in all these cases? We must explain the figure by that. Is it cousinship or nephewship, or some other form of undefined relationship? It must be brotherhood; it can be nothing else. We look for an explanation of the figure to the relation of brothers in the same family, and not to that of cousins, nor to any other relationship. Believers are peculiarly brothers by virtue of adoption by one and the same Father; brothers, not cousins, by virtue of oneness with the Son of God; brothers, by virtue of having been begotten by one and the same Spirit; brothers, by virtue of a peculiar love for each other, such as belongs to no natural kinship but that of brothers; brothers, by virtue of a common and equal inheritance; brothers, it must be, in every view, and not cousins, nor anything else, wherever the word is used metaphorically. The metaphor has its ground and limitations in the literal meaning of the word. It has no power of extension beyond this. So far, then, as it has any bearing on the question before us, the metaphorical use of the word ἀδελφός is against those who hold the cousin-theory respecting the so-called brothers of Christ. If the word ἀνεψιός had been used even once instead of ἀδελφός it would have gone far towards deciding the question. What must we infer when the word ἀδελφός is used invariably?

Ten times out of the fifteen these brothers are mentioned in immediate connection with the mother of Jesus, all as

if forming one and the same family. This is natural if they were sons of Mary, but very strange on the theory that they were only cousins of the Saviour, their own mother being alive all the while.

In John vii. 5 we read: "Neither did his brethren believe in him." But if this means cousins it cannot be true; for, on this theory, two of the four brothers were actual apostles at this time. Besides, he had a cousin Matthew among the twelve, and John the Baptist was his cousin. Here would be four cousins who did believe on him. Take the passage in its literal meaning in its connection, and it would show that these brothers could not have been included among the twelve apostles. This gives a reason for distinguishing them from the apostles, as is done elsewhere. It will not do to weaken the force of οὐδὲ ἐπίστευον; for vs. 31, 39, 48, and the connection of v. 1, show what is meant. The whole attitude of the brothers towards Christ is inconsistent with the theory that they were already his chosen disciples (see Matt. xii. 46-50). On the contrary, after the resurrection they are reckoned among the followers of Christ, but still are expressly distinguished from the apostles. (See Acts i. 13, 14.)

If only the relationship of cousins be meant where they are called brothers, then the words can be interchanged without damage to the sense. Put them now to this test of substitution, as the immersionists have attempted, and read the new version (Matt. xii. 46): "While he yet talked with the people, behold, his mother and his *cousins* stood without. Then one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy *cousins* stand without. But he answered and said unto him that told him, Who is my mother? And who are my *cousins*? And he stretched forth his hand toward his disciples, and said, Behold my mother and my *cousins*. For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my *cousin* (ἀδελφός) and *female cousin* (ἀδελφή) and mother." Now this not only sounds odd, but it also hurts the sense. Logic demands the closest relationships here, and will not be satisfied with anything else, — especially in the

closing metaphor. The meaning plainly is: Whosoever shall give real evidence of true faith by sincere obedience, the same shall be as dear to me as my own nearest relatives according to the flesh, or as the nearest natural kindred are to any one; and certainly own brothers and sisters are nearer and dearer than cousins. Matt. xiii. 55 read: "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? And his *cousins*, James and Joses¹ and Simon and Judas? And his *female cousins*, are they not all with us?" Now, it empties this protest of force, if not of sense, to suppose that those scoffers really said this. The circumstances require that they mean brothers and sisters, just as literally as they meant carpenter and mother. This was their point: We know this man—that he is no more than the rest of us; his father and mother and brothers and sisters are well-known; there is nothing in him, of course, different from the rest of the family. This is plausible; but to argue a man's capacity or talents from his cousin's is not very close reasoning. If he were the only child the argument would naturally, if not of necessity, stop with the well-known father and mother, from whom he is supposed to inherit his qualities. It would not help the matter to suppose that the children of some other parents were known to be only ordinary people. Moreover, the Saviour's answer seems to go upon the supposition that these were his own brothers and sisters: "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country and among his own kin (*συγγενέσιν*) and in his own house." Notice the climax. Where he is best known he is least honored; and this is the order of progress: his fatherland; then his kindred, which, as we have seen, would naturally include all relatives except the immediate family; then his own house, which would naturally cover these very relatives which have just been mentioned—his father and mother and brothers and sisters.

¹ The true reading is doubtless Joseph, according to the Cod. Sin., which is adopted by Meyer, Tregelles, Alford, and Conant. If this be so, there is one brother less bearing the same name as one of the sons of Mary the wife of Alpheus.

John vii. 3, 5, 10: "His *cousins* therefore said unto him, Depart, For neither did his *cousins* believe in him. But when his *cousins* were gone up," etc. Now why so much notice taken of his cousins? What if his cousins did or did not believe in him? Does it follow that a man's cousins must fall in and support him? But suppose it to mean just what it says — brothers, — and we see a good reason for a particular mention. These were the very ones who would naturally be expected to know him best, and help him most. It is worthy of mention that these did not believe in him. Remember, too, what has been already stated, that on the theory that these were cousins the language cannot be reconciled with the fact that two, at least, out of the four, or, if Matthew be counted in, three out of five, did believe in him, and were already chosen as apostles. The supposition that they were real brothers harmonizes with this fact, and with the statements that represent them as distinct from the twelve apostles.

Acts i. 14 (The names of the eleven apostles has just been given): "These all continued with one accord in prayer, with the women and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his *cousins*." Notice the close connection of mother and brothers; and how they seem to be separate from the eleven apostles. We can see no such reason for the mention of cousins as we can for that of literal brothers.

1 Cor. ix. 5: "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as other apostles and as the *cousins* of the Lord and Cephas?" Here observe the singular inconsistency of such a translation. In the same sentence ἀδελφὴν is rendered sister, but ἀδελφοί must be extended so as to mean cousins. Both are alike unqualified. Or, if it be not called an inconsistency of translation, it must be regarded as a singular confusion of language in the writer. There is no metaphor here, — nothing to indicate that the words are not to be taken in their literal meaning. The literal sense, too, as elsewhere, answers every requirement of the thought.

Gal. i. 19: "Other of the apostles saw I none, save James

the Lord's *cousin*." It is claimed that this James must have been one of the twelve apostles. But it is not necessary. He might be an apostle, and not be one of the twelve, as Paul and Barnabas were apostles. And even this is not necessary. The *ἐὶ μὴ* of this verse may modify, not *ἕτερον*, but the whole previous clause. For similar usage see v. 7 same chapter, also Rev. xxi. 27. Winer, Neander, Bleek, Meyer, Lange, and Alford agree substantially with Fritzsche, who translates: "Alium apostolum non vidi, sed vidi Jacobum."

This view of the passage agrees best with the Saviour's commission to the twelve -- not to be settled over particular churches, but to go into all the world. For all agree that this James was the head of the mother church at Jerusalem. On the theory that he was a brother of Christ, it is not to be wondered at that he should rise to such dignity of office.

The same substitution in the rest of the passages would show a similar result. The cousin-theory cannot stand this test. On the other hand, the supposition that they are rightly called brothers makes good sense in every instance, and gives force to the sentiment.

Some objections to the brother-theory have already been considered. There are others to be attended to.

It has been urged that these persons are never called the sons of Mary, but uniformly the brothers of Christ. This is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that Christ is the central figure in the Gospels round which the others move; their connection with him was more significant than their relationship to Mary or Joseph.¹

¹ There is one passage more which is worthy of notice in this connection. Ps. lxxix. is regarded as Messianic, in part at least. Both parts of v. 9 are applied to Christ (John ii. 17; Rom. xv. 3). Verse 7 is similar in form to v. 9, and identical in meaning. The spirit of Christ which was in the psalmist, "testified beforehand of the sufferings of Christ." Verse 9 is applied by inspiration to Christ; v. 7 surely received its highest fulfilment in the insulted Saviour. Now if verses 9 and 7 are plainly Messianic it would seem that v. 8 would also be, provided it can bear such an application. And it not only can bear such an application, but if so applied it yields the only form of proof that is claimed to be wanting to establish the fact that the Saviour had true broth-

Another objection is drawn from the fact that the Saviour on the cross commended his mother to John, which he would not have done if she had had other sons. But to this it may be answered: (1) We do not know that his brothers were present; (2) They did not at that time believe in him; (3) The same objection would hold against the cousin-theory: it would be passing by those who were very familiar with Mary, near of kin to her, and apostles of Christ; (4) If "woman behold thy son" implies that Mary had no son, then "behold thy mother" implies that John had no mother. We are not told why John was selected. We may suppose the choice was based on deep spiritual affinity and sympathy.

Another objection is urged from the fact that three of the brothers, James, Simon, and Jude, have the same name with three of the apostles, and hence were probably the same persons; and the three apostles were not sons of Mary the mother of Jesus: two of them we know were sons of Alpheus. But this argument has little weight when we remember how very common these names were. In the New Testament there are five different Jameses and several Judes; and Josephus mentions twenty-one different Simons, seventeen Joses, and sixteen Judes. Where names are so frequently repeated it is not very improbable that two or three of the brothers of the Lord might bear the same name as their cousins. Besides, this objection comes unexpectedly from those whose theory compels them to regard these brothers as the children of Mary's sister, and that sister's name as Mary also.¹ That is, two sisters may be called Mary, but two cousins cannot be called James. They swallow the camel, but the gnat is too much of a strain for them.

The greatest practical obstacle to the brother-theory is the

ers. It reads: "I am become a stranger unto my brethren, and an alien unto my mother's children."

¹ John xix. 25 is quoted to sustain this position. But probably in that verse four different persons are enumerated, and the name of the sister of the mother of Jesus (Salome?) is omitted. So Wieseler, Meyer, Lange, Alford. Besides this theory is insecure as to the name of the father. It assumed that Alpheus and Clopas are one and the same person; but this is not certain.

doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary. But the virginity of Mary can be made an article of belief from scripture, only so far as the birth of Christ is concerned. Neither his sinlessness nor Mary's honor require her subsequent virginity. Scripture guards her virginity just so far and no further. After that point is cleared she is treated like any other married woman; and we are left to believe respecting her just what her situation in life would imply. Matt. i. 25: "οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον." This becomes weak if not senseless on the theory that Mary remained a virgin after she brought forth her first born. On that theory what is stated so carefully of Joseph respecting Mary, would be just as true of Joseph respecting every virgin that ever lived; he knew not one of them all till she brought forth her first born (nor then either). For the force of ἕως οὗ see Luke xxiv. 49; Matt. xiii. 33.¹ Scripture does not tolerate the notion that there is anything wrong or impure in the condition of marriage. It existed by divine appointment before man sinned; it is the chosen emblem of the purest spiritual relation—that between Christ and his church. The Bible makes children a blessing, sterility a curse. Of this passage Professor B. B. Edwards says: "The perpetual virginity of Mary is inferred from half a verse which by natural implication teaches the direct contrary."

The cousin-theory is held by some as a safeguard to the doctrine of the miraculous conception. But this evident doctrine of the Bible needs no help; much less such help and lame defenders. They urge that because the brother-theory has been held by some who deny the miraculous conception, therefore it fairly leads to this result. But there is no logical connection between the two. Christ was born of

¹ No decisive argument can be drawn from the use of the word *πρωτότοκον*, for the ancient Jewish usage applied it to that which opened the womb, without regard to subsequent offspring. The tampering with the text at this point is interesting, as indicating a desire to save the doctrine of the perpetual virginity. Many Latin versions omit the term altogether, one translates it *unigenitum*. Ezek. xlv. 2 was once relied on as a proof of the doctrine of the perpetual virginity.

a virgin, whether she who was a virgin up to his birth afterward had children or not.

Another form of doctrinal objection is founded upon prophecy. Gen. xlix. 10: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah until Shiloh come." But this does not require the subsequent virginity of Mary. The sceptre was in Judah, and governors did come out of that tribe till Judea became a province of the Roman empire at the time when Christ was born (See Luke ii. 1). And the Jews themselves declared: "We have no king but Caesar." But that the race ran out at that time, or that this particular family had no further descendants, is a needless assumption.

Glance now at the history of opinion on this subject.

The oldest tradition, held by distinguished Fathers in the Greek and the Latin church, regarded these persons as brothers, in distinction from cousins. The brother-theory is the oldest. The Ebionites held it. Here belong such names as Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius, Hilary, Ambrose, and Eusebius. It grew to be the recognized belief of the Greek church. Chrysostom seems to have adopted it. This ancient brother-theory, however, though accurately so-called, was held in a peculiar modification. These persons were regarded as brothers of Christ on the father's side, the children of Joseph by a previous marriage, and not the children of Mary. To this view some eminent modern writers incline; among them Dr. Schaff.

The advantages claimed for this modification are: (1) It saves the perpetual virginity of Mary; (2) It seems to harmonize with the apparent age of Joseph (who disappears so early from the narrative), and with the age of the brothers themselves who appear to patronize the Saviour as if they were older; (3) It meets all the requirements of a critical exegesis.

On the other hand, it is damaging to this view, if not fatal, that it has no positive scripture in its favor. These brothers are not called sons of any other woman, nor are they ever mentioned in connection with Joseph, as we should expect.

The theory begins in a bare supposition and has no better basis. We are not told that Joseph had a previous wife; there is no intimation of it. If we grant this one assumption, no difficulty remains, — but how to grant it? The old philosopher offered to move the world if they would only give him a place to stand. The advocates of this theory do not even ask this; they only ask you not to mind the deficiency.

The next tradition in point of age is the cousin-theory, according to which these persons were the children of Mary's sister Mary and Alpheus or Clopas. This may be traced back to Papias in the second century. Clement of Alexandria held it, also Jerome, Augustine, and perhaps the majority of English writers. The Reformers seem to have paid little attention to the question. Calvin calls the subject one of idle curiosity. Zwingli adopted the cousin-theory. It appears also in the Helvetic Confession. It became the prevailing belief of the Western church, and is the modern papal doctrine.

Lange adopts this view in a changed form, making the brothers cousins of Christ, not by the sisterhood of their mothers, but by the brotherhood of their fathers, Joseph and Alpheus or Clopas. But all that is peculiar in his view is gratuitous supposition; it has no support in scripture.

This cousin-theory is very widely adopted. If it be untrue the adoption of it is a phenomenon to be accounted for. And a sufficient explanation is found in the dogmas of the perpetual virginity and the well-known ascetic notions of the Romish church from the beginning, that celibacy is a holier state than marriage. Then as a kind of delicate feeling it seems to have been retained in many branches of the Protestant church. Jeremy Taylor says any one may hold this as one of the "pie credibilia." Dr. Alexander of Princeton seems rather to approve it, but expressly as a feeling, and not as a distinctive belief.

One more theory, hardly worth mentioning, is that of a levirate marriage of Joseph to the widow of his brother

Clopas, to raise up seed to his brother. But this is arbitrary and idle.

The theory that these persons were children of Joseph and Mary, true younger brothers and sisters of Jesus, is not without a history. It cannot be traced to its origin, but in the fourth century its advocates had attained to the strength of a party in the church, with a distinctive name, the *Antidicomarianitae*. These rejected all homage of Mary, and asserted that she bore children to Joseph after the birth of Jesus. This was in Arabia. At the same time Helvidius at Rome and Bonosus bishop of Sardica arrayed themselves against the church views respecting celibacy and monastic life, and also against the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary. The Romish monk, Jovinian, distinguished himself by a severe attack upon the entire ascetic tendency of the church. Even Augustine was compelled to admit the element of truth in Jovinian.

This true brother-theory was adopted by Tertullian and Helvidius. Among Protestants we find such names as Herder, Neander, Winer, Meyer, Wieseler, Rothe, Stier; also Davidson, Alford, and Hackett. Says Hackett: "Undoubtedly the view that Jesus had brothers who were the sons of Mary is the one which an unforced exegesis requires." Says Schaff respecting the same view: "It is the most natural, and would probably be taken by a majority of commentators if it were not for scruples arising from the long and widely cherished doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary."

It remains only to add a word respecting the use of such a discussion as this.

(1) This theory restores to several passages of scripture their plain and obvious meaning.

(2) If it be established that the Saviour had younger brothers, then nothing, it is believed, but a question of taste prevents the Protestant church from wielding an effective weapon against the Mariology and Mariolatry of the papal church and its false estimate of the state of celibacy.

(3) If sustained, this theory adds new lustre to the Sa-

viour's character, as it flings a ray of light across those thirty years of his unwritten history, by which we are enabled to see him at home, moving, a brother, among younger brothers and sisters; tried in these common ways in which we are found wanting, "tempted in all points like as we are," "that he might be touched with a feeling of our infirmities."

ARTICLE VII.

RIVAL EDITIONS OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AS CONTAINED IN THE CODEX VATICANUS.¹

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IN the three publications named below, we have at length, after so long delay and so many fruitless attempts, a quite satisfactory representation of the text of the celebrated Vatican manuscript, so far as it can be truly exhibited in a mere transcription and with moveable types. The collation by Bartolucci (1669), and the two procured by Bentley (about 1720 and 1726), and the partial one by Birch (1788), left much uncertainty in regard to its text. The professed publication of the text of the whole MS. by Cardinal Mai (five vols. 4to., 1857; New Testament, 2d ed., 1 vol. 8vo., 1859) disappointed expectation, and added little to the knowledge of its text. The illiberal jealousy of its guardians has long imposed such restrictions on its use, that no thorough and satisfactory collation could be made. Only here and there could a disputed reading be verified, during

¹ *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*; post Angeli Maii aliorumque imperfectos labores ex ipso codice edidit Ae. F. C. Tischendorf. 1 vol. 4to., pp. L and 284. Lips. 1867.

Bibliorum Sacrorum Graecus Codex Vaticanus; auspice Pio IX. Pontifice Maximo, collatis studiis Caroli Vercellone Sodalitis Barnabitarum et Josephi Cozza Monachi Basiliani editus. (Tom. v. complectens *Novum Testamentum*.) 1 vol. fol., pp. 302. Romae, 1868.

Appendix *Novi Testamenti Vaticani*. Inest *Apocalypsis* ex codice unciali Vaticano 2066, etc. Edidit Const. Tischendorf. 4to. pp. 20. Lips. 1869.

a brief examination of a few minutes, or at most of a few hours. Much had to be inferred from the silence of collators; and in many cases it still remained uncertain, whether a reading, noted as a variation from the received text, was by the first hand, or by that of a subsequent and even very modern corrector. Of more minute, and yet, for purposes of criticism, most essential characteristics of the manuscript, very little was known.

In 1866, early in February, Prof. Tischendorf repaired to Rome, with letters from men of distinction in the diplomatic service, in the hope of obtaining permission from Pius IX. to publish, at his own expense, the text of the new Testament. This was refused; the Pontiff now reserving to himself the honor of giving the long withheld treasure to the Christian world. With much difficulty, by the promise of assistance in the task of the Roman editors, and of the use of the types cast for the so-called *fac-simile* of the Sinaitic text, he obtained access to the MS. for a few hours, merely to verify disputed readings; with the understanding that he should make no such use of it as would lessen the value of the Pontiff's projected publication. Though his time was very limited, he determined to examine, *ad literam*, the whole text of the New Testament. For this task he had special facilities; having with him Mai's second edition of the New Testament, where were already noted all passages about which there was still any doubt, either from discrepancies in previous collations, or from disagreement with the *Codex Sinaiticus*. Moreover, his long and varied experience in deciphering ancient MSS., and a quick eye, trained to detect the most minute peculiarities of the written page, specially fitted him for such an undertaking.

"But while I was comparing the written with the edited text," he says,¹ "I could not refrain from transcribing many whole pages." This was reported by a spy upon his actions;²

¹ Prolegomena in Novum Testamentum Vaticanum, p. viii.

² In his Appendix Codicum Celeberrimorum, Sinaitici, Vaticani, Alexandrini, 1867, he says this man was a Prussian, and a member of the Society of Jesus

and before he had quite gone over the first three Gospels, the further use of the MS. was denied him, on the ground that it was wanted by those to whom the Pontiff had committed the preparation of his own work.

He had labored three hours a day (the time allowed for daily access to the library) during eight days, when he was thus interrupted. By the promise of still further aid to the Roman editors in their work,¹ he obtained the use of the MS. eighteen hours longer, Cardinal Vercellone being present to see that he transcribed nothing more, while comparing the text of the MS. with the edited copy. Forty-two hours in all were spent by him in examining the MS.; namely, three hours a day between the twenty-eighth of February and the twelfth of March, and between the twentieth and twenty-sixth of March. During this time he compared all the books of the New Testament now remaining of the ancient manuscript, marking in the edited copy the beginning and end of each page in the MS., and transcribed twenty entire pages.² His method of transcribing was to note, in the edited copy, the first and the last letter of each word, carefully indicating also the form of the letter at the close of each line. In the latter portion of the New Testament he was not able, for want of time, to mark as carefully as he had intended the unusual spaces between words, as well as the points and other signs used in the MS.

In 1867 he published the result of this collation, giving the entire text of the ancient MS. of the New Testament in

(*Borussus natione, societati Jesu addictus*). There he stands, in his nameless insignificance. But how great a work a little man may hinder.

¹ This aid was so highly valued, that Cardinal Vercellone, the chief editor, said to him at parting: "If anything is done, we owe it to you" (*si quid fit, tibi debemus*; App. p. ix, l. 14); referring also, quite probably, to the impulse given by Tischendorf's proposal to edit the MS. Vercellone had some years before (Preface to Mai's 2d ed. of the New Testament, p. iv, last lines of the foot-note) expressed his earnest desire that the text of the MS. might be faithfully edited. He had also, by letter, encouraged Tischendorf to apply for permission to perform this service.

² Nineteen pages of the New Testament, and one of the Old Testament, from the book of Job.

common Greek type. Nineteen pages, from different parts of the New Testament, are printed in perpendicular columns, three on a page, as in the MS., each column containing the same number of lines, and each line the same number of words and parts of words, as in the MS., thus representing the verbal text and its arrangement on the page. The other pages also contain the same matter as the corresponding pages in the MS., each of the three columns being printed by itself in lines that cross the page, the division of the columns being made horizontally, instead of vertically as in the MS. The ancient divisions of the text are everywhere indicated by corresponding spaces, and marginal enumeration. In the lower margin are the corrections, by the first, second, and third hands.

To the printed text is prefixed a valuable critical Commentary of fifty pages. A careful inspection of only a few pages suffices to show how great a service is here rendered to textual criticism. Taking a few at random, twenty-six errors of previous collations have been counted on one page, thirty-nine on another, forty-eight on another, fifty-one on another, and a similar range in others. Some are mere variations in orthography; but many materially affect the sense, and still others the palaeographic character, and the critical value of the text itself.

In March 1868, a programme was issued at Rome, announcing the second of the works referred to in this Article, as in course of preparation, with two accompanying specimen-pages of the text. According to the conditions of this programme, the work will be completed in six volumes; five volumes exhibiting the entire text of the MS., and a sixth containing critical notes, plates, and apparatus. Cardinal Vercellone and Joseph Cozza are the responsible editors.

It is stated in the programme, that this edition of the Codex will exhibit its very appearance and form (*ipsissimam ejus speciem formamque*), with new types in imitation of the ancient manuscript. This statement is the more remarkable, as the subjoined specimen-pages were printed with

types made in imitation of the characters of the Sinaitic MS., larger and heavier than those of the Codex Vaticanus, and consequently making a much larger page; since each page must conform to that of the MS. in the number of columns, of lines in each column, and of words or parts of words in each line. It does not, therefore, truly exhibit the *speciem formamque* of the Codex, as any one familiar with its appearance in actual *fac-simile* may see at a glance. In view, moreover, of the signal failures in the past to meet the just demands of critical scholarship, it would have been more modest, as well as more discreet, if the allusion to "morose critics" (*quae morosioribus criticis satisfacere posset*) had been omitted.

The plan of the editors is well expressed in the following words: Scripturam, quae ab ipso priori codicis auctore ortum habuit, totidem ac simillimis literarum ductibus ita perpetuo exhibere nituntur, ut quoties aliquid ab antiquis correctoribus emendatum apparet aut suppletum vel interpositum, id ipsum eadem omnino ratione, qua in ipso manuscripto prostat, representent atque proponant; exceptis locis non paucis, in quibus lectio a posteriori manu inducta typis exhiberi non poterat, quin prioris amanuensis scriptura pene occultaretur aut certe implexione perturbaretur Si quid ab altera vel tertia manu ita castigatum erat in codice, ut sine aliquo impedimento vel confusione per typos reddi nequiret, id necessario monendum denique atque declarandum esse censuerunt in apparatu critico, cui postremum volumen reservatum est.

As a general statement of the objects to be attained, nothing could be better conceived or expressed. The difficulties lie in the details of the plan, and in their execution, requiring a degree of knowledge and skill acquired only by long familiarity with ancient documents, and with all the details of textual criticism.

The volume is issued without preface or notes, or explanation of any kind. It contains the entire text of the ancient MS. of the New Testament, on two hundred and eighty-four

pages, three columns on a page, as in the MS. The corrections, by the first, second, and third hands, are not noted in the margin, as was done in Tischendorf's edition. This is a serious inconvenience to the reader, who is not aware of any correction of a passage till he has consulted another volume. A part of the missing portion at the end, namely, Hebrews from the middle of the fourteenth verse of the ninth chapter, and the Apocalypse, is quite needlessly supplied in modern characters, as in the Codex.¹

The third of the publications referred to in this Article was announced by Tischendorf in September 1868, as about to be issued near the end of the following month. It appeared early in the present year, the prolegomena being dated December 1868. It contains the text of an important uncial manuscript of the Apocalypse, of the seventh or eighth century, belonging to the Vatican library (Cod. Bas., formerly 105, now 2066). Tischendorf published its text in the *Monumenta Sacra* in 1846, and now republishes it after a more careful collation made in 1866. In this corrected edition it is an important contribution to the still comparatively meager apparatus for the text of the Apocalypse.²

Prefixed to the printed text of this MS. is a catalogue of the numerous errors in Cardinal Mai's edition of it. This

¹ The ancient writing now ends with the letters *καθα* of the word *καθαριεῖ*, in the fourteenth verse of the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The leaves now lost contained the rest of Hebrews, first and second Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and the Apocalypse. These are supplied in the Codex by a MS. of the fifteenth century.

² In the *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, Vol. v., 1865, Tischendorf gave an interesting account of a palimpsest MS., in which he discovered, under a writing of about the thirteenth century, an ancient uncial text of a large portion of the New Testament. This was in 1862, the MS. having just been brought from the East. There was no suspicion of the treasure concealed in it, till Tischendorf detected a few traces of the ancient writing, and restored the rest by a chemical process; the owner exclaiming, as he saw the ancient characters reappear, *Ecce Lazarus e sepulchro reduz!* Of this MS., which he calls the "Porphyrian Palimpsest," from the name of its owner, he published in that volume the text of Paul's Epistles and of the Catholic Epistles, reserving for another volume the Apocalypse and Acts of the Apostles. Vol. vi. of the *Monumenta Sacra Inedita* is now published, containing this venerable copy of the ancient text of the Apocalypse, and the Acts of the Apostles, so strangely brought to light.

is followed by a critical examination of the Roman edition of the Vatican manuscript of the New Testament, and the correction of some oversights and typographical errors in his own edition of it. His criticisms of the Roman edition may be arranged under the following heads :

1. The mechanical execution. This, as he frankly admits, is in general excellent. He justly objects to the size of the types (already spoken of,) as not truly representing the smaller and more neatly formed characters of the Vatican MS., or the size and general appearance of its page. But in regard to their shape, he admits that there is no form in the vatican MS., at least in the New Testament, which has not its corresponding one in the Sinaitic.¹ He objects also to the occasional irregular spacing of letters, especially in such connections as *AT*, *AT*, *AT*, as on p. 116, 1, 3 ; ² p. 122, 1, 15, and many others. But since there is no such coherence in the manuscript characters as is represented by types, it is only the irregular spacing in these instances that offends. Some letters, as the character for Alpha, are often badly printed, those in red ink almost uniformly so. The characters for τ , κ , ν , θ , ψ , are in many instances imperfectly represented, from injury to the types ; and the horizontal stroke for final ν ($\tau\sigma$, etc.), at the end of a line, is often too faint, and is sometimes wholly wanting.³ For examples of the latter and more important defect, he refers to p. 54, 2, 17 ; p. 56, 1, 39 ; p. 62, 3, 24 ; p. 90, 2, 10 ; p. 150, 2, 18 ; p. 155, 2, 34 ; p. 162, 2, 13. In the copy before us, the horizontal stroke in the first example referred to is barely discernible, and would escape the notice of an unpracticed eye, unless

¹ Tischendorf expresses his belief (Prolegom. Nov. Test. Vat. pp. xxi-xxiii) that the writer of the New Testament part of the Vatican MS. was one of the scribes employed on a part of the Sinaitic ; a fact, if it be one, of no small interest in textual criticism.

² The page, column, and line of the Roman edition are given in this Article. Tischendorf, in his references, usually gives only the page and line of his own edition.

³ It is but just to say, that, in these respects, Tischendorf's own specimen of twenty pages, in his Appendix Codicum Celeberrimorum, Sinaitici, Vaticani, Alexandrini, 1867, is much superior to the Roman copy.

attention were particularly directed to it. In the second it is partially expressed; in the third a small trace of it is discernible on close inspection; in the fourth and fifth it is clearly though rather faintly expressed; in the sixth there is no trace of it, even under a powerful lens; in the seventh it is clearly discernible, though but partially expressed. It must be admitted that there is ground here for Tischendorf's criticism, sharpened though it may be by the competition of a rival publication. In a professedly scientific representation of the text of an ancient manuscript, such blemishes are not of small account.

Under this head may be included typographical errors; first, in single letters corrected by hand. On p. 203, 2, 30, in the abbreviation $\bar{X}\bar{T}$ (for $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$), the letter X is substituted by hand for some other letter erased, and the erasure is very plainly seen in the copy before us. On p. 250, 3, 41, where $HMIH$ ($\eta\mu\iota\eta$) was printed by mistake for $HMIN$ ($\eta\mu\iota\nu$), the horizontal line in the final H is erased, and an oblique line somewhat awkwardly substituted to make N . On p. 225, 1, 24, in the word $ONEIAIZONT\Omega N$, the letter Z is quite unskillfully substituted for Δ erased. Nine other similar examples are given; and it is to be presumed, after Tischendorf's careful search, that there are no more. Secondly, typographical errors remaining uncorrected. The letter Θ , he says, has wholly fallen out in the word $\epsilon\chi\theta\upsilon\alpha\varsigma$ on p. 52, 3, 2, and in $\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ on p. 127, 1, 18. In the copy before us there is an irregular fragment of the lower part of the broken letter in the former case; and in the latter, only the cross line of the Θ is defective, being nearly effaced. Such accidents cannot easily be guarded against in printing so large a work. Other examples are: on p. 15, 3, 28, $\Pi AATEIAI\varsigma$, for $\Pi AATEIAI\varsigma$; on p. 34, 3, 39, $META$ for $META$; on p. 228, 3, 31, $\Delta TNAMEI$ for $\Delta TNAMEI$; all occasioned by the near resemblance of A to A . Such oversights cannot be excused in such a work. But we may be quite sure that we have them all.

Unskillfulness in imitating corrections, is another objection

that falls under this head. Tischendorf's representation of this blemish, it must be allowed, is slightly exaggerated in some of his examples, though the fault is sufficiently apparent in all of them. The most objectionable one occurs on p. 40, 1, 26; where the original writing is *ΙΟΜΕΝΗΣ*, and between *ΙΟ* the letters *ΕΝ* have been inserted in very small characters, making the correct form *γενόμενης*. In the copy, a wide space is left between *Ι* and *Ο* for the insertion of these letters, as though the original scribe anticipated the correction of his own oversight, and left a convenient space for it.

2. Inaccuracy in representing the unusual spaces that occasionally occur in the MS. Tischendorf acknowledges that he could not himself indicate them in his own edition of twenty pages (*Appendix codicum celeberrimorum*, etc.), except in cases of special importance, on account of the haste with which he was compelled to execute his task. But the Roman editors have no such excuse; and he avers, that they have made these spaces very arbitrarily, misrepresenting the MS. much oftener than they represent it. Only one example is given, from p. 36, 1, 12 (Matt. xxv. 11), where there is an unusual space in the MS. after the word *ερχονται*, but none is indicated in the Roman copy.

3. Want of proper discrimination in regard to punctuation, diacritic points over *ι* and *υ*, and the use of the apostrophe. The copy, he says, is entitled to little confidence in its representation of these things, which require a most practised eye, and an accurate knowledge of palaeography, to detect them, and to distinguish additions made many ages after the first writing. He himself, as far as his very limited time would permit, gave special attention to the most ancient punctuation of the MS., and noted much that does not appear in the Roman copy. Of this neglect he quotes many instances; and adds others in which the Roman copy gives what he regards as clearly the punctuation of a third very modern hand, concluding with the words: "As, therefore, the Roman edition often omits the punctuation of the first

hand, so it often adopts one against his authority." On this delicate point there can be no question that Tischendorf is the more competent judge.

Of his fairness in dealing with controverted points, even where he is personally concerned, Prof. Tischendorf has given so many proofs, that it ought not to be lightly questioned. But in one instance it seems difficult to acquit him of at least a bias in his own favor; and unhappily it occurs in a question between him and a man so eminently fair as Cardinal Vercellone. In his own edition, p. 124, line 28 (not line 8, as he says by mistake, in referring to it) Tischendorf gave *μετα αλληλων* as the reading of the MS., following Mai's editions and Mico's collation for Bentley. Soon after its publication, and before the Roman edition appeared, Cardinal Vercellone informed him by letter, that he had found the reading of the MS. to be *μετ αλληλων*; and this is given in the Roman copy. In the same letter, however, the Cardinal said that on p. 143, 3, 6, the reading of the MS. is *απεκριθης*, and not *απεκριθη* as in Tischendorf's edition; and yet the Roman edition, afterward published, has *απεκριθη*, without the final *ς*. There is space for it, however, and the type may have dropped out. Under these circumstances, one can hardly think Tischendorf justified in expressing his hesitation as to the Cardinal's accuracy in the one case, on the ground of an imputed error in the other.¹

To a similar accident may be attributed the defect on p. 160, 3, 8 (Appendix, p. xi, last line of the text), where instead of *ΕΞΕΦΝΗΣ*, the reading of the MS by the first hand, the Roman copy has *ΕΞ^{AI} ΦΝΗΣ*, with a space between *Ξ* and *Φ*, and over this vacant space is the reading of the third hand, *AI* in small characters. On this Tischendorf says, *Quod si consulto fecerunt, error est*; with questionable fairness, for there is sufficient space in the line for the *E* of the first hand, which may have fallen out.²

¹ Quid rei sit 124, 8, [28], non satis scio, is his language; and he refers to the facts stated in the text, as the ground of his hesitation.

² To the common reader, many of the points noticed in this Article may

4. Admission of a correction, in place of the first writing of the MS. On p. 54, 1, 16, (Mark vii. 23) the first writing is *KOINON*. A corrector has erased in the final *N* the second perpendicular line and the oblique connecting line, leaving the first perpendicular line, so as to make the correct reading, *KOINOI*. This corrected reading the Roman editors have given instead of the original one; and have been still further unfaithful to the MS. by neglecting to indicate in their printed copy the space left in the MS. by the erasure of a part of the letter *N*. On p. 244, 3, 37, (2 Cor. ii. 17) they

give *EI^NAIKPINEIAS*, with *n* over the space between *N* and *EI*. But the MS. has, by the first hand *ειλικρευειας*, by the second *ειλικρινειας*, and by the third *ειλικριννειας*. On p. 145, 1, 31 (John xix. 31), they give *EKEINOT*, the reading of the third hand, instead of the original *EKEINH*. Here, and in other cases referred to by Tischendorf, they have acted the part of critical editors of the text of the New Testament, instead of simply editing the text of their MS. In this they have not only mistaken their proper function, but have failed to redeem their own pledge, to give us *scripturam quae ab ipso priori codicis auctore ortum habuit*, admitting subsequent corrections only when they would not conceal or obscure the original writing. Their judgment as to the true reading, whether correct or not, is not what is wanted, but the material furnished by their MS. to aid in forming a critical judgment. The errors of a scribe are often important elements of criticism; and inherited defects, even manifest blunders, if at all characteristic, are invaluable as means of tracing family relationships among MSS.

5. Occasional failure to distinguish the hand-writing of different scribes. It was in this most delicate and difficult part of their task that Tischendorf's skill in palaeography was of greatest service to the Roman editors; and he frankly

appear to be of trifling interest. But he is not aware of their diplomatic value, and that much often depends on them in estimating the critical worth of an ancient document. Hence the want of strict exactness in such things is a fatal defect, in a professed copy.

acknowledges that they profited by it. Of this he gives two very interesting illustrations on p. xiii of the Appendix. But in some cases they betray their unskilfulness, by failing to distinguish the different hands employed on the MS. Among many other instances, Tischendorf refers to p. 183, 3, 14 (Acts xxv. 24), where instead of *αυτον* (the reading of the first hand) they give *αυτον ζην*; a correction which Tischendorf thinks can hardly have proceeded from the first scribe.¹ But by retaining the minute *ο* with which the first scribe ended the line, and adding *ΝΖΗΝ* in smaller characters extending beyond the line, as in the MS., they seem to have sufficiently marked them as an addition, and in this instance the criticism appears not to be well grounded.

6. Failure to indicate clearly the reading intended by the corrector. On p. 91, 1, 27 (Luke x. 34), the copy gives as

ΕΠ

the reading of the MS., *ΚΑΙΕΜΕΜΕΛΗΘΗ*, with the correction, ΕΠ, in small characters over the space between *I* and *E*. "The corrector," says Tischendorf, "when he wrote *επ*, signified that *με* in the second place was to be omitted; but as edited, it is a monstrous reading." How the omission was signified, and in what the Roman editors have failed, he does not say; and he makes no allusion to it in the prolegomena to his own edition. On p. 188, 3, 35

τ Δ

(Acts xxvii. 14), the Roman copy has *ΕΤΡΑΚΤΛΩΝ*, with τ over *A*, and Δ over the space between *K* and *T*. On this Tischendorf says: "But for *ευρακυλων* the third hand substituted *ευρυκλυδων*"; the *A* having also been changed to Δ by the third hand, as Tischendorf long ago asserted, against Mai, in both of his editions, and Vercellone in Prolegom. vi. to Mai's second edition, and as Vercellone himself admitted when examining the passage with him in 1866. So far, Tischendorf has gained his point. It is not quite fair, however, to censure the Roman copy as faulty in this instance, since it could not fully exhibit the text of the corrector,

¹ Pro *αυτο*- B² (vix enim ipse*) reposuit *αυτον ζην* (Nov. Test. Vat. p. 186, margin).

without at the same time obliterating that of the first scribe. The editors did what was possible in the printed text, and the rest must be told in explanatory notes.

7. Omission of breathings and accents in connection with readings of the third hand. For example, on p. 230, 2, 6 (1 Cor. iv. 6), over the space between the first and second letters of *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ* the third hand has written *πο*, so as to read *ἀπο πολλῶν*, with the breathing and accent, which the copy omits.

8. The subscriptions to Paul's Epistles in the copy are inferior to the corresponding characters in the MS., though the latter fall far short of the elegance of the more ancient writing.

Tischendorf concludes this searching examination with the just concession, that "the thanks of theologians are due to Pius IX., the distinguished patron of the work, and to the learned editors for their care and labor." The reader will doubtless add, that they are due to Tischendorf himself, for his generally fair and very instructive criticisms. No other man of the age is as competent to review such a work; and we may be sure that it has few faults that have escaped his quick and practised eye, and his thorough mastery of the whole subject. That the Roman editors have intended to be faithful to their great trust, and have executed their difficult and responsible task to the best of their ability, can not now be doubted. They have intentionally perverted nothing; they have aimed to conceal nothing; and they have given us, substantially, the text of their long and justly famed manuscript, which must still be regarded, notwithstanding Tischendorf's natural partiality for his own discovery, as the highest single authority for the text of the New Testament.

By the aid of the Roman edition, Tischendorf corrects a considerable number of typographical errors, and some oversights, in his own; acknowledging his indebtedness to it for six important readings, which had escaped his attention and that of all previous collators, and are due to the diligence

of the Roman editors. With these corrections, Tischendorf's edition is the most reliable representation of the text of the New Testament in the *Codex Vaticanus*. In this we now have the true text of the manuscript, so far as we can trust the most careful transcription by different and competent hands, and so far as it can be exhibited by types, supplemented by description of what types cannot express.

For this we may well be thankful. But this is not enough. Modern science and art furnish means for copying ancient documents with unerring precision, even to the minutest stroke of the pen. The age ought not to be satisfied with less perfect and reliable representations of those ancient texts, on which we rest the truth and certainty of our inspired writings. The time will come when these ancient texts will have perished with the mouldering material on which they are written, leaving behind disputed copies without the means of verification. In this country we have a special interest in the subject. Our scholars ought not to be dependent on those of other lands for the materials of textual criticism. We shall probably never have original ancient manuscripts. But we can have copies, as valuable for criticism, in most respects, as the original documents; in some respects more valuable, as being more convenient of access, and capable of indefinite multiplication.

The first volume of the Roman edition, containing the text of the Pentateuch, is announced, and may soon be expected here.

ARTICLE VIII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A. GERMAN WORKS.

ESSAYS ON VARIOUS QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE GOSPELS.¹—These contributions to the formation of a right estimate of the Gospels and the gospel history are intended to supplement the learned author's "Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels." There are twelve of them, and they are entitled: necessity of investigating the historical problems connected with the life of Jesus—data from the life of the Baptist; the taxing at the birth of Jesus in its connection with Jewish History and Roman-Jewish modes of taxation; Jesus and the tax-gatherers; the journey of Christ in Luke ix. 51 sq. and the parallel accounts; the genealogies and Mark; the birthday of Jesus and the visit of the Magi; fundamental chronological facts of Christ's life according to the four Gospels; chronological and historical data bearing on the mission of the Baptist; the day of the death of Jesus, and its importance relatively to the criticism of the Gospels; agreement of Luke xxiv. 44 sq. and Acts i. 1 sq.; the form of the Jewish year at the time of Christ; on the time of the rule of Festus. The whole closes with a chronological table of the life of Jesus and an index. The points touched upon are of considerable importance, and the treatment seems to be both thorough and judicious. As Dr. Wieseler shows in several instances, the so-called critico-historical school indulges to an astonishing extent in unwarrantable assumptions relating to the chronology and geography of the gospel history; such questions as the above ought therefore to be carefully studied.

THE DATE OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.²—Professor Zumpt, nephew, if we are not mistaken, of the celebrated Latin Grammar Zumpt, has here published one of the most satisfactory contributions to the chronology of our Lord's life that has been for a long time seen. The occasion of his turning his attention to this subject—he is a philologist, and one of the principal teachers in one of the Berlin gymnasiums—was his discovering, some fourteen years ago, while prosecuting enquiries relatively to the governors of the Roman province of Syria, that *Quirinius* (Cyrenius, as Luke designates him) had twice held the position which he is commonly assumed to have held only once. This discovery suggested a solution of

¹ Beiträge zur Evangelien frage. Von Dr. K. Wieseler. London: Asher and Co., Trübner and Co. 1869.

² Das Geburtsjahr Christi. Geschichtlich-chronologische Untersuchungen. Von A. W. Zumpt. Leipzig: Teubner; London: Asher and Co., Trübner and Co. 1869.

the difficulty found in reconciling Luke with other independent notices of the taxing. The first draft of the results arrived at was laid down in a volume published in Berlin, 1854, under the title "*A. W. Zumptii Commentationum epigraphicarum ad antiquitates Romanas pertinentium volumen alterum.*" The results of a new investigation into the entire subject are now embodied in the work whose title is given above. We have only space to quote the following words of Prof. Zumpt which touch on the main point. "I have established by sure testimony, and other reliable evidence, that Augustus did issue a decree that all the world should be taxed, anno 27 before Christ. . . . Though no direct historical evidence can be adduced for the correctness of Luke's statement that a taxing took place during the reign of Herod, I have shown it to be thoroughly likely, and in harmony with the Roman procedure towards other vassal nations; nay more, I have adduced, another nation that was taxed according to its native customs. . . . I have shown that Quirinius was governor of Syria, first from anno 4 before Christ and then from anno 6 after Christ; and that during the latter period a taxing of the property took place. . . . In a word, all the circumstances mentioned by Luke are either confirmed by other authorities, or are clearly in harmony with the traditions regarding other districts." We recommend the work to the careful attention of all our readers.

CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS.¹—Our defences of Christianity are as yet by no means so up to the mark and adapted to the new forms of attack as they ought to be. We have repeatedly listened to apologetic sermons from men of high reputation, which were almost as unsuited to modern difficulties as a sermon delivered by St. Bernard to monks would be unsuited to an audience of New York merchants. We by no means intend to assert that the material stored up in the defences written by former writers is useless; but merely that it must be applied and distributed in a different way, and be supplemented by new elements. The beams and joists and planks and stones and bricks of the old edifices need not be thrown away; but they will have to be brought in at different places, fastened by new means and supplemented by new material. It is almost incredible that such a book as Paley's *Evidences*, good as it is or was, should still be used as a text-book; and yet this is the fact. In order to improvement it will be necessary that a survey should be taken of the entire field; we must know what is to be defended, what defence is, and so forth. As a valuable contribution in this direction we have Professor Delitzsch's *System of Christian Apologetics*; and trust it may find attentive and imitative readers. Germany has latterly produced an immense number of excellent defences of the various points of our Christian faith.

¹ *System der christlichen Apologetik.* Von Franz Delitzsch. Leipzig: Dörffling and Franke; London: Asher and Co., Trübner and Co. 1869.

Some of them have been translated into English ; but no book resembling this of Delitzsch, or the "Christliche Apologetik" of Sack (a most suggestive work) has hitherto been translated, so far as we are aware.

Zöckler: Die Urgeschichte der Erde und des Menschen. Popular lectures on the primitive history of the earth and man, by Prof Zöckler, the able and learned author of the *Theologia Naturalis*. The point of view is orthodox. The lecturer finds reason where some people see only unreason. Various literary notices increase materially the value of the little work. Price, 22½ sgr.

Strebel: Die Methodisten. A small book, by a Würtemberg pastor, in the beginning for, towards the close against, the Episcopal Methodists and their mission in Germany. He says: "what there is good in Methodism we either have in the free way that suits our circumstances, or at all events can have it." "They frequently try to awaken with spiritual brandy, and only wish to Anglicize and Americanize us, to whom the Reformation restored our German character and ways."

Boche: Der Preussische legale evangelische Pfarrer. A work on the Constitution of the Protestant churches in Prussia, and on the duties and rights of their pastors and ecclesiastics of all degrees. Those who wish to understand Prussian church life from this side cannot do better than consult this work. It has a good index. Price, 3¾ Thalers.

Droysen: Aristophanes. Though this book is in no ordinary sense either theological or philosophical, the temptation to notice it is too great to be resisted. It is a complete translation of the Greek Comic Poet by the celebrated Prussian Historian, Droysen: or rather it is Aristophanes in German. We have never looked into a translation that struck us as so excellent as this, apart from the notes and introductions. The reading of a few lines alone is enough to convince one that Droysen is a master. No theologian who understands German ought to neglect an opportunity of studying this translation, for it will help him to the formation of a right judgment of the state of the Greeks in the days of Aristophanes. 2 vols.

The following four books and pamphlets represent the spirit and tendencies of the "Protestanten-Verein," though they are not all professedly its productions:

Lang: Versuch einer christlichen Dogmatik. Lang is a Swiss pastor and editor of the *Zeitstimmen*, a periodical which is verbally the voice of the age, as far as the age is unbelieving and self-righteous. This is a second edition of his attempt; a queer attempt it is at a Christian theology. Think of a Christian theology which speaks of sin as necessary; of Christ as not sinless and a mere man, who attained salvation as we must do, by struggling with evil; of the resurrection of Jesus as a fantastic picture and vision of the disciples; of the resurrection of the body as a phantasma;

and which of course denies the authority of the scriptures, the atonement, the Trinity and in fact everything that people have supposed to be distinctively Christian.

Schwalb: Der alte und der neue Glaube an Christus. Dr. Schwalb is a Bremer, pastor who having been ordained, and being paid to preach the faith of the German Reformed Church, thinks he is not only honest, but almost a benefactor of his parishioners, when he teaches that Christ is a mere man, who died as a martyr for the truth, and that he did not ascend to heaven, seeing that (as he would-be-wittily remarks) "since Copernicus there is no heaven into which he could ascend."

Fernau: Das Christenthum und das praktische Leben. The writer of this book thinks the first men had no religion, because they were too much occupied with getting their bread to have time for luxuries. Christ's manner of speech he characterizes as nonsensical, crazed, ludicrous, fanatical. The account of the temptation is more like empty talk without principle or morality, than anything else. This is entitled Christianity and practical life! The assailants of our faith are becoming again low; and why? Because their indifference is souring into hatred.

Hagen, Dr. E. L.: Vorlesungen in und für den Protestanten-Verein. This writer tells us that to ascribe the Bible to God is sheer blasphemy; that all sorts of vices, as for example, polygamy, whoredom, adultery, lying, and the like, are justified in the scriptures. He denies original sin, election, justification by faith, the Trinity, and so forth.

Some belong to the Protestanten-Verein who do not go so far in their unbelief; and who cause one to ask: "How can two walk together unless they be agreed?"

Kranichfeld: Das Buch Daniel erklärt. According to Dr. Kranichfeld, the Book of Daniel has Daniel for its subject, and Daniel for its author. It consists of two parts: chap. ii.-vii. and chap. viii.-xii. Part first is descriptive; part second contemplative and visionary. Part first is written in Chaldee; part second in Hebrew. Each was written at a different time; but both by the same author. The design of the entire book was to testify for the God of Israel against the oppressors and their gods, and to seek consolation in the thought, that the tribulations of the righteous, which increased with the deepening corruption of heathendom, were intended for their purification. Though somewhat pretentious, not without value. Price, 2 Thaler.

Hupfeld: Die Psalmen. A second edition of this valuable, critical commentary, on the Psalms, edited by Dr. Riehm, of Halle. Two volumes have appeared already, and a third is to come. In some matters the editor is more conservative than the original writer, and makes additions accordingly.

Bleek: Der Hebraeerbrief. This is not the celebrated author's classical and exhaustive commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, but the lectures he delivered thereon at the University of Bonn; a summary of the large work adapted to the wants of students. We need say nothing in the way of praise, for every one knows how eminent Bleek stood as an exegete. Price, 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ Thaler.

Fleischmann: Die grössen Culturepochen der Menschheit. A kind of philosophy of history from the point of view of Rothe's Theological Ethics. So far as we can judge, the book contains very much suggestive thought. One thing in particular has pleased us, namely, that the writer protests strongly against every form of State-Churchism, and believes, at all events for the present, in separate denominations. He speaks altogether more like an Anglo-Saxon than any, even the most liberal, German, we have met with. In the early part of the work a brief account is given of the speculative system of the late Dr. Rothe. Price, 18 sgr.

Opzoomer: Die Religion. Prof. Opzoomer is an eminent Dutchman; and this work is a translation from the Dutch into German. It is divided into seven chapters, or consists, perhaps, of seven essays; with the following titles: What is Religion? God's Government of the World, the Right of Religion; the true Religion; the History of Religion: the Religious Faith for the present Age; Religion, Christianity, Protestantism. The author's point of view is strict Determinism, excluding freedom, and representing evil and sin as part of the divine plan.

Rothe: Nachgelassene Predigten. Sermons by the late eminent Heidelberg Professor, edited, with a brief memoir, by Dr. Schenkel, his former colleague and friend. Some of the sermons in the last volume were printed during the life-time of their writer, and these are perhaps the best; very warm and suggestive, and so far as they go satisfactory, though we should go further. The memoir is well written.

Fürst, Dr. Jul.: Der Kanon des alten Testaments. An account of what is said in the Talmud and Midrash about the Old Testament Canon, by the learned author of the Hebrew Lexicon, translated into English by Dr. S. Davidson. Canon is defined as the collection of the sacred ancient literature of the Jewish nation; but it did not exist prior to 200 before Christ. The number of the books is given as twenty-four. In the Talmud portions of Deuteronomy are denied inspiration. From one passage quoted it would seem that the three great prophets were originally arranged as follows: Proto-Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah. Dr. Fürst's work contains a quantity of new matter, and corrections of notices which Christian scholars have copied from each other without verification.

Wünsche: Der Prophet Hosea. The first part of a commentary on this very difficult Prophet. The author has made special use of the Jewish interpreters Raschi, Aben-Ezra, and Kimchi given in Buxtorf's large Rabbinical Hebrew Bible. Dr. Wünsche assigns as the date of Hosea's activity

786 to 741 B.C., or the last years of the reign of Jeroboam to the death of Pekah. He believes him to have belonged to the Ten Tribes, and not to have died in Judah. The extracts from the Rabbis are numerous; but are said to be here and there trivial, and even badly translated.

Lohmann: Von Luther's Tode bis zur Concordienformel.

Guden: Das Jahrhundert der Aufklärung.

Niemann: Das siebzehnte Jahrhundert.

Uhlhorn: Die Reformation.

The above are the titles of seven lectures delivered, by the eminent men whose names are prefixed, in Hanover. The first treats of the German Church, from the death of Luther to the Formula Concordiae; the second and third of the eighteenth century with its Deism in England and Rationalism in Germany: the fourth of the seventeenth century; the fifth to the seventh, by *Uhlhorn*, of the Reformation, under the titles, Luther and Rome: Luther and the Enthusiasts; Luther and Switzerland. The Lectures are all thorough, while popular; but are written from the strict Lutheran point of view, and would therefore in some respects be scarcely palatable to those who are decidedly reformed.

B. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN WORKS.

CHIPS FROM A GERMAN WORKSHOP. By Max Müller, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. 2 vols. 12vo. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1869.

This work is one which will excite a profound interest in every intelligent mind. It contains the germ of a new science. The first volume presents a series of essays upon "The Science of Religion." This is indeed a new term which we hope will not remain so long. The author thinks that religious belief has a regular beginning, middle, and end, like any one of the sciences. Max Müller begins with the earliest religious writings, opening his subject with a series of essays upon the Vedas, or sacred books of the Indian Brahmins, probably the most ancient compositions existing. The vedic literature is explained in a learned and able manner, and specimens of it are quoted. The original Vedas are now overgrown by innumerable later corruptions, and the modern Hindu scriptures have the same relation to the ancient, which the papal liturgies and mummeries have to the Bible. Indeed the Sanscrit, which is the language of the Vedas, is an entirely dead language to the modern Hindu, and few even of the most learned Brahmins can read it at the present day. The pagan abuses of modern India, such as suttees, infanticide, swinging on hooks, cruel and unnatural penances, and severe caste regulations, have no place in the original Vedas. Evidently the religious cruelties of India are as inconsistent with Brahminism as they are with Christianity; a fact which our missionaries have failed to press home to the native mind.

The next great revolution in the world of religious thought was the rise of Buddhism. Notwithstanding the cloud of tradition which obscures the beginning of this faith, there is the clearest evidence that it found its origin in the mind of a single man. This person was one of those mighty characters, like Zoroaster, Confucius, or Mahomet, whose minds have shaped the religious history of centuries. By birth he was a prince royal of Oude, and he is often called Gaudama, though his real name was Ammi Sichri. Even in childhood he was given to profound religious meditation; as he entered manhood he fled from the court to the wilderness, that he might devote himself to the search for eternal truth. While in this state of mind the accidental sight of a beggar made him resolve to become a mendicant himself. For twenty centuries, accordingly, his priests have owned no property, living only by receiving the alms they were not allowed to ask; this little incident has helped to mould the minds of many generations. After repeated efforts, trials, and disappointments, Gaudama deemed that he had reached the state of omniscience, assumed the title of Buddha, "the enlightened," and proclaimed those doctrines of future reward or punishment and final annihilation which are now believed by four hundred and fifty million of mankind. Seldom has a man cast so vast a shadow. Buddha has lived, and a third part of the world has followed him, for thirty centuries. The reform of this Hindu Luther was religious and political in its character. His religious hopes, offered to all alike, were eagerly welcomed by the people, who had already felt the rigors of the Brahman ritual and caste system. A Chinese monk, possessed by the idea that in the West there was law and religion for his countrymen, with infinite danger and difficulty crossed the Himalaya mountains, spent years in India studying the Buddhist theology, and returning, devoted the remainder of his life to introducing the Buddhist doctrines into China and Thibet. The record of this priest's labors has been deciphered with wonderful ingenuity by a recent French scholar.

The second volume of the work contains a series of essays upon mythology, traditions, and customs; and although the thought is less profound than that of the first volume, and presented in a more fragmentary manner, it nevertheless possesses great interest. The first essay upon comparative mythology proves conclusively that the religious belief of the Hindus, Greeks, and Romans had a common origin, and that origin was probably the worship of the sun. The Oriental scholar is astonished to learn that the most remote and dissimilar objects of worship represent some aspect of the sun. This was the divinity of the ancient Persians. The Hindu and Egyptian worship of the cow becomes less sensuous, for the heavens were the sun's pasture, and the clouds were the cows which he milked by evaporation. Allusions to the worship of the sun are found in the nineteenth Psalm. Most of the Greek divinities, for instance, represented different aspects of this luminary; from him they derived beauty, strength,

and immortal youth, and often excelled as archers; the bow of Apollo shot his arrows of light. Worship of the sun has mingled with the legends of every nation; a glimmer of it is seen in the story of William Tell. In more modern times Pizarro found the Peruvians of our own continent worshipping the sun. And at this day myriads of Eastern worshippers turn toward the east when they pray, unconscious that the position comes from the ancient practice of addressing the source of light.

Many of the nursery tales of different nations are shown to have had a common origin; stories like those of Jack the Giant Killer and Robin Hood are found in the early history of every nation, and have a deeper moral significance than at first appears. Many fables commonly attributed to Aesop are found to be world-wide. The common civilities of modern times, such as shaking hands, bowing, etc., are found to be venerable with historic meaning. The work closes with a learned essay upon caste, in which the author argues that Indian caste only gives a moral sanction to distinctions of classes which exist in the nature of society. The struggles of the Hindu priesthood to rule or ruin are sketched with power.

The book opens an inexhaustible world of thought, and we hail it as the pioneer of a new science. As Guizot has written upon the history of civilization, this book shows us what could be written upon the history of man's religious ideas. But the subject is a vast one: it seems as though the ablest of men must devote his life merely to prepare himself to write upon it. Language is the author's guide, the thread which conducts him through the labyrinth of religious thought. The appearance and disappearance of certain terms in language are the water-marks which record the appearance and disappearance of certain religious ideas. As the hunter tracks his game by marks and footprints upon the ground, the author tracks religious thought down the path of time, by its marks upon the language. The style of the author is genial and pleasing, and the views expressed are in the main evangelical. We wish the book was longer; the vast subject is pointed out, but not unfolded. From the mountain summit of his learning Max Müller shows us a promised land which he does not enter. Of this important science Müller has been the Moses; who is better able to press on and become its Joshua?

FOREIGN MISSIONS: their Relations and Claims. By Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., late Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. 12mo. pp. 373. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1869.

The Lectures which compose this volume were prepared at the request of the Trustees of the Theological Seminary, Andover, and were delivered to three successive Middle Classes in that Institution. They were also delivered at several other Theological Seminaries. The publication of them was then requested by the same Board which had suggested their preparation.

The Lectures as originally delivered were very highly appreciated; and where they were open to the public, they were attended by large audiences, with unabated interest till the close of the course. In their present form they cannot fail to give to every thoughtful reader profounder impressions of the great missionary work. They embody the results of the rich experience, the sagacious, practical, and broad views of the author, whose long connection with missionary operations, and repeated visits to the fields of missionary labor, qualify him, above any one else in the country, to speak with authority and with wisdom on the subject he has treated. The themes presented are not confined to the missions of any one denomination, nor to those of any one country; there are chapters on Apostolic Missions, early Irish Missions, Romish Missions, etc. The topics discussed give evidence of extensive and careful investigation, and the results are presented in a clear, direct, and attractive style. The whole is rich in instruction, and in illustrations of the almost miraculous openings which Providence has made for the diffusion of the truth in heathen lands. No book has appeared since the commencement of modern missions which is so well adapted to strengthen the faith of Christians, to set before them the work to be done, its past success, its hinderances, and claims, and to stimulate them to new exertions, as the volume before us. All Christians who would have intelligent and comprehensive views of the subject of missions, should make these Lectures a study; they will give clearer convictions of personal duty, and new illustrations of the grandeur of the missionary work.

It is not to be regarded as a defect in the work that it does not exhaust the whole subject. The present number of Lectures was considered sufficient for the course contemplated; and the volume as now published is adapted to be more generally useful than if it had been increased by the discussion of other topics that might be readily suggested.

The following extract from the "Conclusion" illustrates the earnestness and faith of the author in reference to the subject to which he has devoted his life:

"There is no political movement in the world that is commensurate with the missionary movement; none that embraces so many nations; none covering so large a portion of the globe. It is the Christian church going forth, under its Great Captain, for the subjugation of the world."

"The spiritual war for the conquest of the world has certainly begun, and in a manner never seen in any former age. There is not yet, indeed, a popular enthusiasm in the churches; but that will come. What we most need, just now, is deep, calm, untiring principle; for the contest upon which we have entered is vast, having for its object the reign of Christ over all the earth.

"And does any one believe that he who has all power in heaven and on earth will stop, after so marvellous an opening of the heathen world to the

gospel? Does any one believe that the churches, after so many organizations for the spread of the gospel, after so much exploring of the heathen tribes and nations, and after occupying thousands of posts, will ignominiously retire from the field? Will Christian people, will the Christian ministry, will the Christian churches, never feel a stronger interest in the triumphs of the Redeemer's kingdom through the world than they do now? It cannot, it will not be. The churches will not always be lukewarm in this work, and they may not be so long. Who can tell but that a vast revolution in the views and feelings of God's people is near? Who can tell but that the outpouring of the Spirit upon all flesh, foretold by the prophet Joel, is at hand? God's people and his ministers will then be made willing, beyond all they now deem possible. They will delightfully awake to the claims of Christ upon them. Vastly higher will be their aims; vastly broader their plans; and vastly greater their ability to feel, pray, and consecrate their all to him."¹

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE; the Reform against Nature. By Horace Bushnell. 12mo. pp. 184. New York; Charles Scribner and Co. 1869.

The discussion of Woman's Rights has too often been one-sided. Extreme views have been held. One claims for woman a perfect equality with men in all things, while another thinks that "men will have to pray to be transferred to another planet," if women gain the right of suffrage. John Stuart Mill treats of the "*subjection* of woman," while Rev. Mr. Fulton discusses "woman as God made her—the true woman."

The author of the present treatise brings more candor and fair-mindedness to the treatment of this subject than is usual; indeed this is a marked feature of the book. He admits fully the disabilities and wrongs to which women have been subjected, and yet holds that it would be a calamity to the race and to the world, if the right of suffrage were extended to them. He would place them in new spheres of labor, freely allowing them certain professorships, the practice of medicine, some departments of the legal profession, "notary public functions," "clerkships of courts of record," positions of "managers of hotels, bank-tellers, brokers, actuaries of insurance, private bankers, type-setters, overseers of printing,"² etc.; at the same time insisting, from examples furnished both by sacred and profane history, that they are not qualified to govern; their success, where they have attained any in this sphere, being attributable to the assistance they have received from men.

It is said that women are the equals of men and therefore have an equal right to vote. Here are two fallacies. First, in many important respects men and women are essentially unlike. Illustrative of this the author quotes the language of the *Nation* which says: "the unlikeness between men and women is radical and essential. It runs through all the spheres.

¹ pp. 307, 308, 309.

² p. 27.

They neither think, feel, wish, purpose, will, nor act alike. Of course these statements do not justify the imposition of arbitrary limits on opportunity or enterprise. It still remains to determine what place each can fill, what work each can do, what standard each can reach."¹

The second fallacy is that because men have a right to vote, therefore women have. But how came men to have this right? There is no such thing as a natural right to vote. "In the admission of men to a right of suffrage, it has never been voted for any one absolute reason. Sometimes it has been because they are taxed, sometimes because they are liable to be, sometimes because they preform military duty, sometimes because it discourages or takes away hope from their virtue not to allow it, sometimes because the refusal awakens animosities in them against the state. So if woman ever have the right of voting accorded to them, it must be for a like variety of reasons, and not on the ground of any absolute principle."² They "must get their right to vote, if at all, just where men have gotten it; out of history, out of providential preparations and causes, out of the concessions of custom, out of expediencies concluded, and debated reasons of public benefit. We have no better right than this, as men, and there is no better right to be for women."³

Besides, the argument that women are to vote because they are equal to men, proves too much. It tacitly implies that a certain standard must be reached before the right of suffrage is attainable by men; but there is no such standard; on the contrary there is the greatest possible inequality among men. If they do not vote on the ground of their equality with one another, how can women claim the right to vote on the ground of their equality with man?

There is a sphere for woman where she is without a peer; where she is doing a work which no one else can do. Whatever facilities can be afforded her to fill that sphere with greater ease and satisfaction to herself or usefulness to others, should be given her. All disabilities in whatever shape should be removed, whether they spring from wrong or imperfect legislation, or from the want of the best opportunities of education.

Dr. Bushnell treats this subject with great ability, taking broad and comprehensive views, which he illustrates by language of rare beauty that rises often into eloquence. His arguments will be convincing to most who are without bias, and wish to study the subject with a view of arriving at the truth. He is in the fullest sympathy with the best interests of woman, recites her wrongs to the fullest extent, and yet he would raise every possible barrier against any such revolutionary measures as would degrade her from her true position.

There are points in the book to which we should take exception. The author ventures on very delicate ground, to say the least, when he suggests the removal of the "embargo on woman as respects advances towards

¹ p. 36.² p. 42.³ p. 44.

marriage." We should be sorry to countenance any principle that would weaken the delicate and shrinking sensibility of women on this subject. But the book as a whole is a timely one, and the best contribution we have had in the discussion to which it relates.

ESSAY ON DIVORCE AND DIVORCE LEGISLATION, with special reference to the United States. By Theodore D. Woolsey, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. 12mo. pp. 308. New York: Charles Scribner and Co. 1869.

The loose views entertained by many on the subject of marriage, and the facility with which the relation is often terminated give special value, at present, to a work of this kind. Instead of implying a sacred and indissoluble bond, which nothing but the gravest offences should ever weaken, marriage has too often come to be looked upon as a mere contract, that may cease like any other. In some of the States the granting of a divorce depends mainly on the court. In Connecticut for a series of years there has been one divorce to about every ten marriages,¹ being a ratio of divorces to marriages double what it is in Vermont, nearly fourfold that in Massachusetts, and much more than double that in Prussia.² This difference shows quite conclusively that the character of the law in reference to divorce, or its administration, has much to do with the number who succeed in obtaining it.

There was need, therefore, of discussing the subject both on the ground of the mistaken notions of marriage, and because of the inadequacy of the laws, at least as at present administered, relating to its dissolution. The change of sentiment, too, in regard to one of the most fruitful sources of divorce, adultery, is evidence that the subject required to be investigated anew. The first laws of Massachusetts made it a capital crime; by later laws those convicted of it "were set on the gallows, with a rope round their neck," "whipped on their way to jail, not exceeding forty stripes," and obliged to have the letter A, two inches long, sown on their outer garment;³ now the crime is punished in the same State by a fine of five hundred dollars, or imprisonment for two or three years; while in Virginia it is estimated at about twenty dollars!

President Woolsey has, therefore, done an invaluable service to the interests of society by the searching investigations which he has furnished in this volume, and in showing the inadequacy of the existing laws, in most of the States, to check this growing evil that threatens the most serious consequences to our country.

The subjects of the different chapters are: Divorce among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans; Doctrine of Divorce in the New Testament; Law of Divorce in the Roman Empire and in the Christian Church; Divorce and Divorce Law in Europe since the Reformation; Divorce and Divorce Law

¹ p. 229.

² p. 223.

³ p. 210.

in the United States ; Attitude of the Church toward Divorce Law ; Principles of Divorce Legislation.

These topics are treated with great ability, evincing broad and critical research, and they deserve to be carefully and thoughtfully studied, especially by all clergymen, legislators, and statesmen.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE PRISON ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK. 8vo.

Since the time of Howard much individual effort has been made to improve both the physical and moral condition of convicted criminals ; but now that alone will not suffice for the continually increasing need of aid, instruction, and advice. The New York Prison Association was organized about twenty-five years ago, having for its object the amelioration of the condition of prisoners, the improvement of prison discipline, and the encouragement of discharged convicts. Being aided by the State of New York, special facilities for investigation are given to them, both in visiting prisoners and inspecting the condition of the various places of confinement. The Society, composed of men of the highest social and mental rank, carries with it in all its suggestions the greatest weight. Their twenty-fourth Annual Report, a volume of nearly seven hundred pages, is full of matter both interesting and instructive. We find reports from prison officials in every State of the union, also papers from men of high position abroad, and interesting articles on such subjects as prison architecture and education. The effect of such a report, from such a source, combining the united evidence of so many men, cognizant of the real wants of proper prison discipline, cannot fail to be salutary. The affidavits of various prison officials in regard to the corruption at present existing in the penitentiaries of New York is almost beyond belief. We can but hope that the earnest efforts of this Society to reform these abuses will meet with an adequate reward. Great praise is due to the efficient secretary, Dr. E. C. Wines, for compiling and presenting to the public so valuable a document.

SERMONS by the late Rev. George Shepherd. 12mo. pp. 368. Boston : Nichols and Noyes. 1869.

The many friends and admirers of the lamented Professor Shepherd will unite with us in welcoming this memorial volume of his discourses. They are admirably adapted to perpetuate the author's influence upon the world. Those who were acquainted with the author can easily anticipate the character of these discourses ; like the writer himself, they are strong, bold, and original ; the ideas are presented in a natural and strikingly logical order. It is not necessary to tell those who have ever known Professor Shepherd, that his sermons are evangelical in thought and sentiment.

It is pleasant to turn from the *finesse*, the rationalism, or the smooth

and courteous preaching of modern days, to these vigorous, apostolic discourses. We are refreshed by finding a man who means what he says. The thoughts are presented with a directness which will reach all hearts; and though the sermons are not deficient in grace of style, strength is their characteristic.

The opening sermon upon preaching to the masses is worth the price of the book. It explains tersely, but with profound insight, the true principles of success in preaching, and shows the many failures of the modern pulpit to be due to the fact that the preacher has wandered from the source of his power. The book contains several sermons of striking interest, which we have not time to specify. The sermons of Professor Shepherd are preceded by the admirable memorial discourse of his friend and co-laborer, Professor Talcott.

THE DUTCH REFORMATION. A History of the Struggle in the Netherlands for Civil and Religious Liberty in the Sixteenth Century. By W. Carlos Martyn, author of "A History of the English Puritans," "A History of the Huguenots," etc., etc. 12mo. pp. 823. New York: American Tract Society.

Since the publication of Mr. Motley's two great works, "The Rise of the Dutch Republic" and "The United Netherlands," public attention has been more and more drawn to the history of Holland, and the influence of that country upon the religion and politics of Europe has been more generally felt. We are glad to see this work issued by the American Tract Society as a tribute to the moral significance of the Dutch revolution; for this great movement was an outgrowth of the Reformation.

The author opens his subject with a condensed account of the early history of the Netherlands, traces the slow growth of Protestantism in that country, and then goes on to record the dreadful war through which Protestantism asserted itself. The different scenes in the bloody drama, the attempt of Philip the Second to establish in the Netherlands the Inquisition, which was the reflex of his gloomy mind; the trial and death of Egmont, the first star which sank in that bloody sea; the rise of the order of the beggars, who, originating in a drunken revel, made themselves the terror of Spain by sea and land; the Iconoclasts, who destroyed images while the Spaniards butchered men; the decrees of the Council of Blood; the capture of Harlem and the deliverance of Leyden by opening the dykes and letting in the floods upon the foe—all these follow one another with rapid and breathless interest, while through all scenes we discern the stately Prince of Orange holding at bay the scheming Philip and the ferocious Alva. The style of the book hardly matches the grandeur of the subject, and the author often falls below the level of his theme; still, the work is graphic and picturesque. The characters of Egmont, Philip, Orange, and Alva are sketched with vigor, but not with that breadth of

view, that peculiar sympathy with the age in which the persons lived which marks the great historian. We cannot mistake the likeness, but we fail to see the master hand. As far as we can judge, the historical facts are told with great accuracy. Those who have not the leisure to study larger works can rapidly gain from this book a true and life-like idea of this great revolution. The work sheds no new light upon the history of the period, but it collects again and brings to a clear focus the light which others have cast upon the subject. The work is not original, but well compiled.

WATCHWORDS FOR THE WARFARE OF LIFE. From Dr. Martin Luther.

Translated and arranged by the Author of "Chronicles of the Schonberg-Cotta Family." 12mo. pp. 330. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1869.

We offer no criticism upon the subject-matter of this book, as it is made up from the thoughts of Martin Luther, of whom the world can judge. The authoress of "Schonberg-Cotta" has, however, done her task admirably. The gems of thought from the Reformer's works are selected with faultless taste, rendered into beautiful English, and arranged in admirable order. It is no inconsiderable task to pick out these jewels from the vast range of Luther's writings, and adjust them with a precision and beauty which must have proceeded from the editor's own mind. The stones were furnished her; but the mosaic is her own. We commend the volume to all who would refresh their minds by again listening to the stirring alarms, the rich and mellow notes of experience, or the soothing strains of the wonderful Reformer. The mind of Luther was like a harp, across the strings of which the Spirit of God breathed its music to the world, and every strain of Christian thought, desire, or experience is re-echoed from his vast and varied mind.

THE LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. By the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. The only complete and unabridged edition. Two volumes in one. 12mo. pp. 556. New York: Charles Scribner and Company. 1869.

THE LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL. By the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. With a Preliminary Dissertation by the Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D., Professor of Revealed Theology in Yale College [People's Edition]. 8vo. pp. 917. Hartford: L. S. Scranton and Company; Philadelphia: Parmelee and Company; San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft and Company. 1869.

The unabridged work of Conybeare and Howson has attained a wide and well-deserved celebrity. It has given an even pictorial interest to

the Acts of the Apostles. We are happy to see that the two volumes of the English edition are compressed into one without abridgement. The people's edition is one abridged by Dr. Howson himself. The introduction by Dr. Bacon is characterized by sterling sense and clear forcible diction.

SERMONS, by Charles Wadsworth, Minister of Calvary Church, San Francisco. 12mo. pp. 367. New York and San Francisco: A. Roman and Company. 1869.

These Sermons are better adapted for the pulpit than the press. Associated with the peculiar elocution of the author, they doubtless produce a marked effect. But as read in the private study they are less impressive, and their faults are more conspicuous.

THE DIVINITY OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1866, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By Henry Parry Liddon, M.A., Student of Christ Church, Prebendary of Salisbury, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Salisbury. New edition. 12mo. pp. 535. New York: Scribner, Welford, and Company. 1868.

SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. By H. P. Liddon, M.A., Student of Christ Church and Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury. Third edition, revised. 12mo. pp. 350. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivington's; New York: Scribner, Welford, and Company. 1869.

Both of the preceding volumes, especially the first, are an important addition to our literature. We cannot always coincide with the argumentation of Mr. Liddon, even when we admit the truth of his conclusions. But on the whole the popularity of his writings is well merited. They have produced already a good effect on their readers, and we rejoice that they are so easily accessible to American students.

COMPEND OF LUTHERAN THEOLOGY. A Summary of Christian Doctrine derived from the Word of God and the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. By Dr. Leonard Hutter, formerly Professor at Wittenberg. Translated from the original Latin by Rev. H. E. Jacobs and Rev. G. F. Spieker. 8vo. pp. 249. Philadelphia: The Lutheran Book Store. 1868.

TRUE CHRISTIANITY: A Treatise on Sincere Repentance, True Faith, the Holy Walk of the True Christian, etc. By the Venerable John Arndt, General Superintendent of Ecclesiastical Affairs in the Principality of Lüneberg. Originally translated into English by Rev. A. W. Boehm, German Chaplain at the Court of St. James, and published in London, A.D. 1712. A new American edition, revised, corrected, and

furnished with additional matter from the original German, together with a General Introduction, by Charles F. Schaeffer, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 500. Philadelphia: The Lutheran Bookstore; Smith, English, and Co. 1868.

A review of these two volumes has been promised us and will be inserted in a future number. Both of them are works which deserve the attention not only of Lutheran, but of all evangelical divines. Our readers are well acquainted with the writings of Professor Schaeffer, and to be acquainted with them is to prize them highly. His revision of Arndt's *True Christianity* exhibits his usual care and scholarly attainments. The name of Arndt and the name of Hutter are both of them towers of strength.

THE WORCESTER ASSOCIATION AND ITS ANTECEDENTS. A History of Four Ministerial Associations: The Marlborough, the Worcester (old), the Lancaster, etc., the Worcester (new) Associations. With Biographical Notices of the Members, accompanied by Portraits. By Joseph Allen, Senior Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Northborough. 12mo. pp. 426. Boston: Nichols and Noyes. 1868.

We are happy to see so many histories of local churches and of clerical associations. In a remote age the historians of the church will depend in large measure on these local histories. The present volume is prepared with great fidelity and truthfulness. Its minutest records are interesting, and many of the facts which it states are important in illustrating the general character of the New England churches. In various particulars it is a model history.

ESSAYS ON THE PROGRESS OF NATIONS IN CIVILIZATION, PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRY, WEALTH, AND POPULATION. Illustrated by Statistics of Mining, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Banking, Internal Improvements, Emigration, and Population. By Ezra C. Seaman. Second series. 12mo. pp. 659. New York: Charles Scribner and Company. 1868.

We welcome the second volume of this interesting work. The elements of a people's civilization are receiving more and more study every year. To such study, this volume is a valuable contribution. The work opens with an able discussion of the elements which promote the progress of nations and the obstacles which impede it. The effects of climate on national character are ably discussed, and the different nations of the earth reviewed in succession. The state of the Mohamedan countries is examined, also the Mongolian races, the Hindus and inhabitants of Oceanica. The writer then passes to Europe and the United States. The moral causes of a nation's growth and decay are pointed out, and the book contains a large amount of statistical and geographical information. It compresses

much learning into a short space, and is written in a clear and attractive style.

ANNUAL OF SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY. Edited by Samuel Kneeland, A.M., M.D., Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Secretary of and Instructor in Zoölogy and Physiology in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, etc. 12mo. pp. 366. Boston: Gould and Lincoln; New York: Sheldon and Company; Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard and Company; London: Trübner and Company. 1869.

This work exhibits the most important discoveries and improvements in mechanics, useful arts, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, geology, biology, botany, mineralogy, meteorology, geography, antiquities, etc. It also contains notes on the progress of science during the year 1868; a list of recent scientific publications, obituaries of eminent scientific men, etc. It also contains an admirable portrait of Professor Dana of Yale College. We regard this as equal to the preceding volumes of the Annual. All of these volumes are rich in scientific information. It is well for every clergyman to be acquainted with their contents, and know how to refer to them.

HOW NOT TO BE SICK. A Sequel to Philosophy of Eating. By Albert J. Bellows, M.D., Author of "Philosophy of Eating," late Professor of Chemistry, Physiology, Hygiene, etc. 12mo. pp. 363. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1868.

This work possesses some interest, though we do not think that it will become a medical standard. The first part contains valuable hints for all classes of people upon the preservation of health, and points out clearly some of the popular abuses in this respect. Different articles of food are analyzed, and the reader is shown very clearly the amount of nutriment contained in each article, and the part of the system which that nutriment tends to strengthen. The book warmly defends homoeopathy. Objections to its principles are answered, and the virtues of some of the homoeopathic medicines are explained. The ideas contained in the book might have been arranged in a much more logical and compact manner; and the style of the work would have been more perfectly finished if more labor had been spent upon it. An author best serves the public, and himself also, by producing only works of the best quality, even if they are few in number.

We have received from the house of Carlton and Porter, New York, the following volumes: **SABBATH CHIMES**; or, Meditations in Verse for the Sundays of a Year. By W. Morley Punshon, M.A. 12mo. pp. 223. An elegantly printed volume, which Americans will read with a new interest from their personal reminiscences of its author. — **THE PARABLES OF OUR LORD** explained and applied. By Rev. Francis Bourdillon,

M.A. The diction of this volume is plain, the spirit evangelical, and the whole tendency healthful. — **THE WORD OF GOD OPENED ; its Inspiration, Canon, and Interpretation considered and illustrated.** By Rev. Bradford K. Piene. pp. 223. Sabbath-school and Bible-class teachers will find in this work many judicious remarks, wise rules of interpretation, and sound lessons on the meaning and authority of the Bible.

THE MATERIALISM OF THE PRESENT DAY: A Critique of Dr. Büchener's System. By Paul Janet, Member of the Institute of France, Professor of Philosophy at the Paris Faculte des Lettres. Translated from the French, by Gustave Masson, B.A., Univ. Gallic, Assistant Master of Harrow School. 12mo. pp. 202. London: H. Bailliere; New York: Bailliere Brothers. 1866.

We think that the writings of Dr. Büchener have been much overrated. Their intrinsic value is not great; still they exert an influence on the community, and we are happy to see scientific answers to his scientific objections. The present volume has the animation and point which characterize the French literature, and meets a want of the public. The theories of materialism are fascinating to a certain class of men, but they depend for their popularity upon a superficial and shallow science.

THE APOSTOLICAL AND PRIMITIVE CHURCH, POPULAR IN ITS GOVERNMENT, INFORMAL IN ITS WORSHIP. A Manual on Prelacy and Ritualism, carefully revised and adapted to these Discussions. By Lyman Coleman, D.D., Professor in Lafayette College, author of "Ancient Christianity Exemplified," "Historical Text-Book and Atlas of Biblical Geography," etc. 12mo. pp. 413. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, and Company. 1869.

We were familiar with the author of this work, when in 1843 he was prosecuting at Berlin his studies in Ecclesiastical History, and enjoying the counsels of Dr. Neander and other German historians. Dr. Coleman has labored on the new edition of his Apostolical and Primitive Church with signal diligence, and the present edition is a great improvement upon the preceding. It is well fitted to be a text-book in our theological seminaries. It deserves to be studied as well as read by theological students and by ministers of the gospel.

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